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THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION.

THE house in Newman Street which Theodore Hook made the scene of his famous hoax hardly became more suddenly an object of public interest than has the Canadian Constitution, since the supposed discovery of its availability as a precedent for the solution of the Irish problem. It would have been difficult, probably, a few years ago, to induce any of the editors of the great English reviews to accept a paper on a subject which one of them has now spontaneously proposed.

The Canadian Constitution, including the political relation to the imperial country, may be studied in the work of Mr. Todd, and our parliamentary procedure may be studied in the work of Mr. Bourinot. The second has an instructive preface. Mr. Todd must be read with a little allowance for the immediate influences of Ottawa, where, as parliamentary librarian, he wrote. His perception of the usefulness and importance of the monarchical part of the Constitution was certainly enlarged by his point of view, while his criticism on some occasions was disarmed. A reader of his book would fancy, for example, that he approved the whole of Lord Dufferin's conduct in the matter of the Pacific Railway scandal; but it afterwards came out plainly that there was a part of it which he disapproved, though his loyalty had suppressed his disapproval.

The idea that Canada affords a parallel to Ireland, and a precedent for dealing with the Irish question, owes its tenacity of life partly to a confusion. People do not know exactly whether by Canadian Home Rule they mean the relation of the provinces to the Dominion, or the relation of the Dominion to the imperial country; when they are shown that one is irrelevant, they think that they must mean the other, or that, at all events, between the two there must be some-

thing that is relevant and instructive. Once more let us try whether when the trains are out the fallacy will die. In its internal structure the Dominion is a Federation, and the relation of each province to the Dominion is that of an American State to the Federal Government. Ireland can be placed on the same footing as a Province or State in a federation only by dissolving the legislative union of the whole United Kingdom, and changing its Constitution from that of a nation into that of a federation. The two islands must be cut up into States, sufficient in number, and equally balanced enough among themselves, to form fitting materials for the Federal Union; and this could not be effected merely by severing the three kingdoms from each other and the Principality, for the result of such an arrangement would be a perpetual cabal of the three small States against England. Parliament must not only contract the limits of its action, but resign its sovereign power, and submit to the written restrictions of a Federal Constitution. It must also submit, as must each State of the Confederacy, to the jurisdiction of some tribunal in the nature of a Supreme Court, by which the law of the Constitution will be enforced upon the Federal as well as upon the State Governments. These are indispensable elements of the federal bond. To frame the Federal Constitution a constituent convention must be assembled. The United Kingdom will have, in short, to be thrown into the smelting-pot, and this at a moment little propitious, whether we regard the internal or the external situation, for the work of fundamental re-construction. The attempt to frame a scheme for placing Ireland alone on the footing of a Canadian Province or an American State, the Constitution of the United Kingdom being left otherwise unchanged, proved, as might have been expected, totally abortive. It was the offspring of the same hasty ingenuity as certain contemporary speculations about Mosaic cosmogony and Greek mythology. If any one demurs to this statement, let him refer to the speech in which the scheme was introduced, and see how much evidence of careful examination of the problem, or of anything but philanthropic impulse and sudden desire to coalesce with the Parnellites, that speech presents. Scarcely had the plan been propounded when it was supplemented by the proposal, totally subversive of its main object and principles, that there should be a partial reversion from the federal to the national system, and that the members of the State Legislature of Ireland should on certain occasions sit and vote in the Central Legislature, to the total confusion of the regular parties and of the general policy of that body.

Externally, the relation of Canada to England is not, as is always assumed, stationary—so that it could be reproduced as a permanent institution—but shifting. It is that of a dependency which is in progress towards independence, and has now almost reached the

goal. In 1839 the introduction of responsible government reduced the royal governor to the position of a constitutional king. Supreme power, both legislative and executive, passed definitively out of his hands and those of his chosen advisers into the hands of the elective representatives of the Canadian people; the Executive having been thenceforth, in Canada as in England, virtually elected by the House of Commons. Since that time the whole course of events has tended the same way. The military occupation of Canada by the mother country has ceased, or is represented only by the reduced garrison of Halifax. If a commander of the Canadian militia still comes out from England, he has little power, and the present holder of the office is not unlikely to be the last. Canada has been not only practically, but formally, taken out of the commercial unity of the empire by a Conservative Prime Minister, who declares that in all fiscal matters he is for Home Rule to the hilt. She is now assuming the power of making her own commercial treaties, under the formal control of the Foreign Office. The Governor-General has been stripped of whatever little authority he retained after the rebellion of 1837: he has been compelled to dismiss one of his lieutenant-governors, manifestly against his own sense of right; and he has finally resigned his control over the power of dissolving Parliament, which is now openly used by the party leader in power—like “gerrymandering” bills and tampering with the franchise—for the purposes of the party game. A Canadian Supreme Court has been created, avowedly with the view of diminishing the resort to the appellate jurisdiction of the Privy Council. A High Commissioner—that is, in effect, an ambassador—has been sent to England, and there is talk of sending another to Washington. If the bond thus reduced to a thread is not snapped, and is even cherished, it is because Canada enjoys, or believes that she enjoys, free of cost, the protection of British armaments, and because the feeling of British Canadians towards the mother country is exactly the opposite of that of the Irish. Every one feels that the thread may be snapped at any moment by an untoward event, such as the failure of England to afford efficient protection to Canadian commerce in case of a maritime war; and those to whom a violent rupture with the mother country presents itself as the greatest of evils live in constant apprehension of some occurrence of this kind. It is, perhaps, the feeling that we are approaching the brink of political severance that gives birth to a recoil in the form of Imperial Federation, as to which it must be said, that we have now had libations of wine and sentiment enough, and that if the Imperial Federationists mean business, and really contemplate a great political change in a backward direction, they ought to lose no more time in telling us their mind. Canada does not contribute, nor could she be induced

to contribute, anything to imperial armaments; she does not pay, nor could she be induced to pay, tribute to the imperial country of any kind. On the other hand, separation from her, as she is three thousand miles off, would in no way affect the power or safety of Great Britain; whereas separation from Ireland would be the abandonment of part of the citadel, with the moral certainty that France or some other enemy would march in. She affords, then, no model in any respect for a scheme of Irish Home Rule; and to copy the present phase of her progress towards independent nationality, or her ulterior destiny—whatever it may be—in the belief that it is a settled and permanent arrangement, would be the grossest of blunders: it would be anchoring—like the deluded seamen in Milton—to a whale.

Canada, however, may be regarded, apart from the prevailing illusion, as an experiment in federation and as an experiment in popular government. There has just now arisen in England almost a mania for federalism, and, curiously enough, at the very time when the model to which the eyes of all Federationists are turned is itself in an ambiguous condition. Nothing is more certain than that, partly owing to the patriotic love of union aroused by the war, partly and principally owing to the growth of unifying influences, such as railroads, commercial connections, party organizations, and associations of all kinds, combined with the rapid transmission of intelligence, the American Republic has been practically growing less federal and more national, though its federal structure remains constitutionally unchanged. Congress is now in the fullest sense of the term the National Legislature, and, without usurpation or designed encroachment, is practically enlarging its functions on all subjects on which the nation feels the need of collective action. Thus the law of aggregation into great communities, which prevails elsewhere, asserts itself on the American Continent also, and British Separatists are rowing their boat against the tide of the age.

The Canadian experiment in federation was made under influences partly similar, partly dissimilar, to those which moulded the Constitution of the United States. The American Colonies, like the Netherlands and the Swiss Cantons, were compressed into union by external peril. In the case of the British Colonies in North America the same influence operated, but in a far less degree; the external peril in this case being the strained relations with the United States which ensued upon the Trent affair and were aggravated by the dispute about the *Alabama*; though it ought to be borne in mind, and Americans, when they try to reopen the nearly healed wound of the *Alabama* controversy, ought not to lose sight of the fact, that the enlistment of Canadians in the Federal army went on upon a large scale throughout the war. But the more powerful

influence was that of the deadlock into which a faction fight, with forces equally balanced, had brought the politics of the two united but unassimilated Canadas, and from which the leaders on each side sought to escape by merging the politics of the two Canadas in those of a more extensive confederation. There had been in this case, happily, no rupture with the British monarchy, and the framers of the Canadian Constitution had been trained under monarchical forms and in the practice of Cabinet Government. They had at the same time before them the example and the experience of the United States, though the experience was by them misread. Another very peculiar factor in their problem was Quebec, which is, to all intents and purposes, a new France, developed, strangely enough, under British tutelage as it never would have been developed under that of the French Government. Quebec, clinging to its nationality and its French law, opposed a resistance apparently insuperable to the legislative union, which some of our political architects would probably have preferred, and for a future approach to which they seem even to have laid the ground as far as they could in the Federal Constitution by giving whatever advantage they could to the centralizing tendency.

The outcome I have elsewhere described as a Federal Republic with a false front of monarchy. The false front of monarchy which first meets the eye consists in a Governor-General, sent out from England by the head of the party in power there, and a Lieutenant-Governor of each province, appointed nominally by the Governor-General, really by the head of the party in power in Canada. Monarchical forms are also retained in parliamentary procedure and elsewhere, Mr. Pell says, to an extent which is touching; and perhaps he might sometimes be amused as well as touched by the reproduction. The social forms of monarchy were considerably enhanced, and the viceregal style was introduced in place of that of the plain Governor by Lord Dufferin, whose tastes lay that way. But an attempt to introduce Court etiquette in connection with the visit of the royal consort of Lord Lorne came to nothing, and served only to show that monarchy is an exotic incapable of transportation to the soil of the New World.

It may perhaps be said that the false front of monarchy is useful in keeping up the ideas of continuity and stability, and in making authority the object of popular respect, though the reverence of the Americans for their Constitution is at least as profound, and forms as potent a factor of political character, as the reverence of the Canadians for their Crown. At the moment there is a rally, in which even the most democratic may without inconsistency join, round the Queen's name, as the familiar symbol of imperial unity against dismemberment. But in general, and in practical respects, the fiction seems to

me not only useless, but injurious. It veils the dangers of democracy, and makes people fancy that they have safeguards when they have none. It makes them also acquiesce in the exercise by a party leader of powers which they would not dream of allowing him to exercise in his own name. Nobody would have acquiesced in a bare-faced proposal that the leader of a dominant party should have the uncontrolled appointment of the members of one branch of the Legislature; but Canada acquiesces in this when the party leader is styled the Crown. We have just had a remarkable instance of the mischief which may be done by the illusion in the case of the prerogative of dissolution. Nobody would tolerate an enactment that Parliament should sit during the pleasure of the party leader in power. But this is the state of things into which we have really slid, hoodwinked by the constitutional fiction which represents Parliament as being called and dissolved by the Crown. Some control was retained by the Governor-General over the use of the power so late as the time of Sir Edmund Head, who on one occasion most properly refused his Ministers a dissolution. But the prerogative has now been completely and openly usurped by the party leader. The other day the Dominion Parliament and the Legislature of Ontario had each of them more than a year of legal existence still to run. The Prime Minister of the Dominion belonged to one party, the Prime Minister of Ontario to the other, and they manœuvred against each other with the prerogative of dissolution just as they would with any engine of party strategy. The Ontario Premier finally dissolved first, and was thereby supposed to have gained the weather-gauge of his enemy. In each case it was pretended that a recent Redistribution of Seats Act, commonly called a "gerrymander," and an Act altering the franchise for a party purpose, had given constitutional occasion for an appeal to the people; but the utter hollowness of the pretence was equally visible on both sides. On neither side had any intention of dissolving been announced, and the Ontario Premier had not even prepared the new registers. The question on both sides alike manifestly was simply whether an immediate dissolution would be a good move in the game. Under the Cabinet system Parliament must be dissolved when a disagreement between the Government and the Legislature renders an appeal to the people necessary; but dissolution at the pleasure of the party leader would seriously impair the independence of the Legislature. In England tradition may still control what would otherwise be a dangerous power; in a colony tradition has little force. The bad effect of constitutional fiction was perhaps still more signally exemplified when a Prime Minister, arraigned in Parliament on a charge of the most flagrant corruption, was allowed to "advise" the Governor-General to prorogue Parliament, and transfer the inquiry to a Commission appointed on the advice of the

person accused. If on this occasion the Governor-General was partly actuated by a desire to keep the accused Minister in office, that did not mend the matter, or lessen the force of the moral.

It is perhaps as the "fountain of honour" that monarchy retains most of the reality of power in Canada. And it is the growing desire of many sensible people, and people who are far from being revolutionary, that the fountain of honour would cease to flow. Titles have been conferred not only without discrimination, but so as to give a direct blow to public morality in this country. Rank other than official is totally out of place in our society; the quest of it breeds much sycophancy, and it does, so far as I can see, no good whatever. Some of our best men, including the late Prime Minister (Mr. Alexander Mackenzie), have declined knighthood on these grounds. Rational respect for authority is what we need to cultivate, and irrational respect for artificial rank merely stands in the way of its cultivation.

Passing from the false front to the real edifice, we find that the Federal Constitution, though manifestly modelled on that of the United States, differs from the model in some respects. More power is given to the Central Legislature and Government. This was done in the belief that American Secession had been occasioned by want of power in the Central Government, whereas American Secession was caused by slavery alone, and would not have taken place had it been certain that the Federal Legislature would never interfere with the domestic institutions of the South. To the Dominion Parliament is assigned the criminal law, while civil law is left to the Local Legislatures; a division not prescribed by reason, but by the nationalist jealousy of the French province, which would not have parted with its *Code Civil*. To the Dominion Parliament also belongs the law of marriage, and Canada has no Divorce Court except the Dominion Senate. In the American Union criminal as well as civil law, and the law of marriage, belong to the States. The Prime Minister of the Dominion appoints the whole of the judiciary, provincial as well as federal, whereas the judiciary of each American State is elected by the State, or appointed by its elective governor. In place of the elective governors of States, each province of the Dominion has a Lieutenant-Governor, nominated by the Prime Minister of the Dominion, who always takes one of the members of his own party, though from the time of his appointment the Lieutenant-Governor is supposed to doff party and don the constitutional king, for alleged breach of which understanding Letellier, the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, was, upon a vote of the Dominion Parliament, dismissed from his office. The Dominion Government has the direct command of all the military force of the Confederation. In the United States the Federal Government has

no veto on State legislation, which is merely kept within constitutional bounds by the action of the Supreme Court; but in Canada the Prime Minister, in the name of the Crown, has a veto on all provincial legislation. Prudence has prevented the exercise of the power except in cases where the Provincial Legislature was supposed to have exceeded its authority; but it is now being brought to bear on the Legislature of Manitoba, for the purpose of guarding the interests of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which is regarded as national, against competing lines chartered by the Manitoba Legislature, and at this moment a collision between the Central Legislature and the Provincial appears to be impending. Canada having happily a permanent Civil Service, the number of places in the gift of her Prime Minister is far smaller than that in the gift of the President of the United States. Still, his patronage, including the lieutenant-governorships and the judgeships, is large; he extends it a little by the device of superannuation; and party in Canada does not lack that great security for partisan allegiance and motor of partisan government, a sufficient quantity of "spoils."

There is one class of spoils, indeed, the distribution of which the Prime Minister of the Dominion enjoys under cover of a constitutional fiction far transcending in kind anything possessed by the President of the United States. He nominates for life the members of the Upper House of the Legislature, whereas in the United States the members of the Senate are elected by the Legislature of the State which they represent. The result of this theoretically Conservative arrangement in Canada is practically the reverse of Conservative. A nominee Senate, without even a basis of landed wealth, such as is possessed by the House of Lords, or any guarantee either for its reasonable agreement with public opinion or for its independence of Government influence, has not, nor does it deserve to have, any sort of authority. The consequence is that, whereas in the United States power is really divided between the two Houses, and the Senate, with perfect freedom, controls and reverses the acts of the popular House, in Canada power centres entirely in the Commons. The Senate is a cipher; it initiates nothing; it adjourns till business comes up to it from the Commons, and only shows that it is alive about once in each session by the rejection of some secondary Bill. The salaries which the country pays to senators are simply wasted, and the community is led to repose in the belief that it has a Conservative safeguard where it has none. It is true that the institution can scarcely be said to have had a fair trial. The patronage has been for the most part in illiberal hands, and has been systematically used for the objects of party or for narrower objects still. The framers of the Constitution, the British statesmen who took part in the work at least, probably had a vision of an assembly representing the great

interests and professions, and emittance of all kinds, such as might have commanded the respect of the nation. They, at all events, did not mean that places in the Legislature should be used as part of the bribery fund of faction and as inducements to spend money in elections. But it is more than doubtful whether, where the basis of government is popular election, real power can be conferred on any body which has not an elective title.

The most important, however, of the practical differences between the Canadian and the American system is the retention by Canada of party government on the British model, with a Prime Minister and Cabinet elected or designated by the majority in the House of Commons, having seats in Parliament, and responsible for the whole policy of the country, legislative as well as administrative. This is party government in perfection: it makes legislation a perpetual struggle between the parties for power on the floor of the House of Commons, renders Parliament the grand national cock-pit, and invests the reports of the debates with the highest interest. It is regarded with envy by American believers in party government, who contrast it with their comparatively languid system of a Presidency outside the Legislature, and independent of its struggles—a Congress working by committees, comparatively few public debates, and a *Congressional Globe* which nobody reads. If there is a leader in the House of Representatives, it is the Speaker, who is elected by a party vote, and who names the chairmen of committees, but he cannot take part in debate. The President, who, if any one, corresponds to the Prime Minister, is an executive officer with no legislative power or function except his veto, and at this moment he is a non-party or only half a party man. This is the more notable, as the American Constitution may now be said legally to recognize party as the basis of government; the Civil Service Act, for example, providing that not more than two of the Commissioners shall be members of the same party. When the American Constitution was founded the system of a government by a party Cabinet was hardly established—at all events, was not fully recognized—in England: George III. was still trying to play the patriot king, and to set his Government free from the control of faction. The peculiarities, and,—from the party government point of view—the infirmities, of the American system are strikingly set forth in Mr. Wilson's "Congressional Government." Mr. Wilson, however, takes party as the law of Nature, without examining its morality or its reasonableness, without examining its genesis historically, without considering on what it is permanently to rest, and without noticing the fact that it is almost everywhere in a state of advanced and apparently hopeless disintegration, the parties being broken up into sections, each of which is too small to sustain a Government. He also treats the "nation" as a mere aggregate of atoms, most of them without

any political knowledge or power of judgment, rather than as a collective intelligence holding to the public men something like the relation of a creator to his creatures, and exercising a watchful control over their conduct and its results.

The Canadian Confederation is fortunate in having, almost accidentally, through its connection with the mother country, a perfectly independent tribunal for the decision of suits between the Federal Government and the provinces, or between one province and another, in the Imperial Privy Council, to the decisions of which entire deference has been paid. The Supreme Court of the United States, though most respectable, is not entirely independent; it is packed on great party questions, such as the slavery question and the question of legal tender. In my hearing, President Lincoln avowed soundness on the question of that day as his motive for an appointment. No unpacked Court could possibly have decided that the Legal Tender Act was not a breach of the article of the Constitution forbidding any legislation which would impair the faith of contracts. A supreme tribunal for the decision of disputes between the Federal Government and States, or between States, is a vital necessity of federation, but one which it is very difficult to supply. Among the crudities of the Irish Government Bill none was more crude than the attempt to make the British Privy Council a federal court of arbitration between Great Britain and Ireland.

On the other hand, Canada as a dependency has no power of amending her Constitution. The sovereign power is not in the Canadian people: it is in a Parliament on the other side of the Atlantic, and it might as well be in another planet. The Constitution, by what I cannot help thinking a great oversight, was never formally submitted to the people, and Nova Scotia was dragged into confederation, as she avers, without any opportunity of even informally expressing her opinion. The ignominious failure of the nominee Senate is not the only flaw which the experience of twenty years has revealed. But there is no power here of calling a Convention or setting revision on foot. The Constitution ought to be revised and then submitted to the people. In this way alone can it obtain the hold on popular veneration which is possessed by the Constitution of the United States.

Too much power at the same time is given to the Canadian Legislatures, especially to those of the provinces. It is almost appalling to think what changes, not political or legal only, but social and economical, may be made by the single vote of a Provincial Legislature, composed of men fit perhaps to do mere local business, such as comes before a county council, but hardly fit for the higher legislation, especially since the choice of men for the local Legislatures has been limited by the Act which prevents members of the Dominion

House from sitting in the local House also. The laws of property, or the political and legal relations of the sexes, as well as the distribution of political power, may be changed in a night, and the structure of society may thus be fundamentally altered at a single sitting, and upon an almost momentary impulse, or under some purely sectional influence, by a narrow majority in a House, the most mature and unbiassed judgment of which upon such questions would be as far as possible from being conclusive. Nor is there any effective appeal. In the United States they have two great safeguards against hasty legislation—the veto of the President or the Governor of the State, and the submission of constitutional amendments to the popular vote. If an American State Legislature in a fit of political intoxication abolishes the civil status of marriage, the Governor can at least suspend the Bill till the legislators have come to their sober senses; but the Lieutenant-Governor of a Canadian province is a puppet, and his constitutional veto is a nullity; while the veto of the Central Government upon provincial legislation is exercised, as has been already said, only when the Act is supposed to be beyond the competence of the local Legislature. The submission of constitutional amendments to the people is a most important safeguard. The people, at all events, cannot be lobbied, wheedled, or bull-dozed; it is not in fear of losing its election if it throws out something which is supported by the Irish, the Prohibitionist, the Catholic, or the Methodist vote. The reform is one which, if Canadian confederation lasts, ought to be introduced without delay. Every province in Canada is at present in constant danger of the most precipitate and disastrous legislation. One provincial Legislature broke a will at the instance of parties interested in the succession who had brought influence to bear upon members, and the establishment of a precedent fraught with evil was averted only by the action of the courts of law, which managed to set the Act aside on the ground, if I recollect right, of ambiguity.

If the framers of the Constitution desired that the political action of the provinces should be independent of that of the Federal Government, their wish has been but imperfectly fulfilled. The Dominion parties have engulfed the provincial Legislatures; and the same tide of party feeling which swells at Ottawa, penetrates every creek and inlet of provincial life. The provincial party is an engine ancillary to that of the Dominion. The Conservative leader in Ontario the other day lost the battle at a general election, partly through the deference which he was compelled to pay in framing his platform to the exigencies of his commander-in-chief at Ottawa, who could not afford to offend the Catholics of Quebec. In Quebec the imbroglio which ended in the dismissal of Lieutenant-Governor Letellier was probably caused by the anxiety of his party to get hold of the pro-

vincial patronage, in anticipation of a Dominion election. Local influences do, to some extent, contend with and neutralize those of the federal party in the provincial elections. In the Dominion elections Ontario is carried by the Tories; in provincial elections it is carried by the Grits; and there is a similar variation of results in Nova Scotia. This, however, is partly due to the influence of patronage and other engines, such as promises of Dominion expenditure on local works, brought to bear on Dominion elections by the leaders of the party in power at Ottawa. The last Dominion election in Nova Scotia is said to have been a notable instance.

The hope, cherished no doubt by British statesmen, that colonial self-defence would be promoted by confederation, has proved totally baseless. Canadian politicians, speaking after dinner in England, are in the habit of regaling British ears with stories of an army of four hundred thousand men, thoroughly organized and ready to spring to arms. But the last report of the general in command states that the number of the Canadian militia is 37,000—supposing there are no double entries—and recommends that the number should be reduced, in order that, without increase of expenditure, there may be a longer term of drill. At present half the force is called out in each year for a fortnight. The navy consists of a single gunboat. It is needless to say that, however excellent the Canadian material for the making of soldiers and sailors may be, an army and navy cannot, under the conditions of modern war, be improvised when war has been declared. The colony would still be almost entirely dependent on the imperial country for defence; and a maritime war, cutting up Canadian commerce, would lay a severe strain upon the connection. Canada, while she wishes to assert her full rights in the Fisheries question, must rely on British force to make them good, although the people of Great Britain feel little if any interest in the matter. This is an equivocal state of things, and one fraught with possibilities of misunderstanding.

If, however, ominous cracks are beginning—as they certainly are—to show themselves in the edifice of Canadian Confederation, the fault lies perhaps not so much in the architecture as in the site. Let the Colonial Office provide itself with a map of Canada coloured so as to show the limits of the cultivable and habitable territory. The fact will then become more apparent to the Secretary for the Colonies that the Dominion is not a compact mass, including the North Pole, but a series of detached blocks of territory stretched out between the oceans. These blocks are not connected by any natural bond of union, geographical or commercial; neither are they divided by any natural line, either of a physical or of an economical kind, from the territories inhabited by the rest of the English-speaking races on the continent. Commercially, each is attracted to the portion of the

United States immediately to the south of it, as is seen especially in the case of the maritime provinces, which are now becoming restive under confederation, because they wish to unite themselves commercially to New England, free trade with which and participation in the coasting trade would be to them the breath of a new economical life. Nor are the provinces united ethnologically: New France, ever growing more French and more antagonistic to the British element, cuts them in twain. A desperate effort has been made, at enormous expense, to forge an artificial bond of union by the construction of political railways. The Intercolonial Railway has cost about forty millions of dollars, and does not pay its running expenses; still less will it pay them when the true commercial line across Maine shall have been completed.* It yet remains to be seen what will be the future of the portions of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the north of Lake Superior, and the portion through the mountains between the prairie region and British Columbia. Politically the provinces have been held together, and a basis has been framed for a Government, by means of what are called "better terms"—that is, further subsidies out of the Federal fund—and by a system of purchasing support of all kinds, and in all the ways known to politicians. The man who could most skilfully hold the discordant elements together by such means has naturally been at the head of the State. Perhaps the business has been done with as much address, and therefore at as cheap a rate as possible; yet it has been costly in the extreme, as well as in the highest degree demoralizing. A public debt, very heavy in proportion to the population and the wealth of the country, has been rapidly run up, while the public debt of the United States has been in a course of not less rapid reduction. The expenditure of government has also been advancing with swift strides, and out of proportion to the increase of population. Ontario, as the rich partner in the firm, mainly pays the bill. Nor is the debt or the expenditure the whole or even the worst of it. •The introduction of a Protectionist tariff—which to a country like Canada, with a limited range of production and a small market, cannot fail to be most injurious—must be set down to the exigencies of the same policy. It has called into existence a body of capitalists whose interest is completely bound up with that of the Government. Canada, which was once a cheap, is being made a dear country to live in, and the exodus of population is alarmingly large.

What confederation has done for these colonies it is very difficult to say. It has not given them any military strength or security which they had not before. It has not given them any larger measure of internal peace, or a much larger measure of freedom of intercourse. Military security, internal peace, and freedom of intercourse are the main objects of confederation, and the colonies

already enjoyed them as members of the British Empire. Nor has there as yet been any appreciable development of national feeling. The Nova Scotian or the New Brunswicker does not even call himself a Canadian: he speaks of Canada almost as a foreign country. Nationality and dependence, however, are things hardly more compatible with each other than Socialism and patriotism: the only chance of making these colonies a nation lay in conferring on them independence, which probably the English statesmen who took part in Canadian confederation had in their minds as the ultimate outcome of the measure. The Statute-book of Ottawa, if cleared of Franchise Acts, Acts for the Redistribution of Seats, and other legislation of a merely party character, would be found to be a miserably poor return for the immense outlay. Debt, increased taxation, a vast development of faction, demagogism, and corruption, with their inevitable effects upon the political character of the people, have hitherto been about the only visible fruits of North American confederation. In the newly acquired territories of the North-West there has been misgovernment through party agents, and this was probably the main cause of the rebellion. There can be little doubt that those territories would have fared better under a royal governor of the old stamp, who would have had nothing to do with party or its corruption, but would have tried to do his duty to the people.

Democracy in Canada set out with a society eminently sound, and a population which the training of ages, commenced in England and continued here, had made industrious, thrifty, law-abiding, and moral in the highest degree. Nor was there any revolutionary sentiment like that which the rupture with England generated in the United States. The chiefs of industry and commerce have also been in the Dominion, as they are in the United States, men brought to the front by genuine qualities, with a strong commercial morality, and well fitted to govern the realm over which they presided. We have, moreover, had British law, a legal profession instinct with the best traditions, and a judiciary which, though the appointments have been with a single exception partisan, has pretty well escaped the prostitution of patronage for mere party ends, and forms by its respectability and the confidence felt in it, the sheet-anchor of our community. There has been hitherto land enough for all who wanted to till it, and timber enough for all who wanted to cut it; while British capital has built railroads in abundance, rather to our profit than its own. We have, it is true, on the other side of the account, the French province. But the French province has hitherto been rather an element of torpor, and perhaps of corruption, than of political disturbance, though it is now becoming an element of disturbance under the influence of reviving French nationality and of Jesuit

THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION.

intrigue. The Irish, in political character and habits, are the same here that they are everywhere else, but till lately their influence has not been greatly felt. They were discredited and politically weakened by the two abortive Fenian invasions, though they did not on either occasion openly display their sympathy with the invaders. The experiment of democracy may therefore be said to have been tried in Canada under circumstances on the whole favourable, even when we take into account the special evils which an ill-cemented confederation entails. Yet the result, in the mind of one observer at least, is a profound conviction that, while political institutions must rest on popular suffrage, and no other basis is available, government by faction, demagogism, and corruption will not do, and cannot go on for ever.

The party system betrays in Canada the same fatal weaknesses which it betrays elsewhere. In the absence of organic questions, the list of which must everywhere in time be exhausted, no rational or moral line of division between parties will remain; party becomes mere faction, and the struggle for principles degenerates into a contest for power and pelf, carried on by means not purer than the end. This is as inevitable as any moral consequence can be. The Canadian parties had their origin in a real and vital division between the friends of royal and those of popular, or, as it was called, responsible government. But that question, and all the questions depending on it, have long since been settled, and the two camps scarcely retain even the faintest smell of the liquor with which they were respectively filled. The names "Tory" and "Grit," by which they call each other, therefore being free from meaning, are really more appropriate than Conservative and Liberal by which they call themselves. Perhaps the Conservatives are a shade more favourable to the political connection with Great Britain, though it is by them that protective duties have been laid upon British goods; at all events, their leaders are more ready to accept baronetcies and knight-hoods than the leaders of the Grits. Yet the late leader of the Grits, Mr. George Brown, while in deference to the sentiments of his party he refused knight-hood, was a vehement upholder of British connection, and a bitter enemy of independence, though his motives were surmised to be as much commercial as political. The Tory party has hitherto derived a reactionary tinge from an alliance with the priesthood which rules Quebec. But this connection has now been greatly shaken by the rebellion of the French half-breeds in the North-West, in suppressing which, and bringing the leader to the scaffold, the Dominion Tory Government incurred the wrath of the French Nationalists, and lost a number of seats at the last election. The Grits, on the other hand, the very basis of whose party not long since was hostility to Roman Catholic encroachment, have now flung themselves into the

arms of the Roman Catholics, and become defenders of separate schools, and advocates of the restoration of the Jesuits. Their leader, who not many years ago was setting a price on Riel's head, now denounces his execution as a political murder. For some time it seemed as if the question between Protection and Free Trade would become a new and living issue; but just before the last election the Grit leaders, scared by the aspect of the solid phalanx of manufacturers arrayed against them, hauled down the Free Trade flag, which had for some time been fluttering low on their mast, and definitely surrendered to Protection—too late to win any votes, yet not too late to lose some. In dealing with the vital subject of the franchise, both the parties are alike demagogic, and neither of them is Conservative. They are always bidding against each other in the Dutch auction by which from what was virtually a freehold franchise, highly respectable, and at the same time attainable in this country by every industrious and thrifty man, we are being brought down surely, though by a protracted process, to the abolition of every sort of qualification. Probably in the end we shall come to female suffrage also, which the leader of the party styled Conservative advocates, in the belief, no doubt, that the women would vote Tory. The "Conservative" party which is in power is in fact the following of Sir John Macdonald; the Opposition consists of the enemies of Sir John Macdonald; and as Sir John Macdonald is a very skilful leader, while his opponents are much the reverse, and has all the patronage in his hands, he is pretty securely entrenched in office. This gives a false appearance of stability to a party government which has really no other than a personal foundation, and as soon as the man is gone, will, as everybody says, crumble to pieces and be probably followed by confusion; for there is no other politician who is likely to get all the wires of a complicated system of influence and bribery into his hands.

Burke, who said that vice lost half its evil by losing all its grossness, might as well have said that the breath of pestilence lost half its deadliness by losing its warning smell. We stand aghast at the coarse corruption of former days, which slipped a bank-note into the hand of a member of Parliament to induce him to vote for a Government measure; but nobody stands aghast when on the eve of an election a Prime Minister calls together the representatives of a particular commercial interest, and gives them to understand that if they will support him with their influence and subscribe to his election fund, he will regulate the fiscal policy of the country in their favour. The rule of the old official oligarchy, nicknamed the "Family Compact," which governed the country before 1837, is always treated by Canadian historians as a slough of corruption, from which we were happily rescued by the change to democratic government; but the worst, so far as can be ascertained, which the

Family Compact did was to give itself large assignments of public lands at a time when land was a drug. The people, it is true, were shocked when, by the investigation into the Pacific Railway scandal, it was conclusively proved that three members of the Cabinet had exacted from the applicant for the construction of a Government railway a large sum of money to be expended on the elections. But the moral reaction soon passed away, and things are daily coming to light which show that corruption has made deep inroads on our public life, and that the standard of morality among politicians is very low. Where there is corruption there must be agents of corruption, and of these too many have been seen in a quarter where their appearance is most ominous. Something might perhaps be done by a law, which it would seem perfectly possible to frame, treating political corruption in its various forms as a crime, and rendering it liable to punishment like other crimes, not in Parliament, where a party majority would acquit Cain, but before some regular and independent tribunal. Nothing of the sort, however, at present exists, nor does the Constitution even provide a power of impeachment. The political character of a people generally virtuous may hold out long against such influences, but in the end it must give way, and the moral basis of government must fail.

The one valid defence of party is that it is the only instrument hitherto discovered for uniting a sufficient number of the atoms into which political power under the elective system is divided, to form a basis for a Government. In this respect a substitute for it will have to be found; and found the substitute must be. Society cannot rest for ever on the irrational and immoral.

If the corruption of the demagogue is bad, his weakness, I am inclined to think, is worse. Always looking forward to an election, he trembles at the very shadow of a vote, and nothing is safe in his keeping if he imagines that by a conscientious defence of his trust he will incur the vengeance of any fraction of his constituency. Thus fanatical cliques and sinister interests, which concentrate their political influence on their own special object, disregarding their duty to the community at large, exercise a power out of all proportion, not only to their deserts, but to their numbers. The worse citizens, in short, people are, the narrower and the less patriotic are their aims, the surer they are of carrying their point. A body like the Roman Catholic Irish, who are hardly citizens at all, but a clan held together and welded by their Church, are thus enabled to hold Canada as well as the United States in political thralldom; and we have just seen Canadian Legislatures, both central and local, degrading themselves into the instrument of a Fenian opposition to the Crimes Bill, with which probably not a tithe of their number had a particle of sincere sympathy. In the same way, the fanaticism of

the Prohibitionist party is slavishly gratified by legislators, who laugh in their sleeve at Prohibition, and perhaps after voting for it themselves, adjourn to the bar. In the Canada Temperance Act the most vital principles of justice are sacrificed to the tyrannical will of a sect which disposes of a large number of votes, and avows that it will not suffer any one who refuses to bow the knee to it to be elected to any public office, even that of a school trustee; the commonest legal safeguards are set aside in order to obtain convictions, hearsay evidence is admitted, arbitrary magistrates, some of them without even a legal training, are empowered to fine and imprison without appeal, husband and wife are compelled to give evidence against each other, accused persons are compelled to give evidence against themselves. The legislators, of course, see the injustice of all this, but they dare not stand up against the Prohibitionist vote. An upright judiciary will be of little avail if legislators are not true to the great principles of justice. In the same way there is constant danger of unconscientious concession to the chimerical demands of labour reformers, as well as to those of sinister interests of a commercial kind. In the industrial department we can happily look to the Conservative action of the chiefs of industry—men whose value as social rulers has already been mentioned, and who are raised for the most part from the ranks by sterling force of character as well as by commercial skill; but there is hardly any economical chimera to which in time legislators may not be driven to pay homage by their dread of the labour vote. England herself has unhappily now, in this respect, not much to say against American or colonial democracy. According to an excellent authority, of all the members of the House of Commons who voted for the Irish Government Bill not more than twenty, outside the Irish party, were sincerely in favour of the measure. We shall be obliged to introduce the ballot for legislators as well as for electors, if we mean the legislator, like the elector, to vote according to his conscience. Perhaps he would sometimes speak on one side and cast his ballot on the other; but it is the vote that we want to have on the right side, not the speech.

As I write, the precarious character of the political connection between Canada as a self-governing colony and Great Britain is being illustrated by the proposal of the Canadian Minister of Finance to add to our protective tariff an article excluding British iron. The British producer is naturally angry. It may well seem hard to him that, while he is called upon to defend the rights of Canada in the Fisheries question, Canada should be excluding his goods from her market. But the principle of Colonial Home Rule in all fiscal questions has already been conceded. Of two systems we must choose one—that of commercial unity with a fiscal system for the

empire, or that of fiscal self-government; and whichever of the two systems we choose we must be prepared to embrace its consequences. If Canada is commercially to shift for herself, she must be allowed to do whatever her circumstances and her situation, placed as she is on the American continent and alongside a country with a highly protective tariff, may require. What she really needs is not the parish protection proposed for her by her present Government, the fruits of which are already visible enough, but free access to the markets of her own continent; in other words, commercial union with the United States. To the Canadian farmer, lumberman, and miner alike, an extended market is a vital necessity; the property of all three is greatly depreciated for want of it, while admission to the coasting trade is the only thing which can infuse commercial life into the languishing frames of the Maritime Provinces, and appease the discontent which has been produced in them by the total failure of confederation, so far as their commercial interests are concerned. A movement in this direction is already on foot, and there can be little doubt of its ultimate success. It is opposed, naturally enough, by those who have invested in the manufactures artificially called into existence by the protective tariff, as it no doubt will be by their creator and patron the Government; but no forces which these interests can muster will in the end be strong enough to make head against the great natural industries of the country—farming, lumbering, mining, and shipowning combined. Commercial union would be the end of the Fisheries dispute, which at present threatens to become a perpetual sore. Commercial union with the United States would involve an assimilation of tariffs, and thus, it is objected, would entail discrimination against Great Britain. As has already been said, if we embrace the system of fiscal Home Rule, we must embrace it with the consequences. When protective and even prohibitive duties are laid on British goods, a discrimination which would imply no intentional or special antagonism would seem to be an innovation only in name. If the English manufacturer is excluded, he is excluded, no matter whether the colony manufactures for itself or imports from the United States.

An alarm is raised of political annexation, which it is said would follow in the wake of commercial union. That the English-speaking race on this continent, divided a century ago by the American revolution, must some day become again one people, has long been my firm belief, though it is to be hoped that the re-union, when it comes, will be brought about, not by annexation, but by mutual attraction, while nothing is to be gained on either side by precipitating the event. The texture of society as well as the language and everything else is the same, and in spite of the differences which have been noted between the Canadian and the American Constitution, a Canadian

province, if it were to-morrow made a State of the Union, would feel no political shock, and could fit into its place with perfect ease. But it does not appear that the political question need be affected by the mere removal of the Customs line. Nationalities would not be effaced by the introduction of free trade over the whole globe. The Basque provinces of Spain were not made French by the liberty which they enjoyed under their old *fueros* of free trade with the Basque provinces of France. We are bidden to take warning from the result of the German Zollverein; but the Zollverein would not have done much for the unification of Germany without unifying agencies of a more potent kind, aided at last by the arms of Prussia. Already there is something like a currency union between Canada and the United States, American bank-notes being freely taken in Canada everywhere except at Government offices. This again is partly the consequence of the international extension of railways and of their taking fares in the money of both countries. Buying and selling is merely one of many kinds of intercourse, and intercourse of all kinds between the United States and Canada has been rapidly increasing of late years. They are so far one country that a Canadian youth thinks no more of going to seek his fortune at New York or Chicago than a Scotch or Yorkshire youth thinks of going to seek his fortune in London. That would be a frail nationality the existence of which depended on a Customs line. Not the slightest tendency has ever been shown by the Americans to aggress upon Canadian independence. Annexation, in fact, is a subject which occupies surprisingly little of their attention, and, whether the Customs line is retained or abolished, Canada is mistress of her own political destinies. That England has no political interest on this side of the Atlantic except the friendship of the whole English-speaking race, is a conviction which by everything that passes here is daily impressed more deeply on my mind. Its latest confirmation is the conduct of the Canadian Legislatures in allowing themselves to be used as the instruments of those who seek the disintegration of the imperial country. Let the advocates of Imperial Federation take warning from that incident.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

PAINTING. "THE SCAPEGOAT."

I HAVE already incidentally told, in the last of my papers on "The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood,"* how, in the summer of 1854, I made a very interesting journey to the remote end of the Dead Sea with Mr. Beamont, of Warrington, and there found, in the neighbourhood of Usdum, what I determined to make the background of the proposed picture of "The Scapegoat" (a subject which had much struck me when I had been searching Leviticus for the ceremonies of Jewish worship).

I.

In October I set out again, this time without travelling companion, and with but one personal servant, an Arab newly engaged, who acted as cook and tent-manger. The whole country to the south of Jerusalem had become disturbed, with hope to the fellaheen of escape from Turkish taxation, encouraged by the withdrawal of the troops for the Russian War. One village was fighting against another; each day brought worse tidings, and I was strongly urged to postpone the project of going alone to stay at so remote and wild a spot as Usdum. I resolved to go well armed, for my common-sense told me that, with numerous boxes containing unknown properties and a stock of provisions, I should be the victim of the first impudent scoundrels I met were it not clearly seen that I had the means of resisting insolence.

I made my bargain (no light task) with Ali Tantash, the mujeteer, to have the requisite number of animals ready for the journey at sunrise. On the morning fixed, my horse was brought with a wrong saddle, and an hour of delay occurred before the better one ordered could be got. Riding then to the meeting-place, it turned out that

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, June 1886, p. 829.

no luggage mules were there, the excuse given being that it was wiser not to bring them to wait in the sun until I was ready, and thus I discovered that the object of the *mukarie* was to fritter away the day without sacrificing the claim to payment. I had then to declare that, whatever the hour might be at starting, I should not stop until the full day's journey to Hebron had been completed. The animals thereupon were hurried up, and the loading was commenced. Just then, aiding the purpose of the *mukarie*, so heavy a storm came that I was driven indoors for two hours. After it had passed away and I returned, the mule-owner and his belongings had disappeared, and my cases were lying in the public square. Being found, the master said he had concluded that I had given up the journey till to-morrow, and so returned the beasts to the stable; but I was unflinching, and ordered them back. They came, only to enable us to sally out of the Jaffa Gate half an hour before a sunset which was flickering over glistening slopes. The evening was fierce, the sky still covered with heavy clouds, the lightning flashing, and the thunder murmuring from afar as we got into the open country.

Reaching the first height, I addressed my company to the effect that I would go on to Hebron as fast as possible with Nicola Beyrouti, my servant, to get accommodation at the quarantine building, while they should come on as soon as was convenient; but the whole company were horrified—as they professed—at the danger to myself, as well as to themselves. I laughed at their fear, and began to trot, pumping out the water from my wet carpet-saddle as I rode. Looking back, as Nicola urged, I discovered the *cortège* with heads returning to Jerusalem in serious earnest. I rode back, and the muleteer told me to reflect how certain the peril would be from *ghouls* and *effreets*, who bewilder travellers on such nights, and lead them over precipices to their destruction, and that the only safety was in company; but I insisted upon the journey forward, and so we came to accord, and went on.

Beyond Mar Elyas the road, at that time, descended into the deep valley. I could only see the path by the pools of water in the worn limestone. At the bottom the strongest mule slipped and fell; his burthen was too heavy to allow him to be raised as he was, and so the cord was loosened and every article taken off him. When again reloaded, the drivers argued that this settled the question of the length of the journey. Bethlehem, half an hour hence, would afford us shelter for the night, and in the morning betimes we could go on to Hebron; but I insisted upon the original plan, not without some reluctance when the Convent of the Nativity in sight to our left brought to mind the thought of its pleasant hospitality.

With us we had a young goat who was provokingly blatant; he walked and rode in turns, and our progress was slow. An hour beyond the pools of Solomon we were threading the mazes of some low trees

on the slippery road, and I was leading the party, when I noticed the yelling of Nicola, who was behind, mingling itself with the bleatings of the scapegoat model. His reply to my cheer was very lachrymose, so that I had to ride back to understand matters. Now he was in full tears like a great baby, and he ducked his head as though to avoid some real attack. He was a well-grown man, five years older than myself, and to see him behaving thus made me angry. "What is the matter with you, O madman?" I said. "There are robbers," was his reply. "Where?" "All about us; do shoot, I pray, ya Khowagha,"—bobbing down to the saddle all the while. "I am not such a fool," was my reply; "here, I will ride behind you, and keep you safe from danger." I had already taken up my place of rearguard when I was struck with stones in two or three places at once, and my horse swerved from a blow. "Oh, oh! now I see what is the matter," said I. The trees enshrouded men who were following up and pelting us. I held up my gun against the sky, cocked the two triggers, brought round my revolver, and shouted out, "Now I am ready to kill the first man who shows his head." Our enemies held their hands, and Nicola ceased to bob his head, but he said aloud, "Now shoot, to show you have a gun with two souls and a pistol with many;" but I returned, "When I see where to shoot I won't fail." We went on in silence, except that the muleteer kept stupidly saying, "I told you how it would be;" and I was obliged to reply, "What could be better? Englishmen like fighting."* "That is true, by Allah," he remarked, Nicola joining in with a culminating sob. We plodded on, minute by minute, ever expecting a fresh attack as we turned in and out over the worn and wet limestone track. When a good quarter of an hour had passed in freedom from continually expected attack, I heard a great clatter ahead, and I spurred on fast, but found no visible robber, only our head mule was down again. It seemed certain that this would bring on our enemies at once, and I undertook to keep on the alert while the men busied themselves in unpacking and raising the poor beast. To my astonishment this was effected without molestation. Our foes had probably been on an opposite journey, and, seeing us coming, had put themselves in ambush and followed us back, abandoning us when the chance seemed not a promising one. In starting again, however, until we had got out of cover, we could not give up the closest vigilance.

When the trees opened we came within sound of villages to our left on the heights. No arts could muffle the noise of our animals' hoofs, nor stifle the bleatings of our kid from the ears of the dogs, who provokingly kept up a continual announcement of the passing of a strange party. We had kept off the harder parts of the track,

* Deliberately, I should say that history does not prove this—in itself—gasconading declaration to be true. No people less love war than the English; "but being in, bear it, that the opposer may beware of thee," is tacitly the fighting motto of the race.

with my consent, to reduce our noisiness, and we were toiling along, knowing that it was midnight, and that for an hour or more we had been in that state of a tedious journey in which no recognizable difference can be expected in its features. I had quite admitted in my own mind that it was fortunate I had not trusted to my faint knowledge of the road to come on alone, and I was wondering by what sign our muleteer could be sure that he was in the road at all. I looked more intently to discover this, when it seemed not uncalled for to demand a declaration from him on the subject. No! He admitted he had lost the road for the last half-hour, and had in vain been trying to find it. "What do you propose to do?" I asked. "Dismount, spread part of the tent against this slope of the rock, light a fire in a nook where it won't be seen, get coffee, sleep for three hours, and go on again before sunrise. There is nothing else that can be done." No one had any other counsel, and I had to weigh this with my own thoughts.

Curiously, the same thing had occurred on the previous journey to Hebron about the same place and time. On that occasion I had a more self-possessed servant, one Issa, with me, and I had taken a very decided course. I had put my horse's head to the village on the hill, and, making all accompany me, I had ridden straight up to the place, leaving my man to do all the active part, I playing the character of the mysterious dignified stranger, which was very difficult in the midst of barking dogs, so wild with excitement that they jumped up into my saddle. Men, women, and children, scared out of their sleep from around fires by the unwonted event, stood up and hurried together to watch the action of the sheik when I asked for him. Whatever his motive, no one could have behaved better. He called a man out from the crowd and ordered him to go with us over the hill to a point on a path from which we could see Hebron and descend by it into the road; and thus I had had good reason to approve the trusting course. The earlier journey had taken us, by a road between walled vineyards, to the town of the faithful patriarch by about one or two o'clock. We there turned aside to the right to reach the quarantine building. My man had come up abreast, and we were talking as tired guards will after an anxious watch, when I noticed that his foot-track gradually led him up above me. The slope was slippery. I searched for a place where there might be firm footing for my horse. In the penumbrous dulness I discerned a mass of white rock leading to the higher level. I set my horse to grip it with his feet, and heeled him to make him use his full strength. The stone proved to be loose, and began to rattle down. I could feel the poor beast overbalancing. As the one chance for both of us, I threw myself off on the upper earth to the right as best could be. I pushed my gun away in a safe direction, for it was loaded and still half-cocked. The

horse hurtled over on his back, and rolled down the incline. I found myself safely landed half way up, but with my leg badly bruised. My gun had happily not exploded. When we went to the poor horse he was just able to get up. We hobbled to the porch of the quarantine building, and there with hasty arrangement I threw myself on to my mat and some dry baggage, and soon sank into reposeful slumber. Two or three hours later I was sitting up staring at and being stared at by, a crowd of men, women, and children, I seeming very like what a gipsy caught located in a place not intended for vagabonds might be. I had attained my object, however, which was to be soon after sunrise at a point to the west, on the mountains looking down to Doora by the valley of the upper and the nether springs given by Caleb to his daughter, with the plain and Beersheba beyond; and accordingly, with a hasty cup of coffee, I mounted my man's horse and rode off alone to work on a sketch.

On the present journey, however, I had no such object; and although I revolved in my mind the importance of establishing a character with all my troop, on this difficult journey, of being a bad master to trick, as I had done by the previous counter-move, I was content to-night to say, that, having arrived at the precincts of Hebron, in consideration of the tiredness of all the beasts, I would be satisfied to rest where we were till sunrise; and so accordingly we half pitched the tent, and I hailed welcome sleep in an unknown field. In the morning it proved that the road was not far away, and in an hour we were passing through the streets of Hebron to the open country on the south-east. It was not noticeable to me in broad sunlight, as the people of the town looked up from their business and the Arabs of the fields went out with their flocks or passed on their journeys, that they were stirred by any unusual excitement. Getting out from the houses again, I could feel nothing now visible between me and dim fate. In the wilderness of Ziph (becoming more declared at the descent from every fresh hill pass, while all the shadows of the rocks disappeared as the sun rose to the zenith, removing their sense of shelter), in exhilaration of spirit produced by perfumed sea breezes, I could realize how natural was the pious feeling kindled by a life in the wilderness: "My soul thirsteth for Thee, my flesh longeth for Thee in a barren and dry land where no water is." No life, it seemed to me then, could so well awaken a sense of absolute reliance upon the unseen powers as this of the silent wilderness.

In the afternoon I arrived at the encampment of Aboudaouk, the sheik of whom I was in search. When my tent was pitched, I sent word that I was expecting a visit, and as he approached up the slope I stepped out to welcome him. He had a long face, with large teeth somewhat projecting above a long but retiring chin, and as he neared me, looking his affablest, I could not help thinking how like

a mule he was. I had to adopt an English tone of pre-occupation with Nicola, to make sure that the sheik should not expect me to fall on his dirty person and, in Arab fashion, embrace him. When he was seated on a raised mat at my door, after delivering my message of greeting from the consul, I unwrapped from the parcel a *jabbah*, a coat of the brightest scarlet, and placed it on his shoulders so that the contrast with the vivid colour made him look more grimy than ever as he sat there. Going on with my part of the ceremony, I wondered whether the good Omar looked so polluting when the patriarch, giving up the keys of Jerusalem, said aside, "Surely this is the abomination which maketh desolate."

When we were again seated, I explained that the English consul, Khowagha Finn, had charged me to bring this coat to him as a mark of his esteem. He—as behoved him in the face of the whole tribe outside, men pressing one another in a circle and veiled women from tents, watching their sheik in his new glory—adopted the bearing of utter unconcern, folding the garment under and about him on the ground as though he were accustomed to have a new coat every day, and certainly nothing seemed to me more likely than that he would by to-morrow make it but little distinguishable from his other raiment. After due assurance that we were respectively well and happy, that Mr. Beamont—who had been with me on the earlier journey—was so also; that he had gone on to Damascus; that the son was also well and happy; that the consul was this also—with "*Alamdillillah*" uttered after each assurance of good—and that they all hoped that *he* was well and happy, and that they were all very superior people, and that they thought him a very superior person; and, after he had had his pipe charged several times, and coffee in small cups given to him to satiety, I ventured to introduce the business question, my servant, of course, helping me with his Arabic, for there was the extra difficulty with them of an unfamiliar dialect.

Combating the proposal that the question should be left till to-morrow, I said that I should like to go down to Usdum for some weeks, perhaps five or six, to make a picture; that I wanted some of his men with me as guides and caterers—that two or three would be enough. I left the number to him. What should I pay him? Oh, for his part, the whole place was mine; he hoped I should always stay. But, pressed further, he said, by Allah, what I asked was no light matter. It filled him with anxiety. He must send down at least a hundred men, his most trusted men, for the place was most dangerous, being the road of various tribes, and without a large party how could he guard me if I stayed there day after day? He would do his best to persuade his men to be satisfied with five hundred English pounds. And the men within hearing said, "No,

no! Never, never! Impossible!" And they went on to point out how it was almost out of hope that any but a few could ever return to their families. I left them to talk themselves out. When done, they asked my reply. I said, "We will talk of it no more. It was, I see, a foolish fancy of mine. I will return to-morrow and go to Masada, Engeddi, Marsaba, or Jericho instead. I can understand that, because I had thought of returning to a place which few travellers visit and none revisit, you think me foolish. It is enough. Let us talk no more about the proposal. We will speak of other matters. Will you tell me how many men you have in your tribe?" He then said, "Why should you be angry? You do not answer me. Why don't you talk of Usdum?" "Look!" I said, "it is not far away; half a day would bring us there. It is the wretchedest place in the whole world. If I had not already been there I should know this from books. England is a beautiful country—a garden with wide rivers like that in Egypt, and trees bearing lovely fruits, and there are oxen and sheep, and birds in abundance, and perfect roads. You talk as though the plain of the Dead Sea were a place that God was pleased with; it is, on the contrary, one with which He is known to have been very angry. You treat of it as though it were a paradise. Five hundred pounds! Well, perhaps a lord would give some large sum to stay in a blessed place, but not a para to stay in a cursed one. I am not a lord. I am more like a monk or a derwish. I would go there just to explain to people in England (used too much to blessings) how terrible is a place accursed of Heaven; but, if you and your men do not want me to go, I shall take it as a sign that Allah wills me to work elsewhere. There are many places where Arabs or others would like to be paid for guiding me, and I would go to their country instead." The sheik replied, "But you see I must send many to guard you." "No," I replied, "I only want to be guided, and to have provisions bought from the nearest Arabs. Send few or many, I will guard myself." "Well," he went on to say, "what will you give?" After some fencing, my reply was, "I speak with English words, the first is the last; I will give seven hundred piastres" (about six pounds). A shriek of execration followed; and I said, "I am sorry. I will go back and tell other *frangis* not to come here and vex you with the wish to visit your district. In the meantime, Nicola, you can bring me my dinner." And I got rid of my company.

An hour later the sheik came to smoke a pipe and drink coffee with me. It was dark. The noises of sheep being folded and of clamorous children had ceased; barking dogs and braying asses alone broke the resonant silence. He had been persuading his men to take one hundred pounds; would I say "Finished"? "No! only seven hundred piastres," and *that* I would pay in paper, writing a note for

the money if he agreed, and his men, after being at Usdum, should return with me to Jerusalem, where, at the Consulate, gold should be given in exchange. Before separating, he had come to my terms, and I had written the cheque for the money, with which he retired.

When I was alone Nicola came for a consultation. I had innocently advised that, to make it serve the purpose of the tribe better, the animals, fowls, eggs, cheese, &c., wanted for our expedition should not be purchased from sources nearer home; and now, finding that we were destitute, without later chance of providing ourselves, they asked five and ten times the just price. The next morning, rising an hour or two before sunrise, I announced my intention of riding back to procure provisions, which frightened our hosts into reasonable prices. Then came our sheik and sat down, asking when was I intending to conclude the business. "What business?" "What, as sheik, am I to have? The seven hundred piastres all go to the men, and for all my trouble in making them friendly to you surely I ought to have a handsome sum." Had time been of no value to me it is possible that I might have escaped this ingenious extortion; but after a long and hot talk I was glad to abate the sheik's demands to about four hundred piastres.

While contending thus with the evil, I saw Nicola putting aside the animals bought for our purpose, with their legs tied, on an opposite slope; around these, men had assembled, and hideous boys, nearly black, naked, and with bare crowns, shaven save for one central black tuft of matted hair forming a tangled inverted tassel, were jumping about and screeching like little demons; the fathers were proud and encouraging. I went into the midst, and found what enters into my memory for ever when I come upon passages inspired by the temper of the French philosophers about the innocence of the unsophisticated children of Nature. The little fiends were with stones and sticks directing scorpions up to the side of the helpless beasts, and provoking the reptiles to sting! The incident filled me with wrath, and I scattered the little crowd with my *koorbash*, whereupon from afar the men asked why I was so angry. The sheik came, assuring me of his utmost indignation with the boys and the men too, all of whom he beat in show, and when I declared that I would not have one of these with me I was appeased.

II.

It was late in the morning when all was prepared and we mounted and turned towards Usdum. Our whole company, it was amusing to see, was now increased by only five. The wonderful scene around scarcely soothed me from the feverishness caused by my experiences of last night and the morning. As I rode ahead a young Arab of about twenty came up and kissed my hand, saying that he hoped

I was not angry with him. I could not recognize him as an offender, and I asked his name. His name was "Soleiman"; would I let him be my son? he then asked. I agreed, although I was only seven years his senior. Even my prejudice did not prevent me from seeing that he had a pleasant face, and I could not keep my scowl when he asked my name. *Hunt* he declared to be no name, and *Holman* he regarded as but very little better—but *William*, pronounced *Wullaum*, he found very good; this thawed me entirely. When we got to *Wady Zuara Tahta* would I take him alone with me across the plain to the sea, to where I should do my drawing each day? he asked. And it was agreed. I was glad to practise Arabic with him, and a little onward I dismounted to fire my double barrel and my revolver at chance marks for the unavowed object of edifying the company. Farther on, when riding with the sea down below in front of us, I asked whether he knew why it was called "*Bahr Lut*." He looked ignorant, and asked, "Why was it, *ya Wullaum*?" and I told him the story of the destruction of the four cities of the plain, of the escape of *Lot* and his daughters, and the death of the wife, with the appeal of *Lot* that *Zoar* should be spared because it was *Zoriah* (small). He knew of no ruins about—*De Saulcy* had declared the discovery of such—except the dilapidated castle in the *wady* to which we were going. Except for a few acacia-trees, growing in the dry course of the storm stream which we were following, there was no sign of vegetation anywhere. The uplands were gradually declining before us. To the left we saw only ranged ridges bordering the course of ravines descending to the bed of the sea. To the right there were other heights with openings through which we could see towards *Wady Akabah*. In front was the deep *ghor*, with the bluest of lakes in the hollow, and beyond the amethystine mountains of *Moab* in the afternoon sun. I was too much occupied with the scene to talk. We came rather abruptly to the brink where the two torrent beds divided, leaving a high rock, on which was built the castle, apparently of Middle Age work; it had, as I had seen at *Masada*, painted signs of the zodiac decorating its walls; these seemed recent. It was at the foot of this uninhabitable castle that I was to live with my troop. I went down first. While the party were coming down the very slippery and steep pathway and taking possession, I was making my plans with *Soleiman*. And we soon set off, taking the picture case mounted on a donkey to the place of work, I counting upon getting first records of the sunset on the spot. We took with us also the white goat. All our party were busy setting up the tent.

Not a sign of humanity was before us, glance where we would over the extensive plain and mountains. Getting out of the defile, we turned slightly to the right to reach the spur of *Usdum*, about one

mile and a half away; a furlong beyond that point I made my way to the margin of the sea, soon leaving my man to stay with the ass. I strode about the hard standing ground to find the best site; wandering afar on the salt shallows, I made a jump over some wetted strand to a firm-looking piece of drift. It proved unsound, however. I found myself sinking in the mire, and my next step betrayed me lower still. As I struggled, a favourite story heard in my childhood, of my mother's cousin, who had seen the veritable pillar of salt into which Lot's wife had been turned, came into my mind. It told how in escaping from some terrible danger he had nearly got swallowed up in a slime pit. I threw myself down to grasp with my arms a firm support, and this quickly enabled me to reach a solid ridge again. Having determined against certain spots, I now had only to choose between one or two which I had kept in reserve, and to study the goat's manner of walking over the insecure ground, noting the while the tone he assumed. I then planted my case in its place, uncovered the canvas, and tried the composition, noting the relative turns of all the component parts. Soleiman, when unemployed, nearly destroyed my gravity by sitting down exactly in front of me, in utter bewilderment, staring intently into my face.

In an hour I was steadily at work; my man kept repeating the inquiry whether I had finished, but I could not talk. Every minute the mountains became more gorgeous and solemn—the whole scene more unlike anything ever portrayed before. Afar all seemed of the brilliancy and preciousness of jewels, while close by all of this was salt and burnt limestone, with decayed trees and broken branches brought from far distant lands, from roots still perhaps growing on the banks of the rivers which in the winter flood the lake. Skeletons, too, of animals, which had perished for the most part in crossing the Jordan and the Jabbok, had been swept here and lay salt-covered, so that birds and beasts of prey left them untouched. It was a most appropriate scene for the subject, and each minute I rejoiced more in my work. While thus absorbed Soleiman shook my arm and said, "Ya Abbi, fe el magrib" (My father, the sunset has come); and then he grew quite out of patience, and added: "In the dark how can we escape danger? In the light I can detect men from afar, but when the sun has gone, as we go home, I can't see if they hide behind trees to shoot us, and it is being known that they fear most." My reply was: "My son, be obedient and patient till I have done my work; the fear of robbers and murderers won't make me leave it. Keep silent until I am ready, and then I will tell you, and we will hurry back to the tent."

When the stars were beginning to appear, I removed the caution to silence from the head of my son, who was almost in desperation by this time. I tied up the umbrella and shut up the painting and

my paint-box, while Soleiman led up the donkey. We then together balanced the case on the creature's back, and with a rope, ready placed, secured it in due balance; thus acquitted of preparation duty, we trudged back, not without trace of ill-humour in my companion. But an Arab soon forgets discontent if you tell him a tale, and by the time we got to the opening in the cliff we were the best of friends. Here one necessary precaution was to observe silence ourselves, and to prevent our donkey from braying as we approached nearer to the encampment. The last my *son* effected by a timely cuff, or sometimes by covering the creature's nostrils with his cloak.

When we had got so close that we could see the figures about the fires and hear the talking, Soleiman turned to me solemnly and whispered to me to take his *abbia*, and hold the ass's halter and immediately smother any cry that it might raise its head to make; when I was prepared, he went along crouching, and as he got forward I could just see him taking to hands and knees. There was a pause, during which the talking was more audible, and then I heard the salutation of the new-comer, the welcome, the inquiry, and at last the call to me that all was right. This reconnaissance was made to ascertain that the encampment had not been taken by a hostile force during our absence, in which case escape for ourselves by another way might have been possible. I was glad, on approaching, to see the Arabs with a fire, made by the root of a white tree-trunk which had been left by the torrent, and not less content to see my own fire with Nicola presiding over a savoury mess. Water had been drawn from a cistern near at hand, and, after ablutions, I was ready for meal, coffee, and pipe, which latter I indulged in on this journey quite as an exception.

When resting myself I was impressed by the solemn silence reigning around, broken only by the cries of night birds and of wild beasts dwelling in the upland caves. Before retiring to sleep, I sallied out with my gun to scale the nearer heights. The moon was still low, but bright, and, as I looked down on my home, the scene was the wildest that could be conceived. Salvator Rosa's retreat in the Abruzzi must have been tame in comparison. Down below, the illuminated tent stood at the foot of the high crag on which was perched the tower of the little castle; our fires flickered upon its walls, and faintly, on the cliffs to right and left; the moonlight touched into pearl and ebony the upper parts of the gorge which the fires did not colour. My impulse was to begin a drawing, but I might thus have hazarded the completion of my painting, and so I returned to the tent and slept notwithstanding the chattering of Soleiman, who was explaining the events of the day to his companions.

I regard the man who has not sojourned in a tent as one who has not thoroughly lived; it enables one, as nothing else does, to realize

the early stages of man's history, and to see what is his true relation to silent Nature; but that night the time soon came when the distance between me and my friends was removed. Sleep, if not death, can vanquish distance. I was again, with all of the old set, in England talking of plans and thoughts beloved of both. My dreams kept me with the brotherhood, but waking I held out my hands, as it seemed, while I was torn backwards across the dark sea and the lone hills, and I found myself at home again in the little tent pitched in the *wady*, where angry beasts still howled their wrath about me.

It was not yet daylight, but it was time to be up to make preparation for the day; so I enjoyed my ablutions, while the breakfast was being prepared and the donkey loaded, Soleiman making his arrangements to accompany me for the day.

Opposite, on my right, was a bluff of alluvial soil deposited evidently in successive drifts; we had noticed the same formation at the foot of Masada and along to Engeddi. Wherever it had been disturbed below by wind or water the particles above had fallen, so that the outer lines were all vertical; and yet particular strata stood out in horizontal projections or hollows, giving a singularly architectural look to the masses. Here, at a corner, the superincumbent pressure had hardened the centres of support and left intervening spaces loose, and these the winds had carried away, leaving a gallery with pillars holding up the heavy roof; so like to the manner of an Indian temple was it that it was difficult at first not to regard the structure as the work of man, and not at all difficult to conclude whence the Hindoos had derived their type of architecture. Many other geological wonders there were for my half-informed mind, which, not being of an artistic interest, I do not note here.

Soleiman and I again set out—it was soon after sunrise—to the place of work, meeting and seeing no one in all the great range before us day after day with two exceptions, to be told of later. Descending at the foot of the gorge into the deeper plain, it was curious that at a level like that of water, but perfectly unseen, recognized only by the breathing organs, we met with a thick atmosphere scenting of fir, juniper, pitch, and who knows what beside combined? Walking backwards and forwards it always was perceptible at the same level. Below were flies like house-flies, but dwarfish—so innumerable that on opening one's lips unguardedly to speak, as many as twenty would enter together; and when partridges offered themselves among the underwood for my *cuisine*, the creatures of Beelzebub that were disturbed by raising arms and gun were numerous enough to make the birds quite invisible at the critical moment. At first I apprehended great hindrance from these pests, but for some reason, never quite intelligible to me, no fly ever bothered me when once I was seated under my umbrella.

I had planned all my work so carefully the previous evening—marking in the shadows and noting the tints—that, although the effect was, till past the middle of the day, quite different, I was able—counting with certainty upon a cloudless sunset to correct all—to lay in my day's work boldly. But it was important, with the quickly drying paint, to complete every atom that I had undertaken, and to have time to spare to make necessary notes for the morrow. My son set down the leather water-bottle in the shade within reach, and wandered about—coming back at lunch-time, when we ate together of dried fruit and bread, and then I was free to talk. I scarcely ever left the spot, even for a few yards, knowing how precious time was, more so than was professed, for it was certain that my men, although engaged to stay longer than would be needful, would only with great tact and luck be kept quiet long. As the sun went down again Soleiman urged my departure, but I was unyielding. At dusk, when at last I gave the sign, and we lifted the case on to the ass's back, that animal proved to be full of fun; and when he found both our hands engaged he slipped out of the way, leaving us with our burden in the air. It was provoking to be thus treated more than once, and when at last the work had been done and my paint-box fixed on to the load, I felt the dews of evening suspiciously chilly. It was not a place to disregard such admonitions, and so I kept no restraint on my impulse, but, making my gun my partner, I waltzed about fifty or more yards onwards. When I halted, Soleiman seemed possessed of some terrible secret. I became concerned; he approached with arms uplifted, and, when close, threw them about my neck, saying: "Before, you were my father—henceforth let me be your brother. I had no idea you were so great; you dance like a derwish—are you one? Can you do it again?" "Yes, ya Ahooi," I said, and away I went a second and a third time—indeed, often on the way back till I had no more chill. We arrived at our cheerful home, and soon it became more gay, for during my dinner I could hear Soleiman recounting my exploits as a derwish, and there were frequent yells of delight. When my coffee was brought, Nicola told me that the Arabs desired to have an interview with me, and I invited them at once. Sitting down at the door, with the customary salutations done, and after I had given them tobacco, the elder repeated what Soleiman had said, and then asked me if I would do them the favour to come out and dance. I felt obliged to decline, pointing out, however, that if any wished to see me dance they might come down the next evening at sunset; but they pleaded that the tent could not be left without danger, and I could see they retired greatly disappointed.

Some of these men were of the most perfect intellectual appearance. Some had heads in form quite worthy of Melancthon or Lord Bacon; but, after careful personal watch and inquiry of Nicola, I found

that the only manner in which they had exhibited superior intelligence, during their fortnight's stay with us, was in stealing the sugar out of our canteen.

The next day my *brother* was full of excitement about the simple event of last evening. "Ya Wullaum," he said, "the sheik has no son. I am his nephew, and on his death I am to be sheik. Let Nicola go back to Jerusalem; he is not good; we don't want him; but you stay with us always. The sheik has a daughter of right age; you shall marry her, and you shall be sheik before me. You shall lead us in our raids and battles, and when we are in peace and encamped you shall be our derwish and dance to us. We have arranged it, and so let it be." I wished to avoid wounding the good man's feelings, and my reply was: "My brother, I have a father and a mother in *Bellud Inglese*, and I have promised them, if God wills, that I will return and take the picture of this place with me. How can I make their hearts sad by staying here?" "But," he returned, "you can make the paper speak; write to say that we want you to be our sheik, and let Nicola take the picture to England—he is not good." While I still combated his arguments, feeling, perhaps, that by giving me time to think over the proposal my obstinacy would give way, he inquired where I was born, and then what was London—was it a mountain or a plain? In return to my explanation he started, saying, "Not a city—not like Jerusalem, with walls and gates and shops? Never, ya Ahooi, I will never believe that you are a *belladi*—a citizen—never! I know you are an English *bedawee*, and you were born in a tent." I lost considerably in his estimation by refusing this honourable origin. I think he disbelieved me, for he still harped upon his project. All his stately proposals, with prospect of overcoming neighbouring tribes, dislodging the Turks from Judea, restoring the Jews to their long-lost kingdom, and general settlement of the Eastern Question, would have been tempting even to a peaceful P.R.B., but I saw two terrible marplots in the way of the romance—one in Napoléon III., the other in the English Foreign Minister—so I slept in peace, leaving the work of bringing back the Jews to some one more equal to the task of establishing the Kingdom of Peace without violence.

Next day, to my surprise, I beheld a man in the shallows scraping up salt, and he astonished me further when he calmly maintained that he had an established right to take it from the spot; but we persuaded him to accept a few piastres and go elsewhere, which he did quietly, and without further consequences—we never saw him again.

My man entertained me with a story of how, with a Frank traveller at Petra, at a critical moment, when the Arabs there were about to rob and maltreat him, he, my *brother*, had arrived and

rescued him, using his drawn sword very freely, and so saved the Khowagha's life. It was told with great storm and fury of action ; and as the Edomites have a very bad character, and are not a bit ashamed of it, it was a pleasure to be assured that for once some of them had been punished.

Day after day thus went on, one much like another, but when Sunday arrived I was in doubt whether I would work. It would have been a delight to have a holiday, to read David's early psalms in the wilderness of his refuge, to go searching among the valleys and hills to recreate my soul ; but our provisions were getting low, the lazy Arabs would not, although I gave them gunpowder, go out to shoot game, and there was clear prospect therefore of coming to a speedy termination of my stay here ; so I concluded that it was my duty to work. In about nine days I began to be poorly, partly perhaps through the food. The doctor had provided me with medicine against fever, but not against other ills. I could not leave off work, and must eat what there was. I determined, therefore, to rely upon a small wine-glassful of *arak*, the only strong drink we had ; I took it with hot water when in bed, and slept so soundly that the goat came in and overturned everything for food without waking me, and in the morning I was quite well.

Soon now the mountains, the sea, and the middle distance on my canvas were completed, and I was beginning to feel more indifferent to the grumblings of the men. We had procured, with my last coins, chopped straw and other food for the animals, and rice for ourselves, from a village towards Petra. I was gradually working down to the salt foreground, and one afternoon when Soleiman was away I was pondering on the present state of desolation of "the way of the sea," when my brother appeared, looking more impressive than usual. He crouched down beside me, put his hand out to the cliffs towards Masada, and uttered the portentous words : "There are robbers, they are coming this way—one, two, three, on horseback, and two—wait, three—yes, four on foot. They have not yet seen us, and soon they will be behind Urdum, and we shall be able safely to move. You must put down your umbrella ; shut up your picture, cover it with stones. They will not be here for an hour. We will go up in the mountain ; they will keep along the road at the foot. We will come back to the picture when they have gone by." I could see the party very far away. I asked, how did he know they were robbers ? "They are always robbers when the others are feeble ; it would be useless for us to resist. Quick," he said. "Perhaps they belong to a friendly tribe." "They do not," he groaned, "Oh, come." "No !" I said, "I shall stay at my work." He implored me to listen, and finally stamped, saying "Your blood be on your own head ; as for me, I shall go to the mountain and hide myself." As he went away

he turned two or three times, and again appealed to me, like a man at his wits' end. "Why stay? What do you trust in?" I replied unaffectedly that mine was a good work, that Allah would help me, and that I was content to accept whatever might be the issue. And so I saw him run to the break in the mountain near, and with the ass climb up its roughness, and disappear like one fearful of trusting to further second purpose.

I tried not to paint the less firmly or effectively, in having need to turn my head occasionally to watch the progress of the "Deeshman." Before they had quite been cut off from observation by the intervening side of Usdum I could see, what I at first doubted, the correctness of Soleiman's counting. When they were hidden there was a long silence. My *brother* made no sign, and there was nothing to do but to progress with my work as well as possible. As the time wore away I was anxious for the *dénouement*, and I was glad to be able at last to decide that it was beyond fancy that I could hear the Arabs—the horses' and the men's footsteps among the shingle. I suspended my painting, and looked from beneath my umbrella, until suddenly they emerged within five hundred feet of me; they all halted and pointed to me. The horsemen had their faces covered with *kufeyiahs* and carried long spears; and the footmen had guns, swords, or clubs. They stood there some two minutes, and then turned out of the beaten way direct to me, clattering among the large and loose smaller stones at a measured pace. I continued placidly conveying my paint from palette to canvas, steadying my touch by resting the hand on the double-barrelled gun. I knew that my whole chance depended upon the exhibition of utter unconcern, and I continued quietly, as though my studio had been of the commonest sort.

Suddenly the whole party drew up, the leader thundered out, "Give me some water." I turned and looked at him from head to his horse's feet, and then very deliberately at the others, and resumed my task without saying a word. And then again he spoke, "Do you hear? Give us some water." After turning to him once more, with a little pause, extending my right hand on my breast, I said, "I am an Englishman; you are an Arab. Englishmen are not the servants of Arabs; they take Arabs for servants. You are thirsty—it is hot. The water is there—I will out of my kindness let you have some, but you must help one another; I have something else to do," and I turned again quietly to work. They muttered together in conclave. Presently the leader again spoke. "Are you here all alone?" "No," I said, "I have Arabs of the tribe of Aboudaouk waiting upon me." "Where are they?" "Well, some are with my tent and animals in the Wady Zuara, but one comes with me to stay all day." They looked about while they handed the bottle from one to another

and drank. And then again the speaker said, "We should see him were he here." "But," I said, "he saw you coming when you were at a distance, and, being afraid, he went to the mountain to hide himself." At which my questioner said, "Call him." I looked at him very gravely, and said in a convincing tone, "But I don't want him." The reply was, "We want him." "Well," I added, "then you call him; his name is *Soleiman*." After a little discussion, the strangers seemed to see reason in the argument; and the plain echoed with the name—familiar to Arabs as that of the imperial wizard over Nature—but no response came. "There," they said; "there is no one, or he would answer." My explanation was that I had before said he was afraid, that they best knew what, under such circumstances, it was needful to speak, and accordingly the name was again shouted, with solemn pledges of amity. Presently a voice was heard with demands for further assurances of safety, and then my *brother* stood up from behind a rock, and gradually he came down, bringing the donkey back with him. He advanced direct to the men with salutations, and he kissed the leader and the others; and they returned the kiss, and began to talk, each stating his tribe. When the ceremony was over, the horsemen dismounted; they formed a circle, they lit pipes, and sat down to talk.

To the first questions put, I heard *Soleiman* reply that the tent was guarded by one hundred of his tribe, some of whom were always coming down to us; that I had bargained with the sheik to stay a month or two; that I had been on the spot twelve days; and what I did on arriving. "What does he come here for?" was asked. "He comes," said *Soleiman*, "each day from the tent at sunrise, and stays till sunset writing on that paper with his coloured inks taken out of those bottles." "Ah!" was muttered, "why doesn't he stay in England, and leave our country to us?" "Who can say," returned my *brother*, "why *frangis* do what they do?" "True," said the speaker; "has he any arms?" "That which he holds in his hand," said my *brother*, "is a gun with two souls, and I have seen him shoot large and small lead with it. But under his coat he has a pistol, which will shoot, not twice only, but as many times as he likes without reloading, for when I have asked whether it would fire again he has gone on to five, and then put it away; and I knew it would still shoot." "But why did he stay here when you went?" "He said that he trusted in Allah." Then came the muttering of some of the attributes. "Does he ever talk?" "While he writes he will not talk, but when coming here, eating, and going home, his words are many." "What does he say?" "Many things; he told me why this sea is called *Bahr Lut*." "Tell us;" and *Soleiman* commenced giving my history of the wickedness of the people of the four cities of the plain, of God's wrath, of the visit of the three

angels to Ibrahim at Mamre, of his pleadings, of the reception of two by Lut, of the flight, the death of the wife, and of the overthrow by fire of the four cities, so that no man knew where they had been, and of the escape to Zoar. The history was much embellished by the rich Arabic of the narrator. After a pause he went on to describe my dancing, until it was evident the strangers had many weighty problems to resolve.

For a time there was no sound but that of smoking. Silence was broken by a new speaker, who said, in a smothered voice, "I want to talk;" and his fellows invited him to do so. His address was thus:—"The Khowagha is a magician; he has books in his own country, like other Franks, which tell him all things. He has learnt about the four cities; they were of course magnificent towns, full of silver and gold, and riches of all sorts. He came before with his two friends to look; they could not find the places of the cities; they knew that we Arabs would not let them search and dig, and so he returns once more with a large paper, and on it he writes, as Soleiman says, the sky, the mountains, the plain, the sea, and even the salt. He had the white goat led over the ground to charm it; when done, he will take the paper to England. And with a sponge he will wipe out the coloured inks, and at the bottom he will find the four cities, wherever they were, and he will become possessed of all their riches." The suspended breathings were resumed with a groan. "It must be so," all said. Then came questions as to my further stay. I had not said a word yet to Soleiman of my leaving before the stipulated term; and what he said was of a kind to make them think I should stay, however hurried, another week or more. Very low conferences ensued, until at last it was resolved to leave me. They had some calculations in their head, but I still went on with my work as though I had no thought of them.

W. HOLMAN HUNT.

(To be continued next month.)

AFRICA AND THE DRINK TRADE.

AFRICA has been the last of the great continents to disclose its secrets to the pioneers of civilization ; but in this century, and especially in the last sixty years, it has done so in all its regions. A host of travellers—starting from Egypt, or from the Cape, or from Zanzibar, or from St. Paul de Loanda—have traversed its breadth, and penetrated far into its interior. Its vast waterways and inland lakes have been explored. The basins of the Niger, the Congo, and the Zambesi have been opened to commerce ; and the Nile, for the first time since man was, has been traced to its hidden fountains. Many have cherished high hopes that now, at last, might be addressed to the Dark Continent the words—“ Arise, shine ; for thy light is come.”

Nothing can be loftier than the ideal of Christianity ; nothing more beautiful than the aspirations of that love for man which Christianity inspires. Might not everything which was blessed and hopeful be anticipated from the combined influences of civilization and the Gospel ? Had not England learnt, by fatal experience, how easy it is to commit irreparable crimes against the helpless childhood of the world ? Had not primeval races perished before the advancing footsteps of her sons, like the line of snow when the sunlight reaches it ? Might not many tribes and nations be enumerated which, in the last two centuries, have either ceased to exist, or have withered into despair and decrepitude, simply from having been brought into contact with the vices and diseases of European races, and from having found those vices and diseases to be agents of destruction far more potent than could be counteracted by any advance in intellectual or spiritual knowledge ? Is it not strictly true that the footsteps of the Aryan man, as he has traversed the globe in his path of commerce

and conquest, have been footsteps dyed in blood? And might it not be anticipated that—in the nineteenth century at least—we have become humane and noble enough to have profited by the disastrous lesson?

There was a further reason why we might have felt high hopes for the future of the African tribes in particular. Africa has been the chosen field for the exertions of the Christian and the philanthropist. Some of our noblest explorers have been animated to their heroic efforts—not by the desire for fame, not by the enthusiasm of discovery—but by motives of the purest pity. It was the aim alike of General Gordon in the Soudan, and of David Livingstone in Central Africa, to put an end to the iniquities of the slave trade. In the centre of the nave of Westminster Abbey is the grave in which lie the remains of David Livingstone—carried by his faithful blacks during an eight months' journey to the coast, and identified in England by the marks of the lion's claws upon his arm. That grave attracts universal attention; and on it are inscribed the last words he wrote in his diary, before he closed his eyes—with none but black faces round him—in his humble hut at Chetamba's village, Ulala. They are: "All I can add, in my solitude, is: May Heaven's rich blessing come down on every one—American, English, or Turk—who will help to heal this open sore of the world." That open sore was the slave trade. And under those words is the text: "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice."

We are proud—and justly proud—of the integrity and generosity of our fathers in abolishing the slave trade, and in being willing to pay £20,000,000 for enfranchising the slave. In all our 800 years of history there are on our Statute-book no nobler acts than these. No Englishman refers to them without a glow of pardonable satisfaction; and among foreign writers they are the theme of unmingled eulogy. The men who toiled and suffered in the cause of the slave are rewarded with cenotaphs in our national Valhalla. There we read how Zachary Macaulay, "during a protracted life—with an intense but quiet perseverance, which no success could relax, no reverse could subdue, no toil, privations, or reproach could daunt—devoted his time, talents, fortune, and all the energies of his mind and body, to the service of the most injured and helpless of mankind;" and how Granville Sharp, "founding public happiness on public virtue, desired to raise his native country from the guilt and inconsistency of employing the arm of Freedom to rivet the fetters of Bondage, and established for the negro race the long-disputed rights of human nature." It is added that, in this glorious work, "having triumphed over the combined resistance of Interest, Prejudice, and Pride, he took his post among the foremost of the honourable band associated to deliver Africa from the rapacity of Europe." *

Can it be believed that we, the sons of the generation which achieved these noble ends, and made these worthy sacrifices, have been so little true to their memory as to inflict on this unhappy continent a curse far deadlier than that which our fathers successfully laboured to remove? Such, if we may trust the most abundant and the most varied evidence, is the plain fact in all its naked ugliness. If those who are animated by the enthusiasm of humanity have ventured to believe that, taught by past experience, we should make our presence in Africa at any rate, an unmitigated blessing, those hopes have been cruelly and shamefully blighted. The old rapacity of the slave trade has been followed by the greedier and more ruinous rapacity of the drink-seller. Our fathers tore from the neck of Africa a yoke of whips; we have have subjected the native races to a yoke of scorpions. Our fathers conferred on that vast and hapless continent a most precious boon; we have more than neutralized the boon by the wholesale introduction of an intolerable bane. We have opened the rivers of Africa to commerce, only to pour down them that "raging Phlegethon of alcohol," than which no river of the Inferno is more blood-red or more accursed. Is the conscience of the nation dead? If not, will no voice be raised of sufficient power to awaken it from a heavy sleep? Chatham called upon the Bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn, and the Judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to prevent the atrocity of a nation availing itself of the tomahawk of savages. Are there none of sufficient authority now to wield the mighty engine of the moral sense against "the devil's work which is being done by the conscienceless greed of the drink traders," and to storm that Quadrilateral which, as the *Echo* rightly said the other day, is fortified by the fourfold combination of ignorance, habit, appetite, and interest?

Many years ago, in Mr. Ruskin's house at Denmark Hill, I was sitting at lunch opposite to Turner's magnificent and awful picture of the slave-ship. I could think of nothing else, as I gazed spellbound at those waves incarnadined with sunset and horrible with the scene of murder. And as I was trying to take in the full awfulness of the moral protest which the picture embodied, "Yes," said Mr. Ruskin, "that is Turner's sermon against the slave trade." Is no artist great enough, or deeply-moved enough, to preach such a sermon against the worse, because more plausible, more seductive, more creeping, and more destroying shamefulness of the drink traffic, which inevitably involves not only the demoralization, but even the sure if slow extinction of native races? At any rate, those who read the evidence here adduced are bound to refute it, or if this cannot be done—as indeed it cannot—to admit that, unless *immediate* steps be taken to undo the mischief which our carelessness and our prejudices and our

sacrifice to the mean doctrines of political expediency have caused, we shall stand wholly inexcusable before God and before mankind.

The results of the drink trade under its present conditions are horrifying enough and sickening enough at home. In the limits of one London parish, little exceeding 4,000 souls, I have personally witnessed how, from year to year, drink is the cause of assault, of burglary, of prostitution, of incest, of suicide, of horrible cruelties, of children dying like flies, of the beating of aged women by their own drunken sons, of the trampling and maiming of wives by the loathly ruffians whom they call their husbands, but whom drink maddens into fiends; of well-nigh every crime on the dark list of the calendar except the direct shedding of blood, and even of that, except that the poor miserable victims "die so slowly that none call it murder." All this, in the most literal sense, I have seen going on at our doors, under the very shadow of the Abbey, and within bow-shot of our great Houses of Legislature. And when I look from the narrow limits of one drink-afflicted parish—in which yet the temperance agencies are exceptionally active, though unavailing, against the temptation of glaring public-houses in every street—when I look over the world from China to Peru, I find *everywhere* the hideous evidences of the curse caused by drink. It causes tens of thousands of premature deaths; it is the most prolific parent of all kinds of disease; it is the commonest cause of fatal accidents; it yearly produces a widespread infant mortality; to it is due the most abject and the most degraded pauperism. In the words of the late Duke of Albany, it is "the only deadly enemy England has to fear." It is the curse of the poorest; the curse of the most miserable of our youths; the curse of every home of which it takes hold; the curse of our young colonists all over the globe; the curse of every nation and race with which we come in contact; the curse of universal Christendom; the curse which more powerfully than any other impedes the progress of Christianity; the curse which dogs from land to land and from clime to clime the course of European civilization. The reiterated proofs of these facts are patent for every one to see. We do not invent them; we only point to them. No one can escape from his share in the responsibility for this bad state of things, by the cheap, stale, and irrelevant assertion that "temperance reformers use such intemperate language;" for we refer them, not to anything which we have said, but to the neutral annals of the past, to the careful pages of contemporary history, to the colourless records of justice, to the statistical testimony of unbiassed and official witnesses, to the Blue Books of the Legislature, to the Reports of Convocation, to the narratives of all classes of travellers, to the often unwilling admissions of traders and physicians. And yet, in spite of all this black and damning evidence,

the conscience of men of the world, the conscience even of professing Christians, is not only callous, but hard as the nether millstone to the guilt and national disgrace which these facts involve.

The idle, the indifferent, and the interested seem to think that God can be mocked by decrepit jests and immoral sophisms. When one hears such gibes repeated for the millionth time, one feels induced to cry with Cowper—

“ Well spoken, advocate of sin and shame,
Known by thy bleating, Ignorance thy name ! ”

Those who care nothing for the anguish of mankind, groaning under a curse which Mr. Gladstone, in full House of Commons, described as “ more deadly, because more continuous, than the three great historic scourges of war, famine, and pestilence combined,” think it sufficient to say, “ Because thou art virtuous shall there be no more cakes and ale ? ” They forget that Shakespeare puts that question into the mouth of the most despicable of his sots, and that, as in his *Cassio* he shows us how drink can ruin a noble mind, so in his *Caliban* he prefigures with prophetic insight the demoralization by drink of the lowest races. Have we no fear lest some even of these, if we suffer them to recover from their drunkenness, should exclaim of our representatives—

“ What a thrice-double ass
Was I, to take this drunkard for a god
And worship this dull fool ! ”

Thus much I could hardly help saying on the general topic ; but my immediate subject is not the curse of the drink trade in general, though it seems to me one of the worst proofs of our national degeneracy that no effectual steps are taken to restrict it, and that, so far, against a spurious liberty and base vested interests, righteousness and compassion and morality have lifted up their voice in vain. It is my narrower object to point out the effects of the drink trade in one single continent. *Ex uno disce omnes*. What is said of Africa might be said with equal truth of many a tribe and nation all over the world—of Hindostan, of Burmah, of Ceylon, of parts of China to which we have access ; of the North American Indians, of the Maoris of New Zealand, of the aborigines of many lands. It is a tremendous indictment, which it would be a guilt to bring if it could not be substantiated, and which it would be a sin not to bring if it can. Christ flung the offender against the innocence of his little ones, with a millstone round his neck, into the sea. Does He care for individuals, and does He care nothing for demoralized and perishing nations ? Does He care for the few, and is He indifferent to the criminal destruction of many, committed for the sake of gain ? Is there to be so awful a sentence against separate offenders, and none upon the guilt of empires ? Is it worth no more solemn consideration

than such as may be involved in the venting of a platitude, or the reiteration of a jeer, that we have put the stumbling-block of our iniquity before the face of God's little ones over all the world?

The evidence which I shall adduce only exists in various scattered Blue Books, pamphlets, and newspapers, and I summarize it here in the hope that thus it may arrest a more widespread notice. It has been gathered by our missionaries and travellers; and the noble zeal of our great temperance societies has done its utmost to make known the facts. There are some who are ill-informed enough to sneer at the action of those who are called "Temperance Reformers;" but it is enough to quote respecting them the single evidence of Lord Shaftesbury, who, with all the weight of his vast experience, said that "but for temperance associations we should be immersed in such an ocean of immorality, violence, and sin, as would make this country uninhabitable."

That the drink traffic is becoming to Africa a deadlier evil than the slave trade is a statement which may startle some readers, yet it is most certain. It is deadlier in its incidence, and wider in the area of its perniciousness. No one will dream of regarding Sir Richard Burton as a temperance fanatic, yet in his book on "Abbeokuta," after speaking of the ravages wrought by rum and war, he adds:

"It is my sincere belief that *if the slave trade were revived with all its horrors, and Africa could get rid of the white man with the gunpowder and rum which he has introduced, Africa would be a gainer in happiness by the exchange.*"

And here is the testimony of an extremely able native gentleman, from whom I shall make several quotations—the Hon. the Rev. James Johnson, the native pastor of the island of Lagos.* In an eloquent speech, at the memorable meeting held on March 30 at Prince's Hall, he said: "I may perhaps be allowed to refer to the work of emancipation. Many hundreds and thousands of slaves were set free, giving joy and pleasure to many a heart. The work, however, in which your interest is now being solicited is a far greater work than that. (Cheers.)* I say greater, because *the work of the past was to deliver the body of the slave from the grip of the slave-dealer, but the work we have to do now is to deliver the mind, the body, the soul, the spirit of the native race from the power of the great European traders.* The work we are now trying to do affects all the races of the world, and I should like to see, as the outcome of this meeting, a strong movement for the suppression of this traffic among native races. I represent here to-night Africa—a country with a population of over two hundred millions. This country, so large, with a people so numerous, *lies at the mercy of the traders of Europe, who are flooding it with drink.*"

* Mr. Johnson came to England as the representative of the Christian natives of Lagos, to plead their cause before Parliament. Lagos is a small island on the West Coast of Africa, and the key to the Yoruba country. It has a population of 75,000 souls.

And again, before a meeting of members of the House of Commons in the committee-room on April 1, 1887, he ended his speech by saying :

"The slave trade had been to Africa a great evil, but the evils of the rum trade were far worse. He would rather his countrymen were in slavery and being worked hard, and kept away from the drink, than that the drink should be let loose upon them."

And here is the verdict of an able and well-known American newspaper, the *New York Tribune* of July 18, 1881, upon the ruin and demoralization which our drink trade is causing :

Perhaps the most striking and in every way shocking case cited by Mr. Hornaday is that of the native chief whose clear sight and patriotic spirit led him to banish rum from his territory, and whose protective measures were made futile by the manœuvres of a scoundrelly English trader who smuggled the liquor into the country. Think of the monstrous hypocrisy of so-called Christian nations, vaunting themselves on their enlightened civilization, pretending a desire that the Gospel should be carried to all peoples, and then invading the Dark Continent armed with the rum bottle, and in cold blood debauching and ruining its people. On the one hand are the missionaries. On the other hand is the rum of Christendon. Free rum against a free Gospel! It is to be feared that Mr. Hornaday is right in prophesying the success of the former. But what this letter shows most clearly is that unless the moral forces of England, America, Germany, and Holland are organized and applied to put an end to the outrageous and abominable state of things on the Congo, a few years will suffice to rot the heart out of the Africans, and their further development will be made impossible. What is being done out there in the name of commerce is a world-crime of a character so colossal, of an immorality so shameless and profound, that if it could be regarded as a type and illustration of nineteenth century civilization, it would be necessary to denounce that civilization as a horrible sham and a conspicuous failure."

And once more, Mr. Joseph Thomson, F.R.G.S., the well-known African traveller, said in an address before the Manchester Geographical Society :

"The notorious gin trade is a scandal and a shame, well worthy to be classed with the detested slave trade. We talk of civilizing the negro, and we pour into his unhappy country an incredible quantity of gin, rum, and gunpowder."

"The trade in this baleful article (spirit) is enormous. The appetite for it increases out of all proportion to the desire for better things, and, to our shame be it said, we are ever ready to supply the victims to the utmost, driving them deeper and deeper into the slough of depravity, ruining their body and soul. The time has surely come when, in the interests of our national honour, more energetic efforts should be made to suppress the diabolical traffic. There can be no excuse for its continuance, and it is a blot on Christian civilization."

I will now show what we are doing in Africa, north and south and east and west; and will then briefly comment upon it.

1. Of Northern Africa I shall say but little. Mahomedanism is strong there; yet we have the terrible testimony of Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., to the harm done in Egypt by the drink supplied to English troops. and by European capitulations. He said at Prince's Hall :

"The native races of Egypt are being demoralized. We did not originally take the drink there. I have no doubt it was there before our occupation, and before we undertook the joint government with France; *but it has terribly increased since then.* 20,000 troops were sent there, who gave a great stimulus to the drink business. Nearly all the conspicuous public-houses in Egypt bear English signboards: 'The Duke of Edinburgh,' 'Queen Victoria,' 'Peace and Plenty,' 'The Union Jack,' &c. All the great public-houses are branded with English names. They do not alone sell liquor, but deal in even a more disgraceful vice than that. Each of these public-houses is a centre of vice and iniquity of the deepest dye. I made careful inquiry as to what was the effect upon the native races of Egypt in consequence of the sale of intoxicating liquors in Egypt. I find that wherever our army had gone up the Nile the liquor trade had followed it; *that when they had left the stations where the public-houses were established, the public-houses remained.* Where there had been five or six of these flaunting public-houses which never existed before, there they still remained after the soldiers had gone. *Who buys the liquor now? Why, the natives, whom, I am sorry to say, the British soldier has largely taught to drink.* It is the commonest thing in the world for the British soldier to treat his donkey boys to intoxicating liquor. I rode on a good many donkeys, and became acquainted with the boys in charge of them, and found that the demoralizing influence of the British tourists on these boys was something terrible. *Wherever the Englishman comes in contact with the natives he drags them down through intoxicating liquors.* I went to a temperance meeting—the only temperance meeting held in Cairo—except those in the barracks for the soldiers. That meeting was a large one, 300 or 400 people being present. Every one of the speakers were natives of Egypt, and speeches were made in Arabic, which I am sorry to say I do not understand, but I had a good interpreter. *Nearly every speech was in denunciation of Englishmen, Levantines, and Europeans, and Christians in particular, for bringing this accursed drink to them.* They were urging Mahomedans, whose religion forbids them to drink, to sign the pledge, as we do here. That alone is evidence of the truth of what I am saying. I was moved on this subject, and went to see the Khedive about it. I found him an enlightened, philanthropic man, sincerely anxious for the welfare and happiness of his people. He said that he had viewed with grief and shame the increase of public-houses in Cairo and Egypt since the British army of occupation came. I asked him what he would like to do. He said he should like to prohibit the sale altogether. He was a prohibitionist. His religion told him to be so; it was an article of his creed. He said, 'I am powerless.' I said, 'Why?' He replied, 'There are capitulations or agreements which have been entered into between the Turkish Government and other Powers for the protection of European traders, and under these capitulations this liquor is forced upon them to sell without control, and so cheap, that you would hardly credit me if I gave you the price.' They import cheap spirits from Hamburg with a duty of 9 per cent.; and you can get drunk for 2½d., and some of the natives for less. If I had one thing made more clear than another by social reformers in Egypt, it was this fact, that a native once beginning the drink becomes a drunkard almost immediately, and nothing brings him back."

In Egypt and the Soudan the prohibition of drink by their prophet has been a powerful deterrent, but it has been as ineffectual as the warnings of Scripture to save dark races from a temptation which, though to them it is absolutely fatal, is deliberately thrust upon them by the representatives of a higher and a Christian civilization.

2. In Southern Africa our drink has done a yet more deadly work.

Mr. J. A. Froude has told us that, at the beginning of this century, the Kaffirs and Hottentots were strong and flourishing peoples; now they are decimated, degraded, and perishing by drink. This testimony is amply supported. Of the Kaffir, Mr. Wheelwright, of Newlands, Cape Town, says:

"Especially amongst the raw Kaffirs there prevails a habit of spirit-drinking (Congo brandy, Cape smoke, Natal rum, and like abominations), and as the cheap and vile compounds, concocted for their peculiar benefit (?), are under no restrictions as to a tariff of bonding, they are supplied to the unhappy native reeking with fusel oil, and, especially in the Diamond Fields, *create a mortality which would be appalling if the figures were attainable.*" *

Mr. N. de Jersey Noel, of Kimberley, says that "the natives largely succumb to drink when it is put in their way. The natives employed in our diamond mines are *terribly demoralized by drink.*"

Professor the Rev. N. J. Hofmeyer, of the Dutch Reformed Church, says: "traders of the lower sort have been, and still are, the means of *inflicting an unspeakable amount of misery upon the natives.* If they take to drinking brandy, the craving for it soon becomes uncontrollable. In a short time all their cattle are sold for the purpose of buying brandy; *they then become thieves, sinking to even deeper depths; lose health and strength, and miserably die. The drink traffic in South Africa means ruin and death to the natives.* In 1883 it was officially reported that *in two months 106 natives had been killed by brandy-drinking.* How many daily pine away and die under this curse all over South Africa, of which no human record is kept? What a day of retribution is awaiting the white man . . . except he repent and seek the good of *the race which he is now destroying for lucre's sake!*"

Three years ago the Cape Parliament appointed a Commission on the Liquor Traffic; and here are one or two items of the mass of evidence it received. Let the native kings and chiefs speak first.

Cetewayo, ex-king of Zulul: "Do you think it a good thing to allow the unrestricted sale of brandy?—It is a very bad thing, and would ruin the country."

Kaulelo and Fingoe headmen of Peddie say: "Stop the canteens; that is where our misfortunes come from."

W. S. Kama and his councillors say: "Our wives go to the canteens and drink. They will throw away their clothes and are naked. They are becoming lost to all sense of decency." The white man must stop from giving us brandy if he wishes to save us."

Petrus Mahonga and Sam Sigenu: "This brandy is destroying our nation."

Mankai Renga, a Tembu headman: "I think the people ought not to be allowed to purchase brandy at all. It is killing the people and destroying the whole country."

Umgudlwa, Mangele, Sandile, Vena, Sigidi, Sitonga, Ngcengana, Tembu headmen: "The canteen destroys the people."

Chief Dalasile's proposals: "8th. Dalasile also begs that the Government will strenuously prohibit the sales of brandy in his country."

Make and about sixty other headmen of Idutywa: "We do not wish to have

* See "British and Colonial Temperance Congress," London, 1886, p. 209.

canteens among us. A canteen ruins a man : brandy destroys our manhood. We say we are happy in this country because there are no canteens. . . . Brandy is a fearfully bad thing. We would become wild animals here if it were introduced. If we had brandy we should lose everything we possessed. I say, do not let brandy come into the country."

Umqueke said : "I am a brandy-drinker myself, but I know that what has been said is right. If brandy is introduced among us, we shall lose everything we have."

The Rev. J. A. Chalmers, of Graham's Town, summed up the opinion of the clergy when he said, "*If the people are to be saved at all, we must restrict the sale of intoxicants among them.*"

The Rev. Alan Gibson, a missionary of the S.P.G. in the Transkei, said, "The future of the Kaffir depends on drink being kept from them."

The Commission summed up its evidence in the words :

"The use of spirituous liquors is an unmitigated evil, and no other cause or influence . . . is so completely destructive, *not only of all progress and improvement, but even of the reasonable hope of any progress or improvement.*"

And Sir Charles Warren, speaking at Oxford on October 25, 1886, said :

"The blood of thousands of natives was at the present time crying up to Heaven against the British race ; and yet, from motives of expediency, we refused to take any action."

We are not *solely* responsible for this terrible state of things ; the Portuguese are probably much worse. But the results are described as follows by Dr. Clark :—

"On the south coast of Africa, too, the people were very demoralized. The traders would sell a bottle of gin for 6d. ; and *he had seen thousands of girls lying drunk around the traders' waggons.*"

The Basutos alone have partially liberated themselves from the infernal snare of our temptations. But no thanks are due to us. The deliverance has come from the vigorous temperance exertions of the chief, Paulus Mopeli, brother of their chief Moshesh.

3. Turning to *Eastern Africa*, we are faced by the tragic story of Madagascar—a story which the Rev. H.W. Little, once a missionary on the island, calls "without parallel for pathos and consuming interest in the history of the world." In 1800 the Malagasy were a nation of idolaters ; now, thanks in great measure to the London Missionary Society, they are a nation of Christians. They loved, they almost adored the English, who had done so much for them. Unhappily, however, Mauritius became a sugar-producing colony, and rum was made from the refuse of the sugar-mills. What was to be done with it ? It was not good enough for European markets, and Madagascar "was made the receptacle for the damaged spirit of the colony !" They received the curse in their simplicity, and it produced frightful havoc. "*The crime of the island rose in one short year by*

leaps and bounds to a height too fearful to record." The native Government was seized with consternation, and the able and courageous king, Radama I., paid the duty, and ordered every cask of rum to be staved in on the shore, except those that went to the Government stores. The merchants of Mauritius complained; *the English officials interfered; and from that day the "cursed stuff" has had free course, and deluged the land with misery and crime.* Radama's son, Radama II., a youth of great promise, became a helpless drunkard and a criminal maniac, and was assassinated, after a reign of nine months, by order of his own Privy Council. Drunkenness is considered a European fashion, and in spite of the grief of the native authorities, *"this crying injury to a perishing people remains undressed and unheeded by the most humane and Christian nation in the world.* The same story may be told, with very slight variation of detail, of all the native tribes on the east African seaboard. . . . Tempted by greed and avarice, white traders introduced the cheap rum of Mauritius. *Souls of men were bartered for money, and Africa is still being slowly but surely desolated by the foremost missionary nation in the world."**

4. Turning to *Western Africa* we have a flood of evidence of the ghastly ruin which we are causing by our drink trade.

The Rev. H. Waller makes the following remarks:—

"For generations the West Coast negro has been accustomed to see the ocean cast up *the powder-keg, the rum-cask, and the demijohn—these have been the shells of his strand.* Borne from Bristol, Liverpool, Hamburg, and Holland, they come rolling through the surf out of steamers and sailing vessels.

"The idea of drinking spirits is inseparable from the notion of European life in the ken of the native."

		Gallons.	value	£
Great Britain sent in 1884	.	602,328		117,143
Germany	"	7,136,263	"	713,634
Portugal	" 1882	91,524	"	6,166
America	" 1884-5	921,412	"	56,889
		8,751,527		£893,832

The Rev. Hugh Goldie, missionary for nearly forty years in Old Calabar, says that the missionaries everywhere found themselves preceded by the gin bottle, and that "half of the expense of the mission in money and life may be fairly charged to the account of the drink traffic; while it continues the Church cannot hope for the success at which she aimed."

Writing from Sierra Leone, Mr. Thomson says:

"To a man, the Krüboys have spent years in contact with such ameliorating influences as are to be found in those parts, yet their tastes have risen no higher than a desire for gin, tobacco, and gunpowder. These they get in

* "British and Colonial Temperance Congress," pp. 232-238.

return for a few months' or a year's labour, to go back home, and for a few short days enjoy a fiendish holiday. I visited one of their villages, and such a scene of squalor and misery I have rarely seen."

And again :

"In West Africa our influence for evil enormously counterbalances any little good we have produced by our contact with Africa."

And these are the grave and simple remarks of the distinguished native, the Rev. James Johnson :

"Now, to give you some idea of the amount of drink that is exported from this country to West Africa, I would just instance Lagos. Into this small island Europe exports every year an average of about 1,231,302 gallons of spirits. Out of that quantity 1,205,160 gallons are what are known in West Africa as 'trade rum' and 'trade gin.' The town of Lagos owns a population of 37,000, and in it there are fifty shops where liquors are dispensed to the 37,000 inhabitants. If we go to the Niger, there are about 250 miles of coast-line under British protection. On this coast-line the annual consumption of drink is estimated at about 60,000 hogsheads, each hogshead measuring 50 gallons. You have now an idea of the terrible flood of strong drink that is coming into Africa by the commerce of Europe. That would be sufficiently serious if the spirits sold to these people were sound good spirits, but it becomes a much more serious matter when you come to think of the quality of the stuff that is dispensed. The Government of Berlin convened a conference for the purpose of encouraging the extension of European commerce, and with it the drink traffic, throughout the length and breadth of Africa. I know of nothing that brings such a reproach upon Christianity and upon civilization as that. This conference of Christian Powers refused to stop that trade. What is the quality of the stuff they bring? It is the vilest manufacture under the sun. It is so bad—the 'trade rum' and 'trade gin'—that the lowest European trader on the coast would never drink it himself. It is so bad that in West Africa native painters have used it instead of turpentine. One kind they call 'death' itself, because every one who drinks it suffers most seriously; the other kinds are just as dangerous, as destructive, and as ruinous, only they do their work more slowly. It has a most injurious effect upon the people; it weakens the body, it debases the mind, it demoralizes the intellect, and it feeds the war element in the country. There has been no peace in Africa for centuries, but this drink traffic makes it worse. *Why should European proximity to Africa be Africa's ruin?* Negroes have proved themselves able to survive the evils of the slave trade, cruel as they were; but they show that they have no power whatever to withstand the terrible evils of drink. It renders the natural increase of population an impossibility. Imagine this kind of spirit being spread over the whole country. Surely you must see that the death of the negro race is simply a matter of time."

After such evidence, which I have been obliged greatly to curtail, no one can doubt that the drink trade is assailing Africa, to its utter destruction, from every quarter of the compass, and leaving everywhere its baleful mark, "as uniform as the movement of the planets, and as deadly as the sirocco of the desert." Ought we not, as Chatham did, to call upon all the ministers of religion, of every denomination, to perform a lustration, and purify their country from this stain? Or is it too late? and does the voice of Judgment say to us :

"Do not repent these things. A thousand knees,
Ten thousand years together, naked, fasting,
Upon a barren mountain, and still winter
In storm perpetual, could not move the gods
To look that way thou wert?"

And there are two considerations suggested by the subject to which I should like to draw special attention.

1. One is the aggravation of our national guilt in this matter by the fact that even these helpless races have yet found a voice to express their entreaty that they may be delivered from the alien curse inflicted by a contact which they did not seek, and which is destroying them. "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, and would not hear."

In 1883 the natives of the Diamond Fields implored the Cape Parliament to have public-houses removed from them for a distance of six miles, and *their petition was cruelly rejected*. The Blue Book of the Cape Commission abounds with their entreaties.

"There has broken out," says Mr. Waller, "not only in one or two, but in several densely populated tracts of Africa, an intense desire to shake off the drunkenness which has arisen as a consequence of contact with civilization."

King Maliké, the Mohammedan Emir of Nupé, invokes, in terms of touching simplicity, the aid of Bishop Crowther :

"It is not a long matter ; it is about *barasá* (rum or gin). *Barasá, barasá, barasá ; by God ! it has ruined our country ; it has ruined our people very much ; it has made our people become mad*. I have given a law that no one dares buy or sell it ; and any one who is found selling it, his house is to be eaten up (plundered) ; any one found drunk will be killed. I have told all the Christian traders that I agree to everything for trade except *barasá*. Tell Crowther, the great Christian minister, that he is our father. I beg you, Malam Kipo (Mr. Paul), don't forget this writing, because we all beg that *he (Crowther) should beg the great priests (Committee C. M. S.) that they should beg the English Queen to prevent bringing barasá into this land*.

"For God and the Prophet's sake ! For God, and the Prophet His messenger's sake, *he must help us in this matter—that of barasá !* We all have confidence in him. *He must not leave our country to become spoiled by barasá*. Tell him, may God bless him in his work. This is the mouth-word from Maliké, the Emir of Nupé."

"It is not only the teetotallers of Lagos," said Mr. Johnson in the Committee-room of the House of Commons, "it is the leaders of the people who are calling out."

"*Their kings and chiefs had endeavoured, by their own laws, to put a stop to the importation of this drink, yet they had no power over their people. Men and women and children all drink.*"

2. And the second consideration to which I would draw attention is, that the drink trade is, and will be, *increasingly fatal to every other branch of commerce*. The evidence is decisive that every other branch of trade will be sapped and blighted to feed the bloated fungus of hideous prosperity with which the drink trade flourishes.

"It was thought," said Mr. Johnson, "that legitimate commerce would correct the evils of the slave trade in a great measure, and indeed the people have responded to the efforts made to civilize and to elevate them. As you travel through some of the interior country, your eyes rest upon miles and miles of land well cultivated; and as you stand at Lagos you can see fleets of canoes laden with casks of palm-oil, nuts, and other produce. But when they are returning home, what do they carry away with them? *Very few pieces of cloth; every one of them is laden with rum and gin.* We give Europe palm-oil and many other useful things; but what does she give us in return? This vile stuff; this spirit which sends our people drunken and mad. *Surely you will agree with me that, in the interests of Christianity, in the interests of humanity, something should be done to stop this evil.* What is the action of the Government? Because on the West Coast our colonists are Crown colonists—we are not independent, we are ruled from England practically—we must submit every measure to the Foreign Office here, and until it sanctions the measure it cannot be carried. What is the action of the Government towards this drink traffic? It is not indifference; it is protection. It protects the trade. We have appealed to the Government to help us. The natives of the interior countries with whom we trade are groaning under the burden of this drink. Kings have been known to take away the lives of their subjects when they have been under its influence; *but our efforts meet with no success from the Government.* Individuals have spoken to the Government, but the difficulty always is—the revenue considerations will not allow it. *It is a revenue raised at the expense of the lives of the people; a revenue raised at the expense of the lives of independent tribes with whom we trade; a revenue raised at the price of blood.* We appeal to other Governments, and invite them to come to our aid. They, however, say: 'If we give up the trade, it may fall into the hands of others; it may go into the hands of Germany.' A similar point was raised with regard to the slave trade, but William Pitt nobly said it was our only duty to do what was right before God and man. Now, what we desire is, that there should be a lively interest in this question, and that the British Government should be petitioned by you to take steps to suppress this traffic in West Africa, and free the people from the burden under which they now live."

"One principal cause of the depression of trade," says the Rev. Hugh Goldie, "existing at present in this country is doubtless, as is alleged, the vast amount of money spent in intoxicating drink; and we may well wonder that God continues to clothe our fields with harvests, when so much of the food He provides for us is destroyed and converted into that which is the cause of so much evil. But the same cause operates against our manufacturing interest throughout the world. When Africa expends so great a part of the product of its industry in strong drink, it can have little to give for that which is profitable to itself or to us. A friend mentioned to me lately that a member of a Glasgow firm stated to him that he formerly employed a large number of looms weaving cloth for the African market; *now he has not one.* A trader in the Calabar river wrote recently to his principals to *send no more cloth—drink was the article in demand.* Mr. Joseph Thomson, in his recent journey into the Niger regions, found this evil so abounding therein, that it will render hopeless the demand, anticipated by some, by the natives, for unlimited supplies of calico, as effectually as will the sterility of the eastern countries through which he formerly travelled. In all its effects, moral and economical, this traffic is only evil: impeding the work of the Church at home, marring her mission work abroad, and destroying beneficial industry."

Similar is the evidence of the Rev. W. Holman Bentley of the Baptist Mission:

"When at Loango four years ago, spirits were the chief article of barter. The trader with whom I was staying laughed at the idea of my talking to the chiefs about labourers for our mission after eleven o'clock in the morning. *He said that the principal men would be drunk at that hour.*

"The result of such a state of things *cannot be favourable to any industry, either native or European, except to a few distillers.* Such natives will not have sufficient energy of mind and body for trading expeditions into the interior, while the heavy commissions or customs levied by such chiefs discourage the native trader. Sometimes as much as one-half, or at least one-third, of the payments in barter is put aside for the native broker from the neighbourhood of the factory."

"Our manufacturing districts ought to second every effort to put a stop to this traffic, *which fills the pockets of a few distillers, chiefly German and Dutch, while all legitimate trade and manufacture suffer considerably in consequence.*"

The African Lakes Trading Company, officered by Scotch agents, has made a noble stand against this curse. Mr. Moir, its representative, says :

"The profits on the sale of spirits is 700 per cent. as conducted by some of the European houses. I heard it all figured out by one of themselves. This included a pretty liberal addition of water to some of the fouler liquid ; so you have a very hard enemy to fight. *I have seen boys and girls of about fourteen or fifteen years old getting their wages in this poison.*"

The Committee of the Baptist Mission call attention to the fact that the European traders, who have firmly resisted traffic in spirits, have been driven, in consequence of the general prevalence of such barter, to abandon their trade,

In face of such facts as these, the Archbishop of Canterbury might well say in his sermon on May 2 in Westminster Abbey :

"It is a dread commerce. *But it is rather an anti-commerce.* The fear of it and the dread of it will soon be upon commerce itself. If we have long seen monopolies to be a bar and obstruction to trade—if we have found that to put a whole trade into the hands of one man is to kill trade—*what shall we say of a system which, in the name of freedom, threatens with extinction all trades but one?* What of bales of goods re-shipped because, in the drunken population, there was no demand but for drink—because they would receive nothing else in barter—would take no other wages for the early morning's work, and were incapable when the early morning was past? These, and darker tales than these, are the depositions of eye-witnesses, whom we have no ground to mistrust, or even suspect of exaggeration. But these surely must be unexpected results of the foreign diplomacy which insisted, without qualification, on 'the interests of trade' and 'commercial liberty.' It would be treason to our neighbours to suppose that such results were foreseen—such crippling of commerce, such disabling of industrial energies as must supervene."

"Rum," as Mr. Waller says, "is in more senses than one the skeleton-key to Africa" of the trade in liquor ; and all other traders, whose articles of commerce are harmless or beneficent, may feel very sure that the drink-seller, who is hardly likely to be more tender to their interests than to those of the myriads whom he is now actively

helping to extirpate, will effectually and unscrupulously lock the door of Africa against them, until he has no more victims left to slay ; a result which seems to be in rapid course of accomplishment. Then immoral traders—these “artists in human slaughter,” as Lord Chesterfield called the gin-distillers a hundred years ago—will look out, no less remorselessly, for other dark and helpless races, which they have not yet wholly exterminated,—if such there be—whom, for their own filthy lucre’s sake, they may demoralize and destroy. For they are secure in our mean doctrines of political expediency, secure in our reckless shibboleths of doctrinaire finance and abhorrent liberty ; and all the while, such is the capability of self-sophistication by the human conscience, they will persuade themselves, and others will persuade them, that they are excellent philanthropists and exemplary Christian men !

Mr. Joseph Thomson, who speaks with all the authority of an eye-witness, said in this REVIEW last December, that “for any African who is influenced for good by Christianity, a thousand are driven into deeper degradation by the gin trade ;” and that “Mohammedan missionaries are throwing down the gage to Christianity, and declaring war upon our chief contribution to Western Africa—the gin-trade.”

And *this* is the way in which we are teaching “the Morians land” to stretch out her hands unto God !

My odious task is finished. If these facts have no weight on the minds and consciences of our rulers and legislators, those consciences must indeed be callous beyond reprieve. Are we so wholly given up to the idolatry of the two brazen idols of spurious liberty and economical *laissez-faire* as to bear contentedly the weight of this infamy and this guilt ? Are we content to be represented to the minds of savages by our worst and greediest sons ? A nation may for a time sin in ignorance. It may be for a time unaware of the nefarious trade to which its least worthy representatives offer a holocaust of tribes and nations, passing them through the fire to a demon even viler than Moloch, the abomination of the children of Ammon. But England can plead ignorance no longer. If she continue to dabble her hand in blood, if she continue to be liable to the “deep damnation” of taking off these dark races, does she think to be acquitted at the awful bar of God by mumbling the shibboleths of “free trade” or “vested interest” ? If so, let her not be deceived. The “sword bathed in heaven” is not in haste to strike ; but when the hour for just retribution has come, it is apt “to smite once, and smite no more.”

F. W. FARRAR.

THE SACREDNESS OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS.

A TORSO from the hand of Pheidias, a portrait by Titian, a Mass by Palestrina or Bach, a lyrical poem of Milton, an abbey church of the thirteenth century—are all works of art; matchless, priceless, sacred: such as man on this earth will never replace, nor ever see again. They are, each and all, like a great life, or a memorable deed, which, once spent, can never be repeated in the same way again, and yet, which once lived, or once achieved, the world is for ever after a better place. And these inimitable works are not only amongst the heirlooms of mankind; but they are records of the life of our fathers, which concentrate in a single page, canvas, block of stone, hymn, or it may be, portal, as much history as would fill a library of dull written annals. From the point of view of beauty, of knowledge, of reverence, these works of art are, as the Statesman of Athens said, “an everlasting possession.”

Yet how strangely different is the way in which we treat the statue, the picture, the music, the poem, from the way we treat the church—the church, one would think the most sacred of all. It is not so with us. We *preserve* the torso, or the portrait—we *restore* the church. We give it a new inside and a fresh outside. We deck it out in a brand-new suit to cover its nakedness. A committee of subscribers choose the style, the century, into which it shall be transposed; they wrangle in meetings, in rasping letters, and corrosive pamphlets, as to carrying on an early-pointed arcade in the lady-chapel, or as to introducing a gridiron mass of perpendicular tracery in the west window. The Chapter, the subscribers, the amateur archæologists, each have their pet style, sub-style, and epoch, their fancy architect, or infallible authority in stone, antiquities, and taste. Between them the Church is gutted, scraped, re-faced, translated into

one of those brand-new, intensely mediæval, machine-made, and engine-turned fabrics, which the pupils of the great man of the day turn out by the score. This is how we treat the church.

Imagine the tenth part of this outrage applied to statue, picture, hymn, or poem. Suppose the Trustees of the British Museum were to call in Mr. Boehm and commission him to *restore* the Parthenon torsos, to bring the fragments from the Mausoleum up to the style of the Periclean era. Suppose the Ministry of Fine Arts in France *restored* the arms of the Melian Aphrodite in the Louvre, or the Pope *restored* the legs, arms, and head to the torso beloved by Buonarrotti. Europe, in either case, would ring with indignation and horror. Time was, no doubt, when these things were done, and done by clever sculptors in better ages of art than ours. But we may be fairly sure that it will never be done again.

Pictures, we know, have been restored; and, perhaps, on the sly are restored still. I myself saw a miscreant painting over the "Peter Martyr" of Titian in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo; and I wished that the fire which consumed it had caught him red-handed in the act. They have daubed Leonardo's "Cenacolo" till there is nothing but a shadow left. But though a sacrilegious brush may now and then be raised against an ancient Master (just as murder, rape, and arson are not yet absolutely put down), even our great-great-grandfathers, who made the grand tour and "collected" in the days of Horace Walpole, never added powder and a full wig to one of Titian's Doges, or asked Zoffany to finish a chalk study by Michael Angelo.

I do not know that there ever was a time when people restored a poem or a piece of music. Certainly Colley Cibber restored some of Shakespeare's plays, introducing *bon ton* into "Hamlet" and "Richard III." And Michael Costa would interpolate brass into Handel's "Messiah." But in any world that claims a title to art, taste or culture, to falsify a note or a word, either in music or in poem, is rank forgery and profanity—felony without benefit of clergy. Manuscripts are searched with microscopes and collated by photographs to secure the *ipsissima verba* of the author. And the editor who "improved" a single line of "Lycidas" would be drummed out of literature to the "Togue's March."

In our day, happily, poem, music, picture, and statue are preserved with a loving and religious care. Picture and statue are cased in glass and air-tight chambers; for we would not betem the winds of heaven visit their face too roughly. The rude public are kept at arms-length; and in some countries are not suffered so much as to look at the books, engravings, and paintings which they have paid for. Worship of an old poet is carried to the point of printing his compositions in the authentic but unintelligible cacography he used.

And as to old music, reverence is carried so far that too often we do not perform it at all, I suppose for fear that a passage here and there may not be interpreted aright.

Go to Mr. Newton or Mr. Murray, and tell him that the "Theseus" and "Ilissus" in the Elgin Room (I use the old conventional names) are sadly dilapidated on their surface, and that you could *restore* their skins to the original polish; or propose to repaint the Panathenaic frieze in the undoubted colours used by Pheidias. Tell Sir Frederick Burton that the lights in the "Lazarus" and the "Bacchus and Ariadne" have plainly gone down; and that you will carry out the ideas of Sebastian and Titian by heightening them a little. Tell him that "Alexander and the Family of Darius" is full of anachronisms, and that you will re-robe the figures with strict attention to chronology and archæology. I should like to see the looks of these public servants when you proposed it, as I should like to have seen Michael Angelo watching the "Breeches-maker" who clothed the naked saints in his Sistine "Last Judgment."

Statue, picture, book, music, are preserved intact with reverential awe. Not but what some of them have suffered too by time, get utterly dilapidated, are in risk of perishing, have become mere fragments, or offer tempting ground for ambitious genius. The "Aphrodite" of Melos is still a riddle: the torso of the Vatican is a very sphinx in stone, a mass of marble ever propounding enigmas, ever rejecting solutions. It is a block as it stands: head, arms, legs, and action would make it a statue. The "Cenacolo" of Milan has long been a mere ghost of a fresco, faint as the last gleam of a rainbow. There are still whole choruses of Æschylus to *restore*; and Shakespeare is certainly not responsible for every scene in his so-called works. Literature and Art are full of works, either injured by time, or left incomplete by their authors, or such as modern research could easily purge of their anachronisms, inconsistencies, and general defects.

It is in one art only that modern research dares this outrage. Great works of architecture are not exactly on the same footing with great works of sculpture, of painting, of music, of poetry. They differ from all; and I will presently consider these differences. But great works of architecture are, as I say, like all great works of art, matchless, priceless, and sacred. They are absolutely beyond copying. It is easier to copy Titian's "Entombment" than the portal of Chartres or Notre Dame—as they once stood, and stand no more. Each great work of architecture is also *unique*: completely distinct from every work that ever was or ever will be. Giotto's Campanile, the Duke's Palace at Venice, stand alone—must we say stood alone?—like Hamlet or Lear, "remote, sublime, and inaccessible." A man who wanted to "continue" Giotto's Campanile, or add a new story, and

enlarge the Palace at Venice, is the kind of man who would "continue" the "Iliad," or dramatise the "Divine Comedy" for the Lyceum stage.

In all ways the great building is worthy of a deeper reverence, is consecrated with a profounder halo of social and historical mystery than *any* picture or *any* statue can be. Of the five great arts, that of building is the only one which adds to its charm of beauty the solemnity of the *genius loci*. It is the one art which is immovably fixed to place; the rest are migratory or independent of space. Poetry and music, not being arts of form, are not confined to any spot. Statues and paintings, though they can only be seen in *some* spot, may be carried round the world and set up in museums and galleries. But the building belongs for ever to the place where it is set up. It is incorporated with the surroundings, the climate, the people, the site, where it first rose. No museum can ever hold it; it is not to be catalogued, mounted, framed or classed like a coin or a mummy in a glass case. It stands for ever facing the same eternal hills, the same ever-flowing river, rising into the same azure or lowering sky into which it rose at first in joy or pride. It may be as old as the Pyramids, or as recent as Queen Anne. But in any case it has watched generation after generation come and go; for thousands of years men have passed under that portal; for centuries the bell has tolled from that tower. The steps of this colonnade have been worn by the feet of Pericles, Sophocles, Plato, and Socrates; under this arch passed the Antonines, Trajan, and Charlemagne; Saint Louis used to pray standing on this very floor, six centuries and a half ago; this chapter-house was for two centuries the cradle of the Mother of Parliaments throughout the world.

No other art whatever, with the partial exception of large frescoes,* neither music nor poetry, has this *religio loci*, this consecration of some spot by hallowed association, which is bound up with the very life of every great building. In the whole range of art there is nothing so human, so social, so intense, as this spirit which has made the practice of pilgrimage an eternal instinct of humanity. To pass from the roar of Paris or London to sit beside the Venus or the Theseus is delight. We all feel rest and awe before a Madonna of Raphael, a portrait of Titian, or listening to Mozart's "Requiem," or to "Paradise Lost." But to me, a son of earth, no art comes home, seeming at once so intense and so infinite, as when I wander round the old piazzas at Florence and Venice, or pace about the aisles of the Abbey. There art, memory, veneration, patriotism, the pathos, the endurance, the majesty of humanity, seem to me to blend in one overpowering sensation. Who can say where Art ends and Veneration begins?

* Such frescoes as those of the Arena Chapel at Padua, or the Sistine Chapel at Rome, belong to architecture as much as to painting, almost as much as the frieze of the Parthenon is a part of the building.

Thus every ancient building, whether it be a successful work of art or not, is sacred by its associations, and is a standing record in itself. But an ancient building is a far more definite product of the society out of which it grew and the civilization which created it, than any statue or any painting, almost more than any music, or any poem. It is usually a far less personal and individual act of imagination than statue, painting, poem, or music. It is a collective and developing work, the creation of a series of minds, the inspiration of a given epoch, and of a particular people. No great statue, or painting, or piece of music, or poem, was ever produced by a group of artists. Most great buildings were. The Parthenon is in what is called the Doric not the Ionic style; and we think of Pheidias, the sculptor, rather than Ictinus, the architect, as the genius who created it. Hardly a single great church, till the age of Wren, can be positively assigned to one sole author, as we assign the "Agamemnon" positively to Æschylus, or the Sistine Madonna to the *stessa mano* of Raphael. A few, a very few, buildings bear the stamp of one unique genius, such as the Campanile at Florence, the Sainte Chapelle, and our St. Paul's. Statues, paintings, poems, and music, are each the complete conception of one mind, the execution of one hand. As a rule, buildings are the accumulating conception of several minds, the execution of successive generations.

It is no doubt this character in buildings which has made us slow to treat them with the reverence and love that we show so readily to works in the other arts. Other works are the creations of some master whose name, story, and individuality we know. A Madonna is by Raphael or Bellini; a poem is by Dante or Milton; a Mass is by Bach or Mozart; a statue is by Pheidias or Michael Angelo. And we cannot conceive any other hand or brain so much as touching the work. But the Church of the Holy Wisdom at Constantinople is the work of the Byzantine School; the Cathedral of Chartres is the work of builders in the Middle Ages; the Abbey, the Tower of London, the Louvre, the Duomo, and the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence, represent whole centuries of successive evolution in art and manners. Statues and paintings are the creations of single Masters. Buildings are the collective growth of Ages.

But for this very reason, what buildings lose in personal interest they gain in human interest, in social significance, in historical value. The multiplicity of parts in a great edifice, the vast range of its power over an infinite series of human souls, the sacrifices, the endurance, the concentration of efforts by which it was built up, and the countless generations of men who have contributed to its beauty or have been touched by its majesty, give it a collective human glory, which no statue or picture ever had—a glory which is exceeded only by the great poems of the world. A Madonna was struck off in a few

months, and since it was put on canvas has been seen by some tens of thousands, of whom some thousand came from it better men. A statue, a song, a lyric, appeals to a definite number in a definite way, but hardly to a whole people on every side of their souls. But take a great building—a great group of buildings—at its highest point—say the Acropolis at Athens, the Forum at Old Rome, the Papal edifices at modern Rome, the Piazzas at Florence, Venice, and Verona, Notre Dame as it stood unrestored, our own great group at Westminster—in vast range of impression and invention they are certainly surpassed by the Bible, the “Iliad,” “The Divine Comedy,” or the works of Shakespeare, but by no other creative work of man ever produced. The civilization of whole races is petrified in them. For centuries, tens of thousands of men have toiled, thought, imagined, and poured their souls into the work. It would be an education in art to have known by heart that glorious façade of Notre Dame, as it once was, when every leaf in its foliage, every fold in the drapery, every smile in every saint’s face, was an individual conception of some graceful spirit and some deft hand—to have known every legend which blazed in ruby, azure, and emerald in the countless lights of nave, choir, aisle, and transept, the thousands of statues which peopled it within and without, the carved stalls and screens, the iron, brass, and silver and gold-work, the pictures, the frescoes, the tombs, the altars, the marbles, the bronzes, the embroideries, the ivories, the mosaics. A great national building is the product of a nation, and is the school of a nation. And for this reason it should stand next in reverence and love to the great poems of a nation. Next to the “Iliad” and the “Trilogy” comes the Parthénon. Next to the “Divine Comedy” the Duomo of Florence and its adjuncts. Next to Shakespeare and Milton the Abbey.

There is thus a peculiar quality in the great historic building which marks it off from all other works of art. It is in a special sense a *living* work. It is not so much a *work* as a *being*. It has an organic life, organic growth; it has a history, an evolution of its own. The Pantheon at Rome has gone on living and growing for nearly nineteen centuries, the Castle of St. Angelo for nearly seventeen, the Church of the Holy Wisdom for thirteen, and our own Tower for eight centuries; and all of them are still living buildings, and not at all ruins or “monuments.” A building may undergo amazing permutations, like Hadrian’s Mausoleum, the Baths of Diocletian, or the Church of Justinian, and yet retain its identity and its vital energy. A building is indeed rather an *institution* than a *work*; and, like all institutions, it has its own evolution, corresponding with the social evolution on which it depends, and of which it is the symbol. Our Tower, Abbey, Palace of Westminster, and Windsor Castle are much more like our Monarchy, Parliament, and Judicial system than

they are like a Madonna by Raphael, or a statue by Pheidias. They are not objects to be looked at in museums. They are organic *lives*, social *institutions*, historic *forces*.

Now I hold that all national, historic, monumental buildings whatever, however small or humble, partake of this character, and ought to have the same veneration and sacredness bestowed on them. Every building that has a definite public history, and has been dedicated to public use, be it church, tower, bridge, gateway, hall, is a national institution, is a public possession, and has become *sacrosanct*, as the Romans said. In the law of Rome, the ground, in which one who had the right buried a dead body, became, *ipso facto*, *religious*; it ceased to be private property, it could not be bought or sold, transferred or used. It was for ever dedicated to the dead, and reserved from all current usage. So a building, which our dead forefathers have dedicated to the service of generations, should be *sacrosanct* to the memory of the Past.

Its size, its beauty, its antiquity, its celebrity, are matters of degree not of principle. Essentially it is a national possession, an irreparable monument, a sacred record, as the great Charter and "Domesday" are. These records have become so pitifully few, their possible value is so incalculably great, their unique, inimitable, priceless nature as relics is so obvious, that wantonly to destroy one of them ought to be treated as a public crime, like smashing the Portland Vase, or defacing the Charter and "Domesday." It is preposterous that an incumbent and his churchwardens, a dean and chapter, a mayor and aldermen, a warden and benchers, a highway board, or a borough corporation, should be free to deface a national relic, and falsify a national record. At the very least, a parish church should be as well protected by law as a parish register is against wanton defacement and falsification of its contents. In principle the idea is admitted by the need for a "faculty." But a "faculty" is become a melancholy form; and no "faculty" is needed by the trustees who sell an ancient edifice to a builder's speculation, by the highway board which carts away a tower or a gate, or "restores" and "improves" a bridge.

Our glorious Milton said, in a passage as immortal as his poems, "as good almost kill a Man as kill a good Book." We may add: "As good almost kill a good Book as kill an ancient Building." The one is as irrecoverable as the other; it may teach us as much; it should affect us even more. See how the words of that most Biblical of passages, which Isaiah himself might have uttered, apply to the building as much as to the book. Is not a great historic abbey "an immortality rather than a life?" Is not the cathedral, too, "the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life?" Are not these "restorers" and

"improvers" of our public monuments the men who "spill that seasoned life of man preserved and stored up in" the buildings which our forefathers raised, in which their lives were recorded, and their best work treasured up?

Every work of art has in it "the precious life-blood of a master-spirit;" but a work of great architecture and historic importance has in it the precious life-blood of many a master-spirit. And the humblest ancient monument, though it be a petty parish church or a market cross, has this "seasoned life of man preserved in it." Like the picture, the statue, the poem, in every work of art, the precious life-blood of the master-spirit which informs it, should make it sacred from sacrilegious hands. But the building has also that which picture, statue, and poem, have not—the *religio loci*. "The place whereon thou standest is holy ground," may be said of every historic monument. Nay more. The ancient building is marked by a filiation of master-spirits. Like the Saxon "Chronicle," or the "Annals of Waverley," it is not a fixed but a current record. It is a continuous and moving monument—at once contemporary like annals, and yet organic like a history. The great Charter, "Domesday," the Bayeux tapestry, are records of given moments in the national life. But in the Abbey and its precincts may be seen the works of English hands, continuously for a thousand years, generation after generation, typical contemporary work. Now, the humblest old parish church partakes of this quality of continuous typical work for centuries.

It is monstrous that any man, any body of men, even any single generation, should claim the right in the name of property, or their office, or their present convenience, to destroy in a moment the continuous work of centuries, to desecrate the best work of their forefathers, and to rob their own descendants of their common birthright. Who gave this rare and inimitable value to the ancient building? Not they, nor even the first founders of it. Generation after generation stamped their mark on it, recorded their thoughts in it, poured into it their precious life-blood. It is an aggregate product of their race, a social possession of all. Whence came the *religio loci* which casts a halo over it? From no single author, from no set of builders: from a long succession of ancestral generations to whom it has grown a sacred and national symbol. That precious value which time, society, the nation, have given it, is now at the mercy of any man, or any Board.

There was a noble doctrine in the old Roman Law, which I will state in the words of Gaius: *Sanctae quoque res, velut muri et portae, quodammodo divini iuris sunt. Quod autem divini iuris est, id nullius in bonis est.* "Things like city walls, city gates, are sacrosanct; and, in a sense, under divine sanction. But whatever

is under the divine sanction, cannot be the subject of property." That is to say, historic buildings which form part of the national records are consecrated by the past and dedicated to the future, and are taken out of the arbitrary disposal of the present. This principle goes deeper than the making them public property. They are not property at all—not to be used, consumed, and adapted at the passing will of the day. They are not the chattels of the *public*. They are not *public property*; they are *consecrated* to the *nation*. Each generation is too apt to ask, like a famous peer, "May I not do what I please *with mine own*?" No! national possessions are much more than public property. They are not "the own" of a passing body. They are the inheritance which the past is bequeathing to the future, and of which we are but trustees. We have no absolute rights over them at all; we have only the duty to preserve them.

So great is the difference between our treatment of old pictures, statues, poems, and songs, and our treatment of old buildings, that there must be some ground for our practice. Certainly there is. Architecture is an art essentially different from other arts; and buildings are not simple works of art. A building intended to shelter and contain men, is, like clothing, food, and firing, a necessity of man's material existence, and not, as picture, statue, poem, and song are, means of giving grace and joy to man's life. Hence every building is first and principally a necessity and a material utility, and a work of beauty afterwards (if it ever become so at all). The most restless generation does not "restore" and "convert" either picture, statue, poem, or song, as if it were an old gown or a piece of carpet, simply because they are not *conveniences* but *enjoyments*. A generation which finds an old building inconvenient, is cruelly tempted to "convert," "adapt," extend, or alter it. Again, the building not only occupies a surface of ground enormously greater than picture, statue, or book, but it occupies immovably for ever one definite spot on the planet; and in the perpetual changes of social life that may easily become an intolerable burden on the living. As the building occupies unalterably a given spot which is sometimes a primary necessity for active life, the alternative not seldom presents itself of adaptation or destruction. Thirdly: whilst picture, statue, or book can be preserved almost indefinitely by moderate care, the building requires incessant work, sometimes partial renewal of its substance, at times elaborate constructive repair to prevent it from actually tumbling down.

There are thus a set of grounds, some on one side some on the other, which mark off the building from all other works of art. There are three main grounds which tempt the living—compel the living—to deal with it from time to time.

First, it is primarily a material utility, and only secondarily a work of art.

Next, it occupies a very large and unalterable spot.

Lastly, it requires constant labour to uphold it.

On the other hand, there are three main grounds which make the ancient building more sacred than any other work of man's art.

First, it alone has the true *religio loci*.

Secondly, it is a *national* creation, a *social* work of art, in the supreme sense.

Thirdly, it is a *national record*, in a way that no other work of art is, because it is almost both a collective and a continuous record.

Now the action and reaction of these two competing sets of impulses undoubtedly makes the protection of our ancient buildings a very complex and very difficult problem. Both sets are very powerful, both act in varying degrees, and the final compromise between the rival sets of claims is necessarily the work of much anxious discrimination. I venture to maintain that the complication and antagonism is such that no hard-and-fast doctrine can be laid down. Each case must stand on its merits. Each decision must be the laborious reconciliation of conflicting interests. Our cause has suffered from over-arbitrary dogmas and some affectation of contempt for the plain necessities of material existence. Every one outside the Tuileries laughed at Edmond About, when he told the Romans of to-day that the only thing left for them was "to contemplate their ruins." I wish myself that they had contemplated their ruins a little longer, or had allowed us to contemplate them, instead of seeking to turn Rome into a third-rate Paris. But we shall be laughed at if we ever venture to tell the nineteenth century that it must contemplate its ruins.

The trust imposed on the century is not to contemplate its ruins, but to protect its ancient buildings. Now that will be done if the century can learn to feel the true *sacredness* of ancient buildings, if it will admit that the building stands on the same footing with picture, statue, and poem, that it is *unique*, inimitable, irreplaceable; and, above all, has its own consecration of place, continuity, and record. Admit this first, and then we will consider the claims of the present, their convenience, and their means. But the burden of proof ought always to be pressed imperiously *against* those whose claim is to destroy, to convert, or to extend. When every other means fail, when irresistible necessity is proved, it may be a sad duty to remove an ancient building, to add to it, or to incorporate it. But this can never justify what we now call "restoring," a process which makes it as much like the original as Madame Tussaud's figures are like the statesman or general they represent. It can never justify *re-decoration*—cutting out ancient art-work and replacing it by new

work or machine work. It can never justify archæological exercises—I mean the patching on to old buildings new pieces of our own invention, which we deliberately present as fabrications of the antique. These things are mere Wardour Street spurious *bric-à-brac*, no more like ancient buildings than a schoolboy's iambics are like *Æschylus*. How often do committees, dean and chapter, public offices, and even Parliament itself, treat our great national possessions as if they were mere copy books, on the face of which our modern architects were free to practise the art of composing imitations of the ancients. Such buildings become much like a Palimpsest manuscript; whereon, over a lost tragedy of *Sophocles*, some wretched monk has scribbled his barbarous prose. How often is the priceless original for ever lost beneath the later stuff!

In these remarks I have strictly confined myself to general principles: first, because I do not pretend to any special or technical knowledge which would entitle me to criticize particular works, but mainly because I believe our true part to be the maintenance of general principles. If we fall into discussions of detail we may lose hold of our main strength. We have to raise the discussion into a higher atmosphere than that of architectural anachronism. We cannot pitch our tone too high. It is not architectural anachronism which we have to check: it is the safety of our national records, our national self-respect, the spirit of religious reverence that we have to uphold. We have to do battle against forgery, irreverence, and desecration. Let us raise a voice against the idea that any work of art can ever, under any circumstances, be really "restored;" against the idea that any ancient art-work can usefully be "imitated;" against the idea that ancient monuments are a *corpus vile* whereon to practise antiquarian exercises; against the habit of forging spurious monuments, as the monks in the Middle Ages forged spurious charters; finally, against the idea that the *convenience* of *to-day* is always to outweigh the *sacredness* of the *past*.

Strangely enough, the foes of ancient buildings are too often those of their own household. Amongst the worst sinners of all are the public departments, corporations, and the clergy. The forgers, the destroyers, the mutilators, are too often the official guardians of our old monuments. One can see why. They are the people who use them, to whom they are a necessity and a convenience. Naturally they are constantly tempted to give them greater practical usefulness, to convert them to modern requirements, and above all to make them look smart. We, of the public, gaze at an old monument, and then we go home. We laymen enjoy an old thirteenth-century church just as it is; but to the official, to the priest, the old hall or the old church is the place where his official work is done. And a dreadful temptation besets them both to make the seat of official work

adequate for its office, and appear to be up to the level of our time. A natural sentiment; but one false and dangerous. Let us resist it in the name of the nation, of the past and of the future. These things are sacred by what they have seen and known, by what they teach, by what they record. The true solution is this. If the present age needs new public offices, bigger churches, new halls, bridges, gates, let them build new ones. If it needs to exercise itself in architectural Latin verses, let it do it with new bricks, new stones, and on a site of its own choosing.

I am very far from thinking that this needs Acts of Parliament; that the sacredness of ancient buildings can be guaranteed by law. Pictures, statues, poems, are now safe from modern Vandals by the force of public opinion and true feeling for art and antiquity. The owner of a Raffaele or a Titian, of a Greek statue, does not need to be restrained by an Act of Parliament or an injunction in Equity against the temptation to paint over his picture, or to add new limbs to his marble. We never hear the owner of some princely gallery say to his friends: "You remember what a dingy thing my Veronese used to be, how poor in colour my Madonna was, and what a stick the Venus looked, with one arm and no nose. Well! I had Rubemup, R.A., down from the Academy, and you see the Veronese is as bright as an Etty; my Raffaele might go into a new altar at the Oratory, and the Venus is fit for the Exhibition!" We never hear this; but we do hear a dean or a rector take a party with Ritualist leanings over the "restored" cathedral and church, and point out how the whole of the stone-work has been refaced, how new tracery has been added "from Scott's designs," and how the Jacobean wood-carving has been carted away to Wardour Street. And now the old church looks like a new chapel-of-ease at a fashionable seaside place. And the Bishop comes down in lawn and blesses the restored and re-consecrated building, and the rector gives a garden-party, and the county paper brags about the liberal subscription lists. What we have to do, is to make them all understand that the whole business is profanation, ignorance, and vulgarity.

Ancient buildings certainly cannot be treated as "exhibits," to be cased in glass, and displayed in a museum. All their powers, their vitality and solemnity would disappear. They have in most cases to be kept fit for use; and in some rare cases they may have to be completed, where the kind of work they need is within our modern resources. As to Palladian work, that may possibly be attempted; but as to true mediæval work of the best periods, it is absolutely impossible. No fine carving of this age can be remotely reproduced or imitated by us now in feeling and manner. The current of gradual growth for the best mediæval work has been broken for centuries. And we cannot now recover the tradition. The archaic naive grace of a thirteenth-

century relief, the delicate spring of foliage round capital or spandrel, are utterly irrecoverable. There does not exist the hand or the eye which can do it. To cut out old art-work wholesale, and insert new machine carving, is exactly like cutting out a Madonna in an altar-piece, or inserting a new head on to a Greek torso. What we have to do is to uphold the fabric as best we may, and preserve the decoration as long as we can.

We have to educate the public, especially the official public, and above all the clergy, to understand all that is meant by the sacredness of ancient buildings. Our business is not so much to discuss solecisms in style and blunders in chronology, as to make men feel that our national monuments are dedicated by the past to the nation *for ever*, and that each generation but holds them as a sacred trust for the future.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

METHODIST REUNION.

THE attention given by the Press to certain proposals of reunion between the Wesleyan Methodists and the New Connexion, indicates that the time is passing away when Methodism could exist in the country as a power "felt rather than seen." The idea that such was its proper genius was long in favour with its wisest men.

It is curious to observe the different points of view from which such a movement may be regarded. One of the earliest notices of it which came under my eye—that in the *Times*—spoke of the natural anxiety of the parent Connexion to see the separated ones restored to the fold. Now, that is a form of thought which would not occur to a Methodist. He no more dreams of "one fold" than of one stall or one dovecote. "One flock" and "one Shepherd" he knows; but the "one fold" he does not know. The venerated translators of our Authorized Version allowed themselves to be led by the Vulgate into a mistranslation in John x. 16;* but that mistranslation has not had the effect of narrowing the views of the Methodists. To them the Master speaks of "this fold" and of sheep "not of this fold"; yet "one flock and one Shepherd," albeit the folds be different. To them the test of belonging to the flock lies in hearing the voice of the Shepherd and in following him, not in being either of this fold or that.

Therefore, feeling disquieted, as if the members of the separated bodies were aliens from the true flock, never enters the minds of Methodists. They are no more liable to alarms for others from such confined ideas, than they are to alarms for themselves, when excellent men seem distressed about them because they are not of the right fold: those gentlemen do not say that they wander away from the

* Set right in the Revised Version. *

Shepherd, and only succeed in suggesting that people who enter in by the door do probably enter into the fold. No more do the separated bodies look upon the original one as if its members were aliens from the flock. "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all," is to every one of them the immovable basis of Catholic unity; and whosoever may please, by adding new conditions, to narrow this basis, they dare not. Their object of worship is absolutely one; their priest and mediator with God is one; their way of salvation is absolutely one; their rule of faith is absolutely one—the Holy Scriptures; even their confessions of faith are in every essential one; and all recognize the single standard, the inspired Word, by which alone must be tried any confession of faith, and any article in such confession. Their sacraments are absolutely the same. The modes of administration and the other offices of worship may vary, and do vary, not only in different bodies, but in one and the same body, and such variations are not any cause of offence.

Heart and soul, believing, as the men do, that the "system of doctrine" preached among the Methodists from the beginning, and expressed more particularly, not in chiselled propositions, but freely in certain sermons of John Wesley and his notes on the New Testament, is conformable to the sole Authority, they take this confession as their deed of partnership.

This exemption of the Methodists from that ecclesiastical ailment of which the symptom is viewing as infected all sheep not of one particular fold, places the relations of co-existing bodies on a footing altogether different from that of sects, each of which thinks that those of the other are in peril of forfeiting grace. To Christians also of different communions Methodists have the same feeling. It would take a "surgical operation" to get into my head a doubt about the spiritual prospects of any one because he is a Congregationalist, or a Presbyterian, a Baptist, or a Friend—an Archbishop, or one of the "Brethren." Methodists have no monopoly of this catholicity, for they find, on the part of members of many communions, just the same feelings towards them. Where they do not find it, they look upon the sectarian spirit, so long as it is cherished by others; not by themselves, as a serious matter only for those narrowed by it.

The origin of Methodism largely accounts for this attitude in respect of ecclesiastical differences. Of the other forms into which Christians have evolved their organization, some took their distinctive features from a dispute about doctrines, some from one about jurisdictions, some from one about ceremonies, and some from an alliance with the secular power, or an encroachment upon it. Whenever diverging bodies had a conflict for ascendancy and one triumphed, a grudge would be added to the congenital evil. If the aid of the

temporal power had been called in, the sore would be exacerbated; and if, again, alternations of ascendancy and subjugation had occurred, the permanent victory would leave behind it, arrogance on the one side and bitterness on the other.

Now, it is no thanks to either Methodists or Methodism that in its origin the system was not marked by any of these features. If the lilac has not the prickles of the holly, the only reason it can render is that it was born so. It has no more merit than its neighbour; yet it is not so likely to scratch those who come near it. Methodism had no congenital political compliancy as towards a Cæsar, who was to make Constantinople the metropolitan Church of the world. It had no congenital political assumption as towards a Pepin and his sons, who were helped to become Cæsars themselves, provided they would make Rome the metropolitan Church of the world. It had no congenital grudge against any Church with which it had struggled for national ascendancy, and failed. On the contrary, it came into existence men could scarcely tell how. There it was, "as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up he knew not how." So far from having grounds of assumption against any power secular or ecclesiastical, it was dependent on the law for its liberty to breathe and move. So far from having special favours for which to repay the secular power, when they were given it was to others. It needed and claimed nothing but common rights—rights equally for itself and its opponents. If now and then, if here and there, magistrates struck the nascent growth with hard strokes, the kings, George II. and George III., upheld liberty; and while the deeds of Dr. Borlase and other local tyrants were soon forgotten, the words of George II., "I tell you, while I sit on the English throne no man shall be persecuted for conscience sake,"* were never out of John Wesley's mind, any more than were many concurring words and acts of George III.

The value of religious liberty as a gift of Divine Providence, conveyed and secured only by a settled government, was perhaps more felt by Wesley than by any one. His experience in England alone would have sufficed to teach him that only by a settled government could such liberty be upheld; but his experience in Ireland kept that fact ever flaming before his eyes.

One of the first attempts of the Methodists at missionary labour for foreigners taught him that, if liberty depended upon the bishops, it would be in poor keeping. In 1758, Fletcher of Madeley preached to the French prisoners of war, at Tunbridge, in their own tongue and his. They petitioned the Bishop of London for leave to have his services repeated, but the petition was "peremptorily rejected."

* Wesley's Works, vol. xi. p. 41, third edition.

Another proof of the value of English liberty was furnished when Fletcher visited Switzerland. The Church of the Canton de Vaud, more Catholic than the Anglican Church in its Carolan form, gave the English vicar the pulpit in his native Nyon; but he was summoned before the seigneur bailiff for preaching against Sabbath-breaking and stage-plays, whereas the bailiff himself had just sent for a company of French comedians. Therefore he forbade Fletcher to preach in the country: "A blessed instance of Republican liberty," writes Wesley. Yet liberty was precious only as a common boon, not as a privilege carrying disadvantage to others. "I have nothing to ask either of the King or any of his Ministers."* Describing the Act of Uniformity, he cries "Property for ever! See how well English property was secured in those golden days! So, by this glorious Act, thousands of men guilty of no crime, nothing contrary to justice, mercy, or truth, were stripped of all they had, of their houses, lands, revenues, and driven to seek where they could, or buy their bread. For what? Because they did not dare to worship God according to other men's consciences." Contrasting, then, the liberty enjoyed under George III. with the oppressions of Charles II., and yet more strongly with the contemporary oppressions in France, Wesley thanked God and loved the King, and taught all men to do the same. But no jot of spiritual independence would he allow to be called in question. Every man had a right to "liberty to choose his own religion, to worship God according to . . . the best lights we have." The Creator gave him this right when he endowed him with understanding. . . . This is an indefeasible right; it is inseparable from humanity." And he meant it for not only Englishmen, but for all. If the Russians, he said, had subdued the Ottoman Empire, they ought to have allowed to the conquered "both their own religion and their own laws. Nay, to have given them, not a precarious toleration, but a legal security for both."†

Equally free was Methodism in its origin from cause of animosity against other Churches, as from cause of either political subserviency or political assumption. It came into existence heir to the good in the different branches of the Church, an inheritance entailing a permanent charge of Catholic gratitude. Once, when speaking—not in these pages, but to a purely Methodist audience—and alluding to the fact that others often took pains to hide any debts they might owe to the Methodists, I said that such weakness was on our part to be met, not by complaints, but "by carefully noting and confessing our own debts, whether as individuals or denominations, to all the servants of our blessed Lord who bear other names, and to all branches of His universal Church, no matter of what nation or of what rites. We are in very truth debtors to all, to some debtors in

* Wesley's Works, vol. xii. p. 129.

† *Ibid.* xi. 114.

much, and immensely."* This fell on Methodist ears as so much a matter of course that I never heard a remark about it.

The two earlier forms of Christianity which had been evolved in England—Anglicanism and Puritanism—were represented in the rectory at Epworth perhaps as thoroughly as in any house in the country. Both Samuel Wesley and Susanna Annesley were nursed in Nonconformity, children of labourers and sufferers in that cause. Both had become zealous members of the Established Church, though neither perhaps was strictly "regular." All the sound doctrines and godly influences flowing in both channels were under their roof collected into one. The fundamental home training laid a basis rather too broad for one sect or the other. Oxford, too, did much for both the Wesleys, as well as for Whitefield and other fellow-helpers—not in enlarging their ecclesiastical sympathies, for those it narrowed, but in enlarging their cosmopolitan and social sympathies, in developing their reason, elevating their taste, and linking them firmly to the past, while extending their perspective of the future. In the fellowship of the Oxford Methodist group was formed a tie to Ireland which certainly had something to do, and probably much to do, with Wesley's intense interest in that country—an interest which led to such a knowledge of it as few Englishmen ever possessed. It was Morgan, from Dublin, who "broke the ice" for the two Wesleys, in visiting the sick and the prisoners, and whom the old father at Epworth said he must "adopt as his own son." Over Morgan's early grave Samuel Wesley, who never, joined John and Charles, sang :

"Wise in his prime he waited not for noon."

When the nickname of Methodist had already survived that of Bible Moths, Godly Club, and Supererogation Men, John Wesley had no sooner left his lecturing in Greek and Logic, and his moderatorship in disputations, to convert the Indians in Georgia, than the voyage brought a new element of enlargement for the basis that was to be. The merely national lines already laid were to be extended. "It pleased God of His free mercy to give me twenty-six of the Moravian Brethren for my companions, who endeavoured to show me a more excellent way." Hitherto he had "gone about to establish his own righteousness." The Moravians tried to teach him that the guilty cannot establish their own innocence, and that righteousness lost by transgression is recovered only by mercy. His fear of death in storms, and the terror of the other passengers, contrasted with the peace of the Moravians, made a profound moral impression upon him. This new element of German influence on the vigorous Englishman was greatly intensified during his sojourn

* "Proceedings of Ecumenical Methodist Conference," p. 76.

in Georgia, where the Moravians and he were constantly in relation. In Georgia also, services in the French language came to raise him further above the conventional groove. A sojourn on the Continent, after his return from Georgia, brought him into contact with Dutchmen, Danes, and at least one "Moscovite," and kept him for many weeks in intercourse with the Moravians. This deepened the German influence over his development, as well as enlarged his sympathies towards men of various races, and his indulgence for worship in various forms. His fellowship with Peter Böhler had been the most potent factor in his new life heretofore. Böhler conquered his repugnance to the doctrine of justification by faith, and kept his spirit on the stretch for that peace with God which hitherto had been for him rather a sweet sound in the Bible and Prayer-book than music in the soul making melody to the Lord. Böhler's fellowship might have been supposed to complete the determining influences of the Germans over Wesley. But later the "great change" in Wesley, which Böhler had steadily encouraged him to look for as sure to be wrought in him by the gracious Spirit of God, was wrought through the instrumentality of the greater German preacher, Martin Luther. "One was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans," and as the "change which God works in the heart by faith in Christ" was being described, Wesley says: "I felt I did trust in Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death." So he says: "I felt my heart strangely warmed."

So far as I remember, he does not seem to have remarked the curious historical connection between his own college and the influences, Moravian and Lutheran, to the instrumentality of which he owed the fire which set alight the wood prepared by English Anglicanism and English Puritanism, and by them jointly laid ready on the altar. Lincoln College was founded by Flemming, Bishop of Lincoln, on purpose to counteract the effects of Wyclif's teaching. That teaching led to the reformation in Bohemia, with Jerome of Prague and John Huss. Their teaching powerfully affected Luther; and out of such ashes of the Reformed Churches as were left after the Thirty Years' War, sprang the Moravian Brotherhood. Thus, while the newly converted Fellow of Lincoln College was with veneration noting down at Hernhuth the sermons of the stonemason, Christian David, the policy of zealous Bishop Flemming was being strangely counterworked. The spread of Bibles and Bible-reading, the running to and fro of humble itinerants—called in the fourteenth century Poor Priests, in the eighteenth Methodist Preachers—and the awakening of a popular interest in religion as a living power, were all to reappear. As Oxford never did print Wyclif's Latin works, and till recently knew next to nothing of their contents—contents for

which we have to thank the museums of Prague and Vienna, as for the first volumes issued we have to thank the lore of a German scholar*—it is possible, even probable, that neither Christian David nor his notable hearer knew that the fuse which conveyed under rivers and under hills the spark that inflamed them both, had been ignited at the lamp of the man whose ashes the Swift bore to the Severn, and the Severn to the sea.

This broadening by foreign relations of the basis of Wesley's religious conceptions and sympathies did not end here. The most beloved and admired of his fellow-helpers, John Fletcher, was a Swiss, and formed for many years a living link with the Churches of the Continent. The same was the case with Mr. Perronet, vicar of Shoreham, whom he greatly loved. And the German seed which had borne such precious fruit was to be repaid a hundred-fold, not only to the Teuton race, but to mankind. A few German refugees from the merciless wars of Louis XIV., who lived in villages near Limerick, were early found out by Wesley's preachers: Barbara Heck and Philip Embury of that stock, were the founders of Methodism in the United States. When the War of Independence broke out, Paul Heck and his Barbara, loving the flag which had covered their people when fleeing from persecution on the Rhine, and had protected themselves from it on the Shannon, crossed over the St. Lawrence, and became the founders of Methodism in Canada. There, as the boat glides down the grand stream, a Canadian will point out to you a beautiful spot where sleep, as humbly as if in the churchyard of Lutterworth, the bones of those whose monuments are trees of righteousness growing along either bank of the river, and bearing fruit every month; for their spiritual descendants form by far the largest denomination of Christians in the States, and also the largest Protestant one in Canada.

At an early stage of its development Methodism felt also the effects of connection with the Negro race. This influence would not have been so penetrating but for Wesley's experience in Georgia. Great as was his interest in the Indians, that in the Negroes was destined to be of more practical import. Striking thus, at the very outset, the two extremes of human society as up to that epoch developed—the Anglo-Saxon race, foremost in freedom and dominion, the Negro race, lowest in bondage and exposure to outrage—the new religious movement gradually, but not slowly, came into touch with race after race, speaking tongue after tongue.

The somewhat circuitous training through which Wesley had been led had lifted him to a level commanding a wide horizon, so that when the fire fell, when the heart was all aflame, when the mission was no longer to do a comely duty with a proper zeal, but was the

* See the invaluable publications of the Wyclif Society.

conversion of all sinners among every kindred and people and tongue, his natural utterance was: "The world is my parish."

Here, then, was a movement originating simply in this desire, that every sinner in the world should be turned to the Saviour, who, not in word and in tongue, but in deed and in truth, saves His people from their sins. All that any Church, either at home or abroad, had ever done towards that end, seemed, therefore, to every Methodist labourer as what Columbus, or Cabot, or Hudson had done seemed to the men who sought to make nations in America. The theology of Methodism, indeed, did not quadrate with that of any school then prevalent. On the common groundwork of confessed verities Calvinism based doctrines of Grace and of Reprobation; the doctrines of grace Methodism gloried in—those of reprobation it rejected. The school which in England was called Arminian, based on the orthodox creed, the doctrine of the love of God to all, of the atoning death of Christ for all; but it often did not teach the depravity of human nature, considered hell a word unfit for ears polite, and mumbled over the doctrine of punishment as do dead Churches on the Continent now. The sole efficacy of the merit of Christ it failed to teach, as also the way of justification by faith, and almost utterly forgot the work of the Holy Spirit on the soul of man. The Methodists sounded the silver trumpet of God's love to all with an unheard-of enthusiasm; but they told also of man's fall in the tones of both faith and experience, and echoed with sovereign conviction every word of the mildest but most terrible of teachers, the Man who Himself incarnated "the goodness and severity of God." As to the way of mercy through faith, and the work of the Holy Spirit in awakening sinners, comforting penitents, and sanctifying believers, coupled with the love of God in Christ, that was the song of songs of the Methodist preacher. The work of the Comforter was not for him a theological abstraction, but as much an every-day blessing as the joy of the sun. Religion without consciousness of pardon and without peace of conscience was for him but the gloaming before the day. The world had long heard that knowledge was power; he went about showing that happiness is power. The march of his Lord's kingdom came not with observation, but came meek and lowly, with song and gladness, and tidings of great joy to all people.

His peculiarity lay, not in what he believed, but in the fact that he did believe with a living force of faith. Hence his supreme earnestness about the heinousness of sin, and the certainty and finality of the wrath to come; hence his assaults on all iniquities, whether of the high or the low, delivered with vast momentum of moral indignation, that gunpowder of the good. Hence his habit of taking redemption as a matter of fact, and dealing with the miserable sinner whom he had proved to be unspeakably vile—first as cer-

tainly no worse than himself; secondly, as capable of being changed then and there into a child of God. Changed by whom? By One who was in the midst of them, unseen indeed, but almighty to save.

The ecclesiastical system which gradually formed around this new life, as gradually as the plumage upon the growing swan, had all the faults of a living growth as contrasted with a manufactured article. It did not conform to any known model, and could not be kept in any one symmetrical shape. Helmholtz has said something of the faultiness of an eye as compared with scientific instruments, and doubtless for the work of any optical machine an eye would not do. But how would the machine do for the work of an eye? So, though it is impossible with precision to call the ecclesiastical system of Methodism, Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, or Congregationalism, it may, as the new bottle which holds the new wine, be as strong as any old one, and more adaptable. They were all as new once, and did not all come as simply by growth from within. When I speak of the ecclesiastical system of Methodism as adaptable, I do not mean adaptable to external pressure. Any organization that becomes so, waxes old in the sense which makes it ready to vanish away. I mean adaptable to pressure from within, the pressure of its own life and growth. The shell of the tortoise will shape itself well as the creature grows and will be firm enough for its purposes; but if the cabinet-maker comes in with rule and plane, he may in mending matters mar them.

In common with the Congregational system, Methodism recognizes the right of each individual church to regulate its internal and private affairs. For instance, whether a liturgy shall be used or not is a question, not for the Conference, but for the local body of trustees. But, unlike Congregationalism, Methodism holds to a union of church with church, as also to a supervision of the ministers by the united ministry. In common with Presbyterianism it holds the equality of all elders, their identity in order, and the exercise of discipline over the ministers by the joint pastorate, and not only over churches. Unlike it, however, it also holds that among equals in order may exist a difference in office, one pastor having precedence over a colleague, or two, or more. This difference it takes as truly representing the bishops of the apostolic Age. In common with Episcopacy, Methodism holds to the supervision of ministers by ministers; to a difference of office between one minister and another; but, unlike Episcopacy, it totally denies that between elder and elder there is any distinction of order, and looks on diocesan episcopacy as a purely human arrangement, and on prelacy with civil rank as a mere political appendage to church organization.

Of course, that implies that of such offices as "princes of the church" or cardinals, of vicar of Christ or bishop universal, it knows

nothing at all. It finds that in the constitution of the Apostolic Church such offices have neither name nor place, neither foretold nor memorial.

For Wesley the Church consisted of all the living members of Christ, living by His Spirit dwelling in them. "The Catholic or Universal Church is all the persons in the universe whom God hath so called out of the world as to be 'one body,' united by 'one Spirit,' having 'one faith, one Lord, one baptism.'"* So far for the Universal Church. "A particular Church may consist of any number of members, whether two or three, or two or three millions." This being the ideal of Church universal and Church particular, the view of schism was determined accordingly. "The whole body of Roman Catholics define schism, a separation from the Church of Rome; and almost all our writers define it, a separation from the Church of England. Thus both one and the other set out wrong, and stumble at the very threshold."† He contended that schism was a rent in a Church, not separation from it.

It might have been almost safely argued that a community suddenly brought together, composed in great part of uneducated persons, under no obligation to hold any given creed, not formed to model by preliminary training, and, moreover, with doors open for the exercise of any gift—a community having numbers of laymen, of any and every calling, invested with offices both spiritual and of administration—would speedily break up. So nearly all wise men foretold. In Baltimore, about a century ago, they said: "A corn-crib will soon hold all the Methodists;"‡ and a century later, in Baltimore, President Carlisle, from South Carolina, quoting this prediction, did not say that at present such accommodation would be too strait, but added: "We have thirty thousand churches, the number increasing at the rate of five for every working day in the year." That includes all the United States, North and South, and every branch of the Methodist family in them. It follows that, strong as were the elements of disruption which any clear-sighted observer could detect, somehow deeper down were forces of cohesion very much stronger still.

The tenacity with which the early Methodists held to the Church of England has caused, as I have always thought, a hasty censure to be passed on the authorities of that Church, as if they alone were responsible for the ultimate separation. The strong wish of Wesley to postpone separation as long as possible is not, however, more true on the one hand than is on the other the fact that his views of the constitution of the Catholic Church, and of his rights under that higher law, were far too broad for the framework of Anglicanism, and also the fact that his action, founded on those views, was greatly, even

* Wesley's Works, vol. vi. p. 396.

† *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 402.

‡ "Proceedings of the Centennial Conference," p. 165.

flagrantly, irregular. He could not, without breaking up his Connexion, have allowed any preacher to ride over rules and usages as he did. He said, We do not separate, only "vary," from the Church. It was very wide varying indeed. Then he defined "separating" in a manner of his own: "Those, and those only, separate from the Church who either renounce her fundamental doctrines or refuse to join in her public worship." If so, who has separated even now? So persistent were Wesley's irregularities that it has always seemed to me that great indulgence on the part of the bishops was exercised, or he would have been in every diocese inhibited with rigour.

While it was for preaching justification by faith and the new birth that the Methodists were in the first instance shut out of the churches, it was on the charge of preaching salvation by works that they were cast out from the circles of aristocratic religion. Sturdily refusing to own any root of good works but faith, they just as sturdily refused to own any evidence of faith but good works. They would not allow any theological gloss to alter the fact that bad fruit meant a corrupt tree; and that it is they only who are led by the Spirit of God who are the sons of God. The practices of mob, or college, or of "the Lord's dear people," were by them relentlessly tested at one standard: "He that doeth righteousness is righteous." Hence great offence; they were legalists, and many other black things.

On social grounds also they alienated many. Their for ever following up the lowest of the low, and their making fellowship in prayer and praise, in mutual exhortation, in communication of experience, a vital function of church life, and with such people, naturally repelled the fastidious and kept the aristocratic afar off. They dignified labour by making it in the first place the support ordained of God for every Christian man; and in the next place by showing that highest gifts and holiest offices were to be recognized, no matter with what grade of lowly toil they were linked. They ran after none of the specifics for organizing labour—good men and freedom were their cures for the ills of society. Given these, laws and institutions would gradually come right. Their mode of lifting up the working man necessarily lost to them multitudes of the educated. They knew the cost, and pursued their calling.

On political grounds also they were often in peril; they gathered confused multitudes, they excited the vulgar, they held private meetings presumed to be secret; they surely must mean mischief. Indeed, Wesley was an agent of the French—ay, an emissary of the Pretender, and, moreover, a Jesuit: did he not "last autumn," take with him into Cornwall the Pretender, disguised as John Downes? Nor were the Jacobites on his side: his intense Protestantism, his maintaining that English liberty was founded at the Revolution, and his love of the king, drove them off; not to speak of his estimate of

High Churchmen. "Do you imagine there are no High Churchmen left? Did they all die with Dr. Sacheverel? Alas, how little do you know of mankind! Were the present restraint taken off, you would see them swarming on every side, and gnashing upon you with their teeth."* This illustrates his profound conviction that only a solid civil government could and would protect religious liberty.

Nor yet did Wesley conciliate the crowd, at whose mercy he so often lay. In the affair of Wilkes he wrote against and defied the "patriot mob." During the American war he repeatedly wrote in favour of the king; and evidently was as greatly misinformed of the course and bearing of events in that struggle as were many of our public men on those of the War of Secession. He affronted merchants by his invectives against what was called "the African trade," and even by stigmatizing wrongs in the Indian one. His terrific denunciation of the distillers and their trade must have made him many and fiery enemies. He hurt landowners and moneyed farmers by writing against the sweeping away of small farms for great ones. Numbers of adherents were lost by each of those causes. Some would feel: If Mr. Wesley only conciliated the authorities, and respected order, his usefulness would be immeasurably increased; and others would feel: If he only set himself to lead popular aspirations, he would carry all before him. Of both kinds he lost many; but Wesley believed in a single eye.

In Ireland he set the example of confronting the disaffected with open and loving loyalty, and yet of discouraging fighting Protestantism, and of showing to the Roman Catholic people unaffected goodwill. Conscious of being in daily danger, *protected only by the twofold shield of an unseen Providence and a British force, he never attempted to curry popular favour by political compliances. When all hearts were sinking because of reverses in America, perils in Europe, unrest in England, he wrote a "Compassionate Address" to the people, in which he flung fears to the wind as he would sawdust. Instead of meeting the chronic scare of insurrection by trembling as a man alien from all faith might naturally do; instead of clothing his spectre in the shibboleth of unbelief as "irresistible forces," Wesley, whose creed knew of no irresistible forces, but taught that if you resist the devil he will flee from you—whose creed knew of only one *invincible* force, the Almighty power of God—replied to this effect: If indeed the insurgents should give laudanum to all the liege subjects "in the four provinces," and they should sleep till the foe "cut off their heads at a stroke," then the country would be in a sad condition. "But till this is the case, you need no more be afraid of ten thousand White Boys than of ten thousand cows."† So did the man whom God raised up to save these realms from Voltaire and his disciples pass

* Wesley's Works, vol. xi, p. 138.

† *Ibid.* vol. xi. p. 152.

through the chaotic years that preceded Grattan's Parliament, and in the same spirit of love to the people and loyalty to the Government did his defenceless itinerants thread the byways during the succeeding era of confused noise and garments rolled in blood, from which the country was rescued by the Union. In the years of peace which then came in, Graham, Ouseley, and their fellows reaped such harvests as they never reaped before—harvests whereof the fruit grows in every province of Canada and every State of the great Union. They did not cease their perilous rounds or change their manly voice even in the horrors of the civil war of 1798. What a blast would Wesley have blown had he seen the day when the Irish Methodists were presented with the sapient advice to open to themselves a broad road by turning Home Rulers! Such a fancy reminded me of what some men in Italy in 1860, during the great revolution, would sagely say, that Protestants had only to show strong hatred of the priests, and they would carry the whole country with them, for all Italians so hated the priests. They who can put faith in such expedients do not see the deep currents in a great stream of national life—scarcely see the surface, only the shimmer above it. True, the Italians hated the priests, because the law had permitted them to feel their tyranny in the first place as the most voracious of “land-grabbers,” and in the second place as the directors, when not the incumbents, of the civil power. True also, that in Ireland the law had prevented the people from feeling their tyranny in either of these two important particulars, and that the priest had on system made himself their champion against the tyranny of landlords, and against the civil authorities. But the scale upon which conversions are to be effected will never depend on any trimming of your sails to the passing wind. The kingdom of Christ, advancing as it does by its own purely spiritual forces, cannot lean upon the temporal arm without stooping. You may solicit the secular power in two ways: by courting those who are mighty by station, or those who are mighty by numbers. The two processes are one: in both the Church woos the State, but in one case kisses the hand, in the other the toe. By either course Wesley in his day, and Methodism since his day, might have made gains and avoided losses. To both courses in my own day many have counselled in the right ear and the left. By adopting either course Wesley would have ceased to be Wesley, and Methodism would have ceased to be Methodism, and the world would now have to do with something altogether different.

• Often as Wesley wrote on public questions, he did so, not as a Methodist, but as a citizen. When, like him, Fletcher during the American War wrote on the side of the king, the Lord Chancellor, after he had presented the pamphlet to his Majesty, sent to know what would be acceptable to the Shropshire vicar. “I want nothing, but

more grace," was the reply. That should stand for ever as the reply of Methodism as a whole, and of every Methodist preacher as an individual—the reply, whether at the foot of the throne or in face of the crowd.

But how did the system subsist if it had no public resources on the one hand, and no popular support on the other hand? I do not know how, and do not pretend to know, any more than I know how the lilies of the field get their clothes. What I do know is, that the system has had its rents, its times of stinting, its faults and failures in sufficient plenty, to exclude boasting; but, somehow, here it is. When the homely company set out, intending to go into all "the parish," they had not two coats, but only one. Between them and the weather they had only the homespun made by "the children"; no goodly garment from the king's store; and yet the one coat is not worn out—"their clothes waxed not old." They dispersed widely, and often traversed places where they could say with their chief; "This is an excellent country for finding an appetite, but a poor one for finding a meal." Yet to-day, not certainly in respect of courtly graces, but in respect solely of the growth of living churches, they are ready, after their long course "of pulse to eat and water to drink," to say: "Let our countenances be looked upon before thee, and the countenances of the children that eat of the king's meat, and as thou seest, deal with thy servants." And the only dealing with sought by them is continued leave to live according to their own conscience. But endanger that, and it is life or death!

The company took to rough roads; and had no other shoes for their feet than such as they were told would somehow be provided by "the Gospel of Peace." But seldom did they get a lift from those who rode in chariots, yet sometimes they did, and sent them on their way to preach in palaces, while they plodded over clods and stones. They have travelled far; the bridle-paths of the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains knew them before they knew many others; so did the snow tracks of the Saskatchewan, the forest trails of New Zealand, and the hot hillsides of Africa. To-day some of them are on the uplands of Mexico, and some on the shores of Japan; some will to-night guide their track by the Southern Cross, some by the aurora borealis, and some by the current of the Yang-tsi; some will up to the sound of tom-toms in India, and some to the negro song. After their day's work some will lie down by the Thames, some where the Ganges runs, some where the Congo; and all will say, "A day's march nearer home." But how have they travelled such a journey, and so poorly shod? I do not know: I only know "their feet swelled not."

"Bags that wax not old," having to serve the Church for both worlds, have the defect of being invisible, a defect irremediable to

the worldly politician, but to me they seem likely to wear better than some others, which, solid though they be, are often, for the purposes of those who have nothing to do but regenerate the whole earth, "bags with holes." Asbury, the first Bishop in America, a hardy son of the Black Country, whose work for mankind will loom large on the future, said of a proposed church and school, "I have no reason to believe that our well-laid plans will be executed. Our preachers are unskilful, and our friends have little money." A shrewd man of the world, any year from the beginning till now, would have said as much of the whole body. Yet in the paper already quoted, Dr. Carlisle says that in the United States the sum raised in 1883 for all purposes, by all branches of Methodists, was about six millions sterling. A hint as to the international bearing of all this is dropped when, in alluding to the war of 1812-14, he says: "Which we hope is to be known all through our future history as the last war with England." If others try to make enemies of England and America, Methodism has done much to make them friends.

Looking at such bodies as the Methodists were when their first regularly educated leaders, the Wesleys, Fletcher, and a few others, were gone, it might have been expected that they would sink into ignorance, going downward from father to son. That is what the One Book never allows any people to do. One of the very popular writers of modern Italy tells with real excitement of a visit to that *terra incognita*, the Waldensian valleys. When he had penetrated to the last cover where refuge used to be sought in extremities, the vale of Agrogna, lo and behold! there in the wild, a girl seated on the ground buried in a book.* "I had never seen an Italian girl reading in that way before." Just so: but had not the heel of the persecutor held down the Bible, many a peasant girl would have read good books. Methodism then had but its One Book to begin with, and, like the Waldenses, had all the universities, seminaries, and *literati* against it. In England, not only was higher education so controlled as to educate away from it any whom their parents sent to college; but even primary schools it was obliged to raise at heavy cost owing to the same process. But "the life is the light of men," and in this matter also the life struggled up from under the clay, by degrees emerging into the sun. The same struggle may be marked in the progress of the Primitive Methodists, as well as in that of the less conspicuous bodies, and is well illustrated in the case of communities of ex-slaves and their colleges. Taking America alone, where no outlay for primary schools burdened the Churches, the amount of property invested in academies and colleges is stated at "about two millions two hundred thousand pounds,"† and the

* "Alle Porte d'Italia."

† "Proceedings of Centennial Conference," p. 165.

students at some fifty thousand, of whom five thousand take a "regular college course." Where did the means come from? The reverent reply is, "The Lord knows."

The wonder was, not that in the progress of a community so constituted both diversities and divisions should arise, but that they did not soon destroy it. Of the different bodies now in existence some came by division, some grew up as it were insensibly out of diversity. The largest English body after the parent one, the Primitive Methodists, as also the Bible Christians, may be named as of the latter kind. Where division arose, in some cases it came because innovators did not wait for the patient ways of constitutional reform, but urged on in agitation till dread of revolution arising, breakers of rule and alarmed authority came into collision. In other cases it arose because the opponents of innovation refused to submit to the majority, and to accept the settlement arrived at by the regular course. There has been no division for the last thirty-five years; and, as has been indicated, no questions of either schism or heresy exist as between the different branches. During the last generation a steady increase of good feeling and brotherly kindness has marked the relations of these, one to the other. So also has it been with the relations between Methodists and other denominations within that period. I sometimes read of the fierce attacks of the "sects" on one another; but, for my own part, do not know what it means. The Methodists never made much headway in Scotland, but from no denomination there, established or nonconforming, do I hear of fierce attacks, and often hear of acts of fellowship and good service. If the remarkable book of Mr. J. Guinness Rogers on the "Church Systems of the Nineteenth Century," in its generous handling of the Methodists, and its modest handling of his own denomination, is a specimen of the "bitterness" of which we often hear, I think it easy to bear. To my own knowledge, for fifty years there has been a steady growth of good feeling among Protestants of all denominations.

In America many years ago an important union was effected between two great Presbyterian bodies. The same actually took place in Ireland, and also in Scotland, where it constituted the United Presbyterian Church; a union on a smaller but important scale was also effected in England. These various unions have worked well. Among the Methodists in Canada all the bodies in the Dominion have joined into one; and in Ireland the only two considerable ones have done so. In 1881 all branches of the Methodist family held an Ecumenical Conference in City Road Chapel, London. The "call" to that assembly was issued by a joint committee which met at Cincinnati the year previously, during the quadrennial General Conference. In that committee sat together representatives of episcopal and non-episcopal churches, of American and Canadian ones, of some composed

of Africans, and of some which formerly were slaveholding; of churches North and South, of bodies of recent date, and of the two old Conferences in England and Ireland over which Wesley himself used to preside. Yet no punctilio, either ecclesiastical or international, was raised. On the contrary, the American brethren, on their own soil, and representing by very far the largest numbers, put into the chair the non-episcopal representative of the British Conference, though two bishops from the North and two from the South were present. Indeed, it was bishops who moved me into the chair. Still more, on the "call" the great name of Bishop Simpson, heading those of the Americans, was set after not only the representatives from England and Ireland, but also after those from Canada. Promise of peace, not only between denominations, but between nations, between sections of a nation not long previously rent in twain, and between races which had acted the parts of oppressor and oppressed, was then felt with tokens of blessing. When the Ecumenical Conference met, it made no attempt to initiate organic unions. Among members of the Southern Church from America, and among those of minor bodies here some apprehension was felt that the leading body in each country might urge such steps. More was gained by cultivation of goodwill and by reasons seen for mutual respect than would have been gained by attempts to precipitate unions.

Many years previous to the Ecumenical Conference, a union between the parent body and the New Connexion had been talked of. Changes in the constitution of the former had materially lessened the obstacles to such a union. The project has been of late revived, though not as yet in any definite shape. In his very able book on Church Organization Dr. Rigg points out the difficulties in the way, and even what appear to him to be objections; Dr. Watts, of the New Connexion, publishes a pamphlet in reply; and certainly both writers add to the difficulties. There is, however, this difference, that in so doing Dr. Rigg does what he aimed at, and Dr. Watts does the opposite of what he aimed at. By putting in a plea for republicanism, he adds great force to the fear of political views being the motive in certain quarters. He has lived in Canada, and must know that there as well as here republicanism would mean revolution, just as in America or France monarchism would do. He pleads for a commonwealth, by which name men understand England as under Oliver. I doubt whether liberty, as it existed under him, would be more to Dr. Watts' mind than as it exists under Queen Victoria. Whether religious liberty, as exemplified in Switzerland, is surer or more precarious than here, the Salvation Army can tell. One of the best of Frenchmen, who long held the chair of Ancient History in the Sorbonne, said to me after the crash of 1870: "Republic—yes. In France we could not have a monarchy such as yours.

Under the name of a monarchy England is the freest republic in the world, and under the name of republics South America is covered with military despotisms." Even apart from his political display, Dr. Watts' handling of some denominational points is not of a nature to facilitate union; though on others his explanations are so. Yet while both he and Dr. Rigg have added to the difficulties, my impression is, that on carefully weighing what both advance, men will come to feel that the real obstacles are not formidable, and that time, with the mutual respect which both objector and advocate manifest, with brotherly goodwill and an honest determination on all sides neither to push nor be pushed, will open the way.

Dr. Watts does not know Dr. Rigg well. When the memoirs appeared of a remarkable man, the Rev. George Steward, who in the time of the last division left Methodism and joined the Congregationalists, they gave some of his remarks on a great committee of ministers to weigh points in dispute; in which he expresses surprise at the liberality of many, including Dr. Beecham, the President. Giving the initials of two men, he said they "are more liberal than myself." Of these, one was "R." Now if "R" was liberal, he never proved it by championing the people to the people's face, but by serving them behind their backs. That is the true Methodist spirit. It was ministers and laymen, who, before the people were, as far as they could be, for the Conference, and before the ministers were, as far as they could be, for the people, who brought about a state of increasing confidence within and more cordial relations to those without.

The obstacles to union in Ireland were certainly greater than Dr. Rigg imagines. They were such that, had any one thrust on the movement, even after it had been formally mooted in both Conferences, probably it never would have been effected. Certainly it would not had any suspicion of political ends been aroused. In face of several checks, patience was shown; time alone ripened the growth. The results of it very nearly answer to the forecasts of sober men. Results of measures which are only wise and useful, not portentous, never do answer to the forecasts of those who, when they take up a movement, think that it will work wonders, any more than to the forecasts of those who, when they resist one, always think it will work ruin. As to Canada also, Dr. Rigg's view of the antecedent facility is too strong, and his view of the success decidedly too unfavourable. If the conditions as between the New Connexion and the parent body are not more difficult than in those two cases—and I do not know that they are so—brotherly kindness will in time make all plain.

In America the era of cordial relations has fairly set in, the great Centennial Conference there having well advanced the work of the first Ecumenical one. How soon the era of organic unions, after the manner of Canada, will arrive, I do not predict, nor yet to what

length such unions will extend. So far as I know men there, they are wise and large—not men likely to dash at unions as though they were to be done at a stroke. They will love one another, and meet and take their time, and unions will gently grow. Not that I ever heard any man of judgment say that he would wish for uniformity in Methodism, any more than in Christianity as a whole.

For my own part, it is a settled principle that vital unity has diversity as its counterpart. The idea of the world under any one political head, and its offspring the idea of a world-church under one ecclesiastico-political head, is the hallucination which has caused more bloodshed than any other. It defaces the divine ideal of unity among accountable creatures, which is that of liberty, leading to diversity, and of charity accepting the diversity. More than thirty years ago, an excellent clergyman of the Church of England consulted me on a project for incorporating the Methodists with that Church. I said: "We should go to sleep together. Our liberty of action would not survive, put what you might on paper; and as for you, you require a certain amount of friction on the skin to keep up your activity." I well remember how Lord Shaftesbury smiled when I told him, for the gentleman had been to him; and on his saying that he took the same view, I added that, as between the Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists, I should put the case in very similar terms. That prosperous family of Churches has sprung up beside us and among us in peace, and its influence has often stirred up sluggish Wesleyans. I should not move a finger in anything that would hamper or stiffen it. If we are ever to sit together in one Conference, gentle ways of providential preparation will quietly lead to the goal.

No one ever heard me advise any man to sit loose to his own denomination, much less advise any community to sit loose to its principles, whether of doctrine or of discipline. Throughout life I have found the best men, and the most genial workers in catholic undertakings, to be those who were soundly attached to their own denominations. Even to the smallest bodies I should say: Never merge yourselves in a larger one, so long as you believe that any scriptural principle in doctrine or discipline would be sacrificed. As soon as you believe that such would not be the case, you can with a good conscience look at all other points. A small community standing on its principles is always to be profoundly respected, and may wield vast influence. How much does mankind owe in the last century to the Society of Friends! A large community loose about doctrine or discipline is of small power, as either the salt or the light of the world. It is easily manipulated by men professedly of it, but really politicians, who want it for political ends. In proportion to mass, what has been the speed in the race for "going

into all the world" of the "multitudinist" churches of the Continent, with the virtually Universalist teaching of most of their ministers? And little as their progress has been, it would have been vastly less, but for the incursion, detested it is true, of English and American evangelists, who are in earnest about salvation and perdition. A large community has no right to order a smaller one to go out of existence, because it thinks its own foundations are broad enough for both. That is a question for the smaller one. The moment it can with a free and true heart say, "Looking into your principles we can cordially accept them, and looking into your application of them we can without compromise of conscience do so too, provided certain minor arrangements are mutually agreed upon," the way is opened to a union honourable on both sides. Comprehension without compromise, I have always contended, was the true genius of the Christian Church. Jerusalem with its Temple rites, Antioch with its many Gentiles uncircumcised, Corinth with its loose order, were three types of Churches differing perhaps more widely than does any one Methodist body from another. They neither insisted on uniformity nor abandoned unity. When a proposed union is not looked upon in the light of bringing the erring to repentance, but as a fraternal arrangement for more efficiently prosecuting the work of Christ's company, it is easy to regard it calmly. Considerations of ruin or redemption do not enter in—only those of greater or less usefulness. Therefore I should say to advocates, No zeal; and to objectors, Be not too much afraid.

WM. ARTHUR.

THE FRANCO-GERMAN FRONTIER IN ITS MILITARY ASPECTS.

IN undertaking a rapid survey of the Franco-German frontier in its military aspects, and a brief inspection of the various bulwarks which have been erected between Germany and France by Nature or Art for purposes of defence or attack, I feel sure that my short sketch (which must occasionally carry me over into Switzerland and Belgium) will be followed with interest at a time when all eyes are eagerly directed towards that frontier, which was settled after a severe struggle a few years ago, and may perhaps have to be soon settled again by a more severe struggle still. For more than a thousand years the western frontier of Germany has been a contested one. There the Germans have all along fought with the French for the beautiful districts of the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine, and every footbreadth of the soil has been under a continual process of exchange, being now reckoned to the one country, and now to the other. France, united in itself, and ruled by a powerful monarchical government, furnished the first handle for that policy which continued for a thousand years under the most various forms of government, and never rested until Germany, weakened by political and religious divisions, and destitute of all national cohesion, had been deprived even of those territories which had belonged to her by the closest ties of nationality, and by the history of a thousand years; so that the Rhine again, as in Cæsar's time, became the boundary of the two countries. Nay, the great Corsican was not content with bringing under the French sceptre every country to the left of the Rhine, from Basle to its mouth, but, as the *tête-de-pont* of his work for securing this territory, he cut off the Rhenish confederation from Germany, and pushed his boundary marks into Westphalia and Hesse.

In 1870 the tale of Germany's thousand years of sorrow ended;

the Rhine legend was pushed back, and the German arms, successful in war, took possession again of her old property ; and since that time, French Chauvinism, that secret but sometimes very loud-toned religion of the French, has in its historical and ethnographical ignorance still called for what are termed "natural frontiers." From that year till now, no French Government has dared to confess that the Treaty of Frankfort put an end to this historical claim, and that France must now be content with her present geographical configuration.

But it is because these two powerfully armed civilized nations—the Germans and the French—are so irreconcilable in the ideals of life they strive after, that we hear their swords clash so unceasingly, and sooner or later the saying must again come true, that "Life is war ; it is only the dead who have peace, and keep it." Is it possible for Germany to retain peace if she is neither to suffer herself to be disturbed in her own homestead rights, nor yet, as in former days, to lend her soil as a threshing-floor for the battles of the nations? How long, in the present strained state of political relations, German sagacity and German love of peace may succeed in preventing a war with France, no one can tell. Human and social development is less guided now than in former days by the calculations of the understanding or the higher requirements of human culture, and we must neither deride the times nor lament them, but merely understand them, with all their vehement demands : we must therefore reflect that it is impossible to enter successfully on a severe and a historical conflict with small means; that the kind of emergency may come suddenly on us overnight, when the highest wisdom lies in the highest boldness ; and that, so far as our preparations are defective, a sorrowful "to-morrow" will not only follow *upon*, but follow *out of* the "yesterday." In this way shall we borrow from the lightnings on the other side of the Vosges nothing but a light that shall show the strength of the fortifications of the neighbouring nations.

The German or Alsace-Lorraine frontier with France,* from Delle (south of Belfort) to Longwy, as the crow flies some 250 kilometres long, has no natural boundary-line except for a short stretch of some 90 kilometres in the Vosges. This reaches from Belfort to the source of the Saar. At the latter place the frontier leaves the mountains and runs for some 100 kilometres over a flat country, broken by only a few low valleys, till it comes upon the Moselle a few kilometres south of Metz. Here, after crossing the river to the steep left bank, it proceeds northwards to Luxemburg, for 50 kilometres in a line almost parallel with the river, and at a mean distance of 15 kilometres from it. Although the frontier

* For this paper I have used O'Grady's "Übersichtskarte von nordöstlichen Frankreich nebst Grenzländern" (Cassel: Theodor Fischer). It is small in compass and very trustworthy, and indicates the French fortifications very clearly.

extends along northern Lorraine, the old debateable land between France and Germany, without offering anything for the critical military eye, the historical ground over which and along which it passes recalls both to German and French minds the heroic struggles on the fields of Vionville, Mars-la-Tour, Saint-Privat, Gravelotte, and others. Where the frontier is open the art of man has erected, especially on the French side, the bulwarks which Nature withheld. Before 1870 the frontier was constituted by the Rhine from Basle to the mouth of the Lauter, and from there westward it diverged at right angles along the Palatinate; but as a result of the war of that year Germany obtained a better frontier, the hypotenuse of the previous one, so that neither the Rhine nor the Moselle is now a military obstacle to Germany, while they are both military obstacles for France.

Let us begin the military inspection in upper Alsace, in a quarter which is not protected by German fortifications or by natural boundaries, and on which it is possible for France, leaning on Belfort in the foreground, and on Besançon farther back, to make an attack, because the operating sphere of Neu-Breisach, the centre for the roads from Colmar to Freiburg, and by the Höllenthal from Swabia, does not reach very far south. A French attack in this quarter would in the first place threaten Upper Alsace and Upper Baden, rich districts, containing large and prosperous towns. The enemy who should attempt the invasion of this territory with a great army would certainly be brought to a standstill by the German forces in Alsace-Lorraine, who could march up and cut off his communications even before help could arrive from the south German fortress of Ulm on the spot at all. For these forces are four lines of railway, of which two are double rows, running through Alsace-Lorraine to the sources of the Danube, and through them it is possible to throw a strong body of troops rapidly on the left flank of the rear of a French army moving towards Stuttgart and Munich. The lines are these:—Metz, Zabern, Schlettstadt, Breisach, Freiburg; Metz, Hagenau, Schlettstadt; Metz, Zweibrücken, Lauterburg, Strassburg, Appenweier or Freiburg to Donaueschingen; Frier, Homburg, Gernersheim, Carlsruhe, Appenweier, Pforzheim, or Rottweil to Sigmaringen. In this way the march of a French army on the Black Forest would be in a measure flanked, so that if it could not make its basis of operations on the Upper Rhine in Switzerland, it could hardly succeed in returning again to Belfort without catastrophe. As opposed to German troops, however, for whom the changeable country north-east of Belfort seems almost to have been made, mere French demonstrations would prove all the sooner useless, because in this case the efficient German railways would have an important voice in the matter.

From the open gate of Belfort, as has been already said, the frontier between French and German possessions runs along the ridge of the Vosges, to become at a later point in Lorraine a merely political boundary again.

If now we turn northwards to the fortress of Neu Breisach, we stand on the "military territory" which was acquired by Germany in 1870-71 by conquest, and which stretches over Diedenhofen to the Luxemburg frontier. From the Ill there beckons to us the ancient Münster, the alarm-post of Alsace, and a name presses on the ear like the sound of a legendary forest, the name of Strassburg. This famous old free city of the empire bears to-day German colours, and has cast itself under the shield of the empire. That shield, however, is so shaped that there is at this moment only one fortification which exceeds Strassburg in physical extent, and that is Paris. The entrenched camp on the Ill, which is the creation of German engineers, can accommodate 280,000 men; in front it is protected by the forts Grand Duke of Baden and Crown Prince, which are supported on the right by the forts Podbielski, Roon, Moltke, and Fransecky (at the mouth of the Ill); and on the left by the forts Bismarck, Crown Prince of Saxony, Tann, Werder, and Schwarzhoff. The girdle of defences on the right bank of the Rhine consists of the forts Kirchbach, Bose, and Blumenthal.

A railway circuit connects the forts with the railway lines that issue in the place of arms; the town is in telegraphic connection with the forts, and the forts with one another, by means of a subterranean cable. But the chief work is naturally the town itself, with its improved and fortified wall, which can itself be encircled on three sides by a belt of water (of course not continuous) from the Ill, the Rhone Canal, and the Rhine.

The following facts may serve to give some idea of the extent of this fortified place. The forts lie from 5 to 8 kilometres distant from the wall of the town, and 3 or 4 kilometres from one another. The diameter of the entrenched ground is 14 kilometres, while the diameter of an enemy's line of enclosure would be at least 26 kilometres, and the besieger would have to invest a circuit of 80 kilometres. At Paris the chain of outer fortifications erected recently round the town forms an ellipse from west to east, with a length of 40 kilometres, and a width of 30. These figures will assist in making a comparison of the two places.

As Paris lies on both banks of the Seine, so does the German place of arms, of which Bitsch is a detached outpost, lie on both sides of the Rhine. Paris and Strassburg alike possess inexhaustible military resources, and command an extensive and fruitful territory. Strassburg, the focus of the railway system of Central Europe, and the

meeting-point of the canals between the Rhine and Rhone and the Rhine and Marne, is as advantageously situated from a commercial and political as from a strategical point of view. Not only has Mercury settled here, but here also Mars wields the sceptre. Five days' march northwest of Strassburg, on a huge erratic rock (Saint-Quentin), lies the very ancient town of Metz, which the Moselle flows through, and which was, till 1870, the chief defence of the eastern frontier of France, but is now the watch-tower from which the German eagle jealously guards the territory she won by blood and iron. We are here at the ancient and now new frontier of Germany, and stand on its very westmost edge, from whence the storm-clouds have so often broken over the German land. The battle-fields surrounding distant Metz are huge graveyards, in which the heroes of two noble nations slumber together in the great Night; they are places of horror and woe to German mothers and French alike, but they are landmarks left by history as she moves with iron step on her ever onward course. Here is the rock where German and Gaul touch so closely, and where political storms have so often brewed and burst; and this rock has become for the Germans the watch-tower of their country. For Metz, already very strong by Nature, has been greatly strengthened, both for defence and attack, by the erection of some new detached forts, and forms a true front bulwark, which cuts into French territory, and makes it possible to move a German army rapidly on the Meuse. The nine detached posts of Metz bear the following names: Hindersin, Göben (formerly Queuleu), Manteuffel (formerly Saint-Julien), Zastrow (formerly Les Bottes), Prinz August von Wurtemberg (formerly Saint-Privat), Prinz Friedrich Carl (formerly Saint-Quentin), Manstein (with an armour-plated tower), Alvensleben (formerly Plappeville), and Kamecke (formerly Woippy), with two armour-plated towers. The burden of the responsibility for guarding this important place is laid on and borne by the hills of the neighbourhood, but behind these fortified hills there is also an inner girdle of protection, which consists in the power of producing a genuine Dutch inundation.

Not only is Metz the basis of the Lorraine theatre of war, but the predominant strategical advantages of lines of operation directed from this strong fortress assign to the place a decisive influence extending far beyond the limits of Lorraine. The two fortified places on the Rhine and the Moselle—Strassburg and Metz—are from their situation and construction the head and handle of a strategical lever—viz., of the basis of operations which reaches from the Vosges to the Moselle, and in contemplating which one necessarily thinks of the strategical offensive. As they were formerly bulwarks of France against Germany, they are now

bulwarks of Germany against France, for they do more than merely strengthen the defences of Alsace and Lorraine. They supply protection to upper Germany, the Bavarian Palatinate of the Rhine, and the Rhine Province, as the glacis supplies protection to the fort. The position of Strassburg and Metz, resting on good railway and road connections to the north and east, will, in the event of war, enable a large body of troops to be speedily brought to the front.

Strassburg is the starting-point of an army for operations in Alsace, in the Vosges, or on the Meurthe. It is from Strassburg that the enemy's columns, breaking over the ridge of the Vosges, would, with the help of the highly developed railway system, be driven back among the mountains. In conjunction with Neu-Breisach, 50 kilometres farther up the Rhine, on its left bank, Strassburg is the visible menace against the march of a hostile army into Baden at any point higher up the river. Metz, by its natural defences, together with the art of the engineer, makes up for the want of all other protection in unfortified Lorraine. In 1871 it was counted equal in strength to 100,000 men, and through its possession Germany would to that extent be stronger in any new war. As Strassburg and Neu-Breisach command the Upper Rhine, so Metz and its neighbour Diedenhofen, 25 kilometres distant, command the Moselle, and raise a threatening finger against the French metropolis, which is only eight days' march away. A direct double line of railway connects Metz with Berlin, and furnishes the means of transporting the military forces of North Germany as expeditiously as possible. While Strassburg lies in the plain, and commands it to a great distance around, Metz rises proudly on a height. Besides Neu-Breisach and Diedenhofen, there is also Bitsch, which commands the Strassburg-Metz Railway and the roads leading from the Palatinate to Lorraine, and which has been much strengthened by fortifications, while the fortresses of Pfalzburg and Schlettstadt have been razed. The railway system of Alsace and Lorraine has been planned with a view to a speedy concentration of German troops on the western frontier of the country.

So far, then, we have traced the military profile which Germany has established in Alsace and Lorraine, but behind that profile we perceive a second line of defence—an older one, dating from the time before 1871, which is formed by the fortresses of Ulm, Rastatt, Mayence, Coblenz, Cologne, and Wesel, and which, in combination with the two great places already mentioned, constitute a system of fortifications which can neither be taken nor passed, and through which it would be very difficult for a French general to lead an army successfully, "in order to fetch the marshal's baton from beyond the Rhine."*

* General Chanzy.

Let us now consider the means of defence with which the French have supplied their frontier. After the loss of Strassburg and Metz they adopted in 1872 a new plan of defence for their country, in which, as may be easily conceived, the eastern frontier played the chief part. This plan has been already carried out, and the strategical wall against Germany has been completed long ago ; but the French are never done discovering gaps in it which require to be filled up—such, for example, as the “gap of the Ardennes.” Neither money nor labour has been spared hermetically to seal the eastern frontier, and after examining the French fortified camps, the places of secondary rank, with detached forts of all kinds, and other sorts of defences, one is obliged to admit that a masterpiece of engineering has been here accomplished, and that it has not unnaturally become the favourite child of the nation. The belt of fortifications, from Belfort through Epinal and Tour to Verdun, cannot be denied the credit of being a great work of defence ; and we must acknowledge that this line of works utilizes with conspicuous skill the strategical points in the geographical situation.

In the south, at the junction of the Swiss and German frontiers, Belfort, situated on the Savoureuse, has through its position at the gate of Burgundy, that important and frequented highway of the nations, as well as through the extension of its girdle of fortifications, become a powerful stronghold of the eastern frontier—a place which is not only perfectly secure against bombardment, but has certain command over the important debouchés in its neighbourhood. It bars the narrow road from Upper Alsace to the Doubs and Saône valley, it guards the pass between the Jura and the Vosges, and it protects the connections of Mühlhausen with Vesoul, and of Epinal with Besançon. In front of the small but strong-walled town, which is turned into an excellent central redoubt, rises at a short distance a girdle of ancient forts and redoubts, partly hewn in the rock : the work of repairing and enlarging these has gone on without interruption since 1872, and now not only are the heights in the distance crowned with fortifications such as those on Mount Salbert, or on the forts Vaudois, Roppe, Bosmont, Vezelois, and others less extensive in their character, but, besides four small forts, powerful batteries have been built on the elevated ground between Essert and Bavillers, to cover with their fire the plain that lies to the west of the town. The great fort on Mount Salbert, with batteries annexed, crowns the height (650 metres high) to the north-west of Belfort, scours the marshy plain that extends to Giromagny, and holds under fire the railway and road to Paris, and the district of the sources of the Lisaine ; while towards the south it completely commands the town. The Fort Vaudois (8 kilometres south-west of Mount Salbert, and built on an isolated peak), exceeding all the

others in effective range of fire, guards the valley of the Lisaine and the plain between Hencourt and Belfort. The forts Roppe and Bosmont, on the left bank of the Savoureuse, protect the east front, and render it difficult to institute a regular siege of the place at its most vulnerable side; they have a wide range of shot over the plain to the north, and the great road to Colmar comes under their fire. The Fort Vezelois flanks the railway to Delle. Other batteries, not less strong, have been erected not far from the railway station of Belfort, between Danjoutin and the junction of the two railways from Mühlhausen and Lyons; their object is to protect Danjoutin even after the enemy has captured the works of the region farther south. Belfort has also a carrier-pigeon station.

Twelve kilometres from Belfort, on the Upper Savoureuse, lies the very strong Fort Giromagny, which covers the road winding up to the Ballon d'Alsace, and leading into the Moselle valley, and secures the connection with the forts erected in the Vosges. As Giromagny in the north, so Fort Vaudois on the Lisaine (9 kilometres from Belfort) preserves the connection with Montbéliard (Mömpelgart). The circumference of the line of fortifications at Belfort is 50 kilometres, and from that circumstance alone one can perceive the importance of the place. For the protection of the district between Belfort and the Swiss frontier the strong old castle of Montbéliard has been restored, and thereby the security of this canal, railway, and road centre has been safeguarded.

A cannon-shot north-east of Montbéliard there comes into view, on a perfectly isolated hill (390 metres high), the powerful Fort la Chaux. It stands on the right bank of the Doubs, between the mouths of the Lisaine and the Savoureuse, and being sustained by two batteries, it exerts a decisive tactic influence not only over the valleys of the Doubs, the Allaine, the Savoureuse, and the Lisaine, but also over all connections with Montbéliard from Alsace, as well as from the north-west corner of Switzerland. The same task which Fort la Chaux has to fulfil north-east of Montbéliard falls to Fort Mont Bart for the valleys of the Doubs and Allaine, for the Mühlhausen and Besançon railway, for the Rhine and Rhone Canal, and for important roads to the south-west of the town. Fort Mont Bart is three and a half kilometres south-west of Montbéliard, and is the key of all roads between Montbéliard and Besançon by which one can reach the valley of the Doubs. The road from Basle to Besançon, which crosses the Doubs at Pont-de-Roide, is brought at that point under the fire of the batteries of the Roches, while farther east, on the chain of hills, the Fort Lomont (800 metres high) has been erected to guard the road from Blamont and De Pierre.

Through the entrenchments of Belfort, the fortifications of Montbéliard, and the detached forts which reach down the Moselle valley

as far as Epinal, it was hoped to deprive Upper Alsace of all power of offensive, and to preclude every means of access to France by the Upper Vosges passes: the "gap of Belfort" no longer exists. It may here be remarked that Epinal, Belfort, Besançon, Dijon, and Langres represent a large strategical pentagon, in which every angle is filled with a fortified place of the first rank.

If we now follow the French frontier from Belfort northwards, it appears that the line of defences does not lean so closely on the course of the political frontier as hitherto, but rather that the Moselle, from its source at Ballon d'Alsace almost to its exit into German territory, between Pont-à-Mousson and Metz, has been taken as the line of defence, behind which and north of which the line of the Meuse takes its place. We have in the first place to consider the Moselle.

Due north of Fort Giromagny, just mentioned, the following works have been erected to guard the road from there to Epinal, over the Ballon d'Alsace and through the upper Moselle valley:—

In the first place, not far from the German frontier, at the point (1,200 metres high) where the road from Mühlhausen by Thaur to the northern slope of the Ballon d'Alsace creeps up to the highest peak by this inaccessible pyramid of rock, there rises the fort of the Ballon de Servante; then descending into the Moselle valley, we come upon the Fort Château Lambert, and 14 kilometres lower still (773 metres high) Fort Rupt, which bar the entrance to the Moselle valley from the north-west, and at the same time command those Vosges passes through which the roads from Mühlhausen, Gebweiler, &c., proceed, in order to get out by the Moselle valley into those of the Oignon and Breuchin—that is, to get to Besançon and Vesoul, &c. West of the town of Remiremont Fort Parmont blocks the road running through the Moselette and Moselle valleys, and connecting Neu Breisach, Colmar, and Langres. Farther down the Moselle, 11 kilometres above Epinal, is Fort d'Arches, which commands with its shot the country round the confluence of the Vologne and the Moselle, and protects the railway and road to Saint Dié.

We thus find that wherever the roads from Upper Alsace pass into the Moselle valley, French barricades have been erected for the purpose of stopping the advance of an invading army in the direction of Langres or Chaumont, and of rendering it impossible to turn the flank of the fortress of Belfort on the north. Naturally these barricades establish a secure connection between Belfort and Epinal.

Epinal itself has neither wall nor moat, but has been converted into a fortified place of importance by eight detached forts and batteries, constructed at some distance in front of it (four on either

bank of the Moselle) ; it is entrusted with the task of safeguarding the junction of the railway and road system near the town. The forts of Epinal are these : Fort Razimont, on the hill of the same name (470 metres high), exceeding all the others in effective range of fire, and commanding the whole plateaus to the west and north, as well as the road from Epinal to Rambervillers ; Fort la Mouche, erected in the forest of Epinal, and guarding the Moselle defile and the branches of the railway to the slope of the right bank of the river ; the two forts lie near the town ; on the right bank stand the Forts Dogneville and Longchamp, a strong *tête-de-pont*. Dogneville commands the Moselle valley, the railway, and the high road to Nancy and Luneville ; while Longchamp bars the direct road from Epinal to Rambervillers. The girdle is completed on the south and south-west by three forts—Bambois, du Roulon, du Girancourt ; and finally, on the hill of the same name, immediately to the north of the canal and the railway from Neufchâteau, stands Fort d'Uxegney, which effectually blocks all access to the plateau against an enemy advancing by the road from Mirecourt. The battery des Frisches lies between Forts Bambois and Roulon, the battery de Sanchey between Forts Girancourt and d'Uxegney ; and the battery of La Grande-Haye lies east of d'Uxegney. The circumference of the ring of forts measures 42 kilometres.

Just as on the Belfort-Epinal front, so also, farther north, in the territory between the latter town and Toul, the Republic has taken care that an enemy advancing from the east should find the main roads and river passes barricaded. The line of fortifications of the Moselle joins here with the line of fortifications of the Meuse, the two rivers being only 25 kilometres apart at Toul. The first of the Meuse fortifications we encounter north-west of Epinal is Fort Bourlemont, not far from Neufchâteau, which covers the Chaumont-Neufchâteau-Mirecourt-Nancy Railway, so important for commissariat purposes, as well as the main roads that meet there. Twenty kilometres farther down, on the heights to the right of the Meuse, is Fort Pagny-la-Blanche-Côte, which covers with its fire the Neufchâteau-Vaucouleurs Railway and the Meuse road. Twelve kilometres south of Toul, Fort Blénois-les-Toul guards an important junction of roads. Then on the left bank of the Meuse, south of Nancy, the steep rock of Saint-Barbe, near the village Pont Saint-Vincent, has a fort on it, which bars the roads coming from Toul, and sweeps the other bank of the river, as well as the Chaumont-Nancy Railway, north-east from Toul and north from Nancy. At the strategically important railway station of Frouard, where the Meurthe and Moselle unite, there is the redoubt Chanois, with two strong batteries lying in front of it, which has command not only of the railway, but also of the Upper Moselle valley and the valley of



Lay Saint-Christophle; while a little farther to the east, near the German border, we encounter the very strong Fort Mannonviller, on the Vezouse, and on the great railway line from Paris to Strassburg, which is meant to protect this railway line as well as the bridge. The district between Epinal and Toul is well secured against the invasion of a hostile army by these scattered forts, for even if by taking Fort Mannonviller the enemy succeeded in opening the Strassburg-Paris Railway line as far as Nancy, still the railway going through the district south of Toul, by which they could pass Toul, would be already blocked to a march above that fortress by Fort Pont-Saint-Vincent; and for protection farther on provision is made in the more westerly forts, Bourlemont and Pagny-la-Blanche-Côte.

Sixty kilometres below Epinal, in the Moselle valley, lies Toul, a place powerfully fortified by detached forts and batteries, whose girdle of defence is 40 kilometres long. Through Toul the first line of defences against an army from Metz, determined by the mid-channel of the Moselle, is brought into advantageous connection with the mid-channel of the Meuse. Toul, which is the seat of a carrier-pigeon station, has retained its old town wall, and is surrounded by a moat of water. Its fortifications consist of—(1) The position of St. Michel (*i.e.*, the peak to the north of the town from which in 1870 the German batteries opened fire) with Fort St. Michel and adjunct works, which, erected in the north on the left bank of the Moselle, may be described as impregnable by situation as well as by construction. The fort is independent of the town and of all other works, and would by itself, even after the fall of the rest, block the Paris-Strassburg Railway. (2) The position of Villey-le-Sec with Fort Villey-le-Sec, including the small redoubt and the girdle of arranged batteries which crown the height on the right bank of the river, at the village of the same name, on the south-west of Toul. This position commands the steep banks of the Moselle; the open country to the north forms a sort of broad glacis to it, and the railway bridge at Fontenoy can be brought under the fire of its long-range guns. (3) A connecting-link between the two works just mentioned is formed by the redoubts of Dommartin and Chaudeney, on the heights of Dommartin, where the Prussian field artillery took up its position in 1870. (4) The position of Domgermain, with Fort Domgermain, which with Fort d'Ecrouves keeps the valley de l'Ingressin under fire, and protects by its dominating position the redoubt de la Justice that stands in front of it to the south-west. (5) The position d'Ecrouves, with Fort d'Ecrouves. (6) The redoubt de la Justice. (7) The fort of Blénod, with two annexed batteries, which protects the entrance into that long defile through which the high road from Vaucouleurs—the only

cârt-road from the basin of the Moselle—passes to the Meuse valley. The battery on the rock of Blénod exceeds in height even the position of St. Michel. (8) The Fort du Tillot, with a battery annexed, which controls the approaches to Toul in the plain between the Moselle and the road from Mirecourt, and which in the event of an attack from the south would sorely harass the assailant with its return fire. (9) The fort de Lucey, consisting of one battery with embrasures, and one without, whereby the natural strength of the position in the north-west of Toul is greatly increased, and makes itself felt to the north, east and west. The chief of these works possesses an armour-plated tower, and from the range of its shot can lay under fire the road from Toul to Metz, the cross-roads going south from the Woëvre, and the whole district lying north of Toul, as well as the northern slopes of Mount Saint-Michel.

Leaving the Moselle front, we now arrive at the Meuse line, which is so very important for the eastern frontier of France. In that important section of the defences of the country Toul and Verdun form the chief wings. The Moselle approaches very near the Meuse, in a deep-cut channel at Toul, and is connected with it by a canal through a valley between Toul and Commercy.

The following forts, erected on the right bank of the river, are all aids to offensive operations on the part of the French, because they secure the bridges towards the east, and the important railway line connecting them which runs from Commercy to Verdun, on the left or western bank of the Meuse. The forts, of which the three first have batteries annexed, bear the following names:—Fort Gironville, which sweeps the high road from Bar-le-Duc to Metz and Lionville, in the north-east of Commercy; Fort Camp-Romain, south-east of Saint-Michel (the strongest of them all), which commands the town, the ford of the Meuse, the canal, and the junction of three great strategical roads; Fort Troyon, which holds the bridge of Tilly-sur-Meuse and Bamoncourt under fire; and finally, Fort Génicourt, which commands the Meuse valley to a long distance both up and down. All these works are situated in a chain of hills called “Côtes de Méuse,” and form a strong part of the line of defence which reaches on the one side the fortified ground of Toul, and on the other side that of Verdun. Every road and bridge in this district, being endangered by the neighbourhood of Metz, is barricaded by numerous small works, and the forts can be taken only by a regular siege.

And this brings us to the basis of the left wing of the enormous wall of defences which the French have constructed. It brings us to Verdun, which is meant to take the place of Metz as a fortification of the first order, and which commands the railway which is the shortest route between Paris and Metz. The old town wall, with the exception

of the ground before the spacious citadel—Saint-Victor, built in 1870, with hornwork in front of it—is surrounded by a moat that can be inundated from the Meuse. The eleven forts on the right bank of the river, built at the great distance of 4000 to 7000 metres from the town, fall into two groups : the first and more important, on the north and north-east of Verdun, consists of the redoubts de Belleville, Saint-Michel, de Souville (with batteries annexed), and de Tavannes. This group commands the plateau north-east of the town, and guards the important marching roads from the entrenched camp to the plain of Woëvre. The two first-named works crown the heights of Saint-Michel, and prevent approach from the north to the basin of Verdun by the right bank of the Meuse. Fort de Souville lies at the key-point to the plateau of the north-east. The very strong Fort de Tavannes, in a well-chosen position between the railway tunnel and the road to Metz, commands the approaches to the plain of Woëvre. The second group contains the redoubt de Belrupt, the Fort de Rozellier, and the redoubt d'Hautainville. These works are built on the broad chains of the Meuse (Belrupt on an open but, from a military point of view, very important summit), and exert their sway over the plateau, the plain of Woëvre, and the Meuse valley. In the forests between the two roads to Metz, and stretching far beyond them, enormous abates of trees can easily be thrown as important obstacles in the enemy's path. The redoubts de Dugny, de Regret, de la Chaume, and de Marre, on the left side of the Meuse, guard a camping-ground sufficient for the accommodation of six army corps. Dugny holds the river and canal under fire, and in concert with d'Hautainville, lying opposite it, forbids an enemy descending the valley of the Meuse from approaching the plain of Verdun. Fort de Regret stands on the height of Côte-Saint-Barthélemy, on which the Prussian batteries were planted in 1870, and commands the valley through which the road and railway pass to Paris. The powerful Fort la Chaume lies on the highest point of the ridge at Sivry-la-Perge, and can direct its fire to Verdun and to the valleys stretching to the north and west. It possesses great power of resistance, and may still stand after all the remaining works have fallen. Fort de Marre, situated on a lengthy and pretty high ridge, bars the northern entrance to the Verdun basin, and crosses its fire with that of Fort Belleville on the right bank. Both works hold under fire the bridges of Charny and Bras, as well as several fords of the Meuse. Marre commands the Meuse valley down as far as Samognieux and Brabant.

• Although the western forts are strong works themselves, the front formed by them possesses only relative strength, for the lie of the country favours the invader, and the extensive forests render outlook impossible ; and if the west front of Verdun is best for the defensive, the east front is best for the offensive ; while the forts of the left

bank prevent the town being fired at from the hills in front of it. Those on the right bank command the plain of Woëvre. The works round Verdun have a circumference of 40 kilometres; it takes 25,000 men to garrison them, and it would require two full army corps to besiege the place.

Montmédy, on the Belgian frontier, and Longwy, on the rocky slope of the steep valley of the Chiers, on the Belgian-Luxemburg frontier, can hardly claim higher importance as fortifications than forts of the first rank. The forest of Argonne, which lies between these places and Verdun, contains no artificial military positions, for the French think them needless, inasmuch as it seemed unlikely the Germans would attempt an invasion there, on account of the vicinity of the Belgian-Luxemburg frontier.

Whereas before the year 1870 the French frontier was protected by three fortresses of the first rank, supported by a few other smaller ones, there are to-day three distinct entrenched areas in the French eastern line of fortifications: the southern, from Belfort to Epinal, embracing the Vosges district; the central, from Epinal to Toul—*i.e.*, the barrier of the Moselle; and the northern, or line of the Meuse, stretching by the Argonne forest from Toul to Verdun. These entrenched areas, which are of almost equal length, are each, as the crow flies, some 60 kilometres long from town centre to town centre; so that the space for marching through between the entrenchments would come to some 40 or 50 kilometres. The path of the French fortified front against the invasion of a German army coming from the central Rhine as its basis—the portion from Belfort to Verdun—is thus not more than 180 kilometres long, but it is accompanied for its whole length by an excellent railway service, and another railway runs behind and almost parallel with it from Besançon by Chaumont to Rheims. Over this railway six lines run to the east from Central France; so that the connection of the whole system is established, and it is made possible to effect surprisingly expeditious transports of troops.

As to the essential importance and the general character of the principle of barrier forts which has been recently introduced to such an extent into the French system of land defences, it may be remarked that in the event of a German invasion the invading army would have to take at least two forts before there would be any possibility of effecting a further march onward; for the armies of modern times—consisting as they do of it may be a million of men, a hundred thousand horses, and thousands of waggons—require for their effective progress a wide marching zone; that is to say, they require several parallel roads, not one of which can possibly be dispensed with. Then the supply of provisions and ammunition to such a large force depends on the efficiency of the railway service between

the sphere of active operations and their basis in the combatant's own country ; so that sieges and other of the greater military enterprises must be foregone when it is impossible to obtain such a service, and to effect the transport of sick and prisoners by rail. For this reason the French barrier forts, considered merely as road barriers, possess high strategical importance, and an invading army would have at the very beginning of the campaign to picket the field of siege operations in order to demolish these railway barriers as speedily as possible. The size and plan of these barrier forts vary, but they all consist of enclosed works, with a lower wall and a main wall, a deep trench lined with mason-work, and in the trench, as well as in the glacis, certain accessory defences. The trench is swept by the fire of rifles and mitrailleuses. Many forts possess revolving plated towers, and their garrisons vary in number from 500 to 1000 men. The small forts have twenty-five to thirty guns, the largest over fifty (medium and heavy ordnance as well as mortars).

This brings us to the end of our enumeration and consideration of the bulwarks which the French and Germans have erected since 1871 for offence and defence on the Rhine, the Moselle, the Meuse, &c., and which suggest now the following reflections.

It is so natural to expect to be able, from the manner in which nations defend their chief earthly goods, to draw a conclusion as to their military character, methods, virtues, and weaknesses, that we cannot help attempting to do so now in a few words.

On the German side we find that the defences are few but strong ; that the system of fortification of Alsace and Lorraine has undergone great simplification ; that there has been none of the extravagant expenditure on new works which is conspicuous across the French border, but that, on the contrary, places have been razed to the ground which formerly protected the plain of Alsace, the passes of the Vosges, and the slopes of Lorraine. In France, on the other hand, the Republic still adheres to the cordon system of the last century, and goes on ever adding more and more to its fortifications, and even then it always thinks it still falls short of its duty in the matter. The Germans lay no more weight on the dead power of resistance that lies in the nature of the country, and on the help of fortified buildings, than they deserve, but rather look for the defence of their country to a powerful strategical offensive ; whereas their neighbours west of the Vosges have carried the science of the spade and the trowel to a hitherto unexampled height, and they go on digging ever deeper, and building ever higher, till to-day they have to guard not merely one key of a military position, but a whole bunch of such keys. They have covered every furlong of the "*sol sacré de la France*" with bulwarks, or brought it under fire ; so that when the curling German wave approaches, it will break in an assault on

French fortifications. Now, this riveting of an army to a fixed immovable spot is difficult to combine with the offensive, and the year 1870 showed that a French army could be brought rapidly behind walls but not easily before them ; so that we may be permitted to ask the question, whether the nation which leads so excited a life to the west of the Vosges is still the same that in former times used to be so eager to advance and attack the enemy, and which, indeed, always showed a rapture for open battle and swift decision, and the profoundest aversion to merely standing and exchanging fire, or to remaining long behind wall and trench ? Are the present French no longer the sons of their fathers, whom Napoleon III. invoked so recently as 1859, on the plains of the Po, to rush on through the region of fire and put their trust in their bayonets ? Did the French not boast, even in July 1870 : "*Le soldat français marche toujours en avant, voilà notre tactique ?*" Have they forgotten the days in Italy and Egypt under the youthful Consul, the "forty centuries" which looked down from the Pyramids on the sons of France ? What, then, is the meaning of this departure from the military views of earlier days—this complete change in tactics and strategics, which had already taken place as far back as the year 1870 ? Dead walls are the gravestones of the military self-confidence of the French, and the "notwithstanding their presence" may very soon be converted into "because of their presence." France prefers to put her trust in the shield rather than in the hand that wields the spear. But what if there be no safety after all found in the fortifications capriciously erected to barricade roads and their approaches ? What if there be no fort that can resist the newly invented blasting material for more than twenty-four hours ? This question is answered by the "*Instruction pour le Combat de l'Infanterie*" which was lately issued by General Boulanger, and which breathes an impassioned worship of the offensive. The moral factor is certainly one of the most important in deciding modern battles, in which the form quickly falls to pieces, and the spirit alone makes alive ; but it is justifiable to doubt whether any amount of instruction in manual exercises will be able to efface the ideas which French officers and subalterns have for sixteen years entertained regarding the superiority of the defensive method of conflict.

The Germans, who love the open field, regard their fortifications as merely supports for the living power of the army—as aids to the free movement of the troops.

After the military estimate I have already given of the system of fortifications on the Vosges and in the forest of Argonne, it will probably be agreed that few of the chances of war lie on the side of the assailant, whoever he may be. He may therefore think it best to avoid this whole line of mound and wall and cannon, where he might have to wait long for a decisive engagement, and to carry

the battle into another field altogether. It may, thus well be that, because of these strong positions on the French and German border, it may be on foreign soil that will be fought this gigantic conflict of nations. Just as water flows to the lowest level, so do combatants seek out the easiest battle-ground, because it is there that the decisive issue which is so earnestly desired can be soonest and most completely arrived at. But such ground cannot be found in the present case anywhere except on the southern wing of the German and French lines of fortification, where Switzerland sits on her tower, or on their northern termination, where Luxemburg and Belgium extend. If, then, an inexorable fate should will that while words are lisping peace, deeds should mean war, then no one can tell whether Swiss and Belgian neutrality will continue to be preserved, or whether it will not be precisely on these territories that the iron die will be cast. As Switzerland is entrusted with the watch on the south, so Belgium has to exercise the watch on the Meuse; and woe to them if the keys escape from their weak hands!

As I said before, the south-west corner of Germany is not very vulnerable from the side of the Upper Rhine, between Basle and Neuchâtel; whereas a French army going through Switzerland on the basis of the Aare valley, and marching upon Brugg, could easily force the Rhine, with Schaffhausen and Stein, to reach the plains of Engen and Stockach. In this way the Danube valley could be got at without touching the strategic barrier of the Black Forest. Supposing the French army to be defeated, it would find a capital line of defence on the Limmat and Metli line—so well known by Massena's operations of 1799—with the important stronghold of Zürich, which latter cuts off the most important lines of operations. Retreating farther, the army would find on the Aare many useful points of defence, and the lines and forts at Montbéliard and Belfort assure sufficient protection on the flank. Finally, the French barrier forts of the Jura and Rhone passes, as well as the towns of Besançon and Auxonne, turned into large entrenchment camps, offer sure places of refuge.

While France has armed herself with coat-of-mail against Switzerland, the western border cantons of the latter country lie exposed to attack, and their geographical and topographical features are, in a military point of view, positively favourable to a hostile invasion. In proof of the first part of this assertion I need only point to her fortified places and the numerous strategic railways, and to add that the material for expeditious mobilization lies everywhere ready in the French fortresses. If the French once resolved to violate Swiss neutrality, they would not hesitate long in utilizing the advantages of the situation. How far they could penetrate unchecked through Swiss territory with their forces, before that portion of the Swiss

army that is unattached to fortresses (117,200 men), the army of first line, the Landwehr (85,000 men), and the Landsturm (100,000 men), opposed them, is doubtful. The Swiss are well-disciplined, reliable, competent soldiers, capable of long marches, and good shots (the weapon of their infantry is the excellent repeater rifle, model 1878-81), and the moral factors of their military character—such as their firm determination to maintain their independence—are in many ways backed by the nature of the country itself, which makes up for the poor capacity of the Swiss array for the offensive, and obstructs the speed of all hostile operations. And then, besides, no great time would elapse before the French tricolor found its progress opposed by the German colours, which the Swiss would have summoned to their relief.

Germany has, in the first instance, no interest to infringe Swiss neutrality, for its natural military object, Paris, lies outside the line from Basle to Geneva; but if it wished to direct its troops to the south of France, it must undertake a siege of Lyons, a place which was of no military importance in 1870, but is now surrounded by an entrenched camp with a circumference of hundreds of kilometres. Farther to the east or south a German army would encounter Gré-noble, which has been put into the same state as Lyons; and if it tried a détour on the Jura, that would be easily averted by the French army.

In conclusion, let us cast a flying glance at Belgium, where the question of neutrality is at this moment briskly discussed, and where, at any moment when the theory of Belgian neutrality is called to pass into practice, controversies invariably arise on all sides as to its nature, its existence, and its results; showing how fugitive are ideas of right in our generation.

The position of Belgium offers little analogy to that of Switzerland, for while Switzerland is bounded by four great Powers, Belgium is bounded by only two of them, and on the west is washed by the sea, and presumably secured by the English and Dutch fleets. While Switzerland has no fortress, Belgium has the great and powerful international *tête-de-pont* of Antwerp, whose high importance as a fortification is not to be mistaken, although its remote situation impairs its strategical influence on the Meuse valley. As regards military capacity, Belgium has a standing army which is officered by men thoroughly trained to the modern standard of military requirements, and which is fitted both actively and strategically for the offensive so far as its numerical strength (only 90,000 men) will permit, while Switzerland has a national army of 300,000 men.

The passes of the Ardennes protect Belgium in a measure from the south, but the unfortified Meuse valley invites invasion, for the citadels of Namur and Lüttich form no barriers. The line of the

Meuse is an open door for France, supporting herself on her northern series of fortified places—Dunkirk, Lille, Valenciennes, Maubeuge—and secure of reception, in case of retreat, in her fortresses of Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Landrecy, Rocroy, Givet, and Mézières. Since there is no obstacle to prevent the army of the Republic from marching by the valley of the Meuse to Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne, it seems more than doubtful whether France will be able to resist such a temptation. But the moment she violates Belgian territory she will discover the truth of the strategical principle, that where a sortie can be made an entrance can also be made, and that, without taking the Belgian army into consideration at all, this same line of the Meuse, by which the French thought to reach Germany, would furnish the Germans also with a good basis of operations for enterprises of far-reaching scope, for there are several railways running from the fortified entrenchment at Cologne to the Meuse valley, and beyond it to the weak points of the Oise valley; and if the German army succeeded in entering France from Namur, then, besides other consequences, this great fact would be noted, that the whole French enfilade in the Moselle, with all its fortresses, would be turned in flank and rear. In the event of the German forces meeting reverses, they would find on the Meuse places of support and recovery. But, nevertheless, Germany would heartily welcome such a fortification of the Meuse basin as Belgium is at present planning; for it would necessarily redound to the strategic interest of Germany, constituting a termination of the German system of defences on the western frontier (a protection of the flank of Diedenhofen).

From these considerations it is sufficiently plain that an invasion of Belgian soil is not beyond danger, and that Belgium is not to be regarded lightly as a country either to march through in order to join issue with the enemy, or to make the field of a decisive battle.

Here I close this survey of the German and French fortifications, and this sketch of the probable battle-fields where two giants will perhaps soon measure their strength.

OTTO WACHS.

MODERN HISTORIANS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON SMALL NATIONALITIES.

NO political fact is of more importance and interest in modern continental history than the tenacity with which the smaller nations of Europe preserve their pride of nationality in the face of the growing tendency towards the formation of large, strongly concentrated empires, supported by powerful armies. Why should Portugal utterly refuse to unite with Spain? Why do Holland and Belgium cling to their existence as separate States, in spite of all the efforts of statesmen to join them? Why do the people of Bohemia and Croatia, of Finland and of Poland, refuse to coalesce with the rest of the population of the empires of which they form but small sections? Why, finally, do the new kingdoms of Roumania and Servia show such astonishing vitality? The arguments as to distinctive race or distinctive language fail to answer all these questions. The people of Portugal are of the same race and speak nearly the same language as the people of Spain; and the Russians and the Poles are closely akin to each other. It is not enough to say that these small nationalities simply preserve the traditions of their past independence to account for the existence of their national spirit at the present time. Centuries have passed since the provinces which now form the kingdom of Roumania, since Servia, Finland, Bohemia, and Croatia lost their independence; strenuous efforts have been made to stamp out the recollection of that independence, and yet the inhabitants of those provinces retain their national pride and patriotic feelings as tenaciously as Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, or Russians. Time was on the side of the great Powers who strove to crush out this national spirit, and in some of these countries it had at the commencement of the present century nearly ceased to exist. But it has now revived with redoubled vigour: Czechs, Finns, Roumanians,

Servians, Poles, Belgians, and Portuguese are prouder than ever of their nationality and of their history, and there is in the future very little probability that these races will ever lose their national pride and sense of independence, even if they remain, as some of them do still, subject to foreign rulers, and component parts of great empires.

This rekindling of the national spirit is the result chiefly of the development of the new historical school all over the Continent. Instead of remaining in ignorance of their past history, or, at best, regarding a mass of legends as containing the true tale of their countries' achievements, these small nations have now learnt from the works of their great historians what the story of their fatherlands really is, and what title they have to be proud of their ancestors. These great historians—Herculano, Palacky, Széchenyi, and the rest—who made it their aim to tell the truth and not to show off the beauties of a fine literary style, all belonged to the generation which had its interest aroused in the history of the past by the novels of Sir Walter Scott and the productions of the Romantic School, and they all learnt how history was to be studied, and then written, from Niebuhr, Von Ranke, and their disciples and followers. From these masters they learnt that their histories were not to be made interesting at the expense of truth; that legends, however beautiful or patriotic, were to be rejected, if found to be without foundation; and that the two chief qualities required by a modern historian were patience in wading through masses of documents, and critical insight in dealing with them. Studying history after this fashion must needs be laborious, and can never be adequately rewarded in money, but a life spent in discovering and compiling the true history of a nation is bound to meet its own reward at last in fame. Nowhere is such a life more honoured and respected than in such small countries as Portugal and Bohemia; and the earnest historians of those nations won their reward in seeing that their labours were appreciated, that their fellow-citizens took a growing interest in the records of their country, that they rejoiced with a new joy in past glories when the story was shown to be correct and not a concoction of myths, and that they felt more pride in their national heroes when they recognized them to be, not demi-gods, but human beings, who had lived, suffered, and died, and who had felt the influence of the same passions which swayed themselves. Students of the modern historical school have had the satisfaction to reap this reward to some extent in every country on the Continent, but it is only among the smaller nations that their labours have been of permanent political importance.

The truth of these general remarks will be best illustrated by an examination into the revival of the spirit of nationality and independence in some of the smaller nations of Europe, and the influence of

the new school of historians upon it. In no country has this influence been more important than in Portugal, and it is worth while to dwell upon its importance there at some length, because the great modern historian of Portugal is entirely unknown in England. At the beginning of this century the old national spirit seemed to be dying out in Portugal; the people wished to rest after their exertions during the Peninsular War; but instead of being able to remain at peace their country was torn with civil strife. In the midst of these troubles the opinion grew up, especially amongst the Portuguese Radicals, that what they called the ridiculous and unnatural separation of two such kindred nations as Spain and Portugal should cease, and that the two countries should be united. The favourite dream of these Radicals was the establishment of a great Iberian Republic to embrace the whole of the Peninsula, for they could not help comparing their absolutist pretender Dom Miguel with the Spanish Don Carlos, and hoped for the active aid of the Spanish Liberals against him. But it was not only the Portuguese Radicals who looked forward to the union of the Peninsula into one political whole. Even such a staunch supporter of the little Queen Maria da Gloria as the Marshal Duke de Saldanha professed a belief in the expediency of Iberian unity to the end of his life, and the moderate Royalist statesmen, almost without exception, regretted that there was no king upon the throne of Spain to marry their young queen regnant. The feeling that it would be advantageous to unite with Spain was particularly strong among the educated classes in Portugal. They felt that neither country could enjoy the peace and security necessary for the increase of material prosperity unless the other was tranquil, and they could see no reason why there should not be a union between them. Among the lower classes of the Portuguese nation the old rancorous hatred of the Spaniard still existed, but there was, nevertheless, among the *bourgeoisie*, and all classes above the very lowest, at the close of the Miguelite wars, and during the troubles which followed the introduction of parliamentary government, a decided feeling towards a union with Spain, which only found no open manifestation on account of the internal troubles in Spain itself. That feeling has now entirely disappeared. No Portuguese Radical now dreams of an Iberian Republic; no statesman would now dare to advocate a union with Spain; the educated classes are once more proud of their country's glorious history, and of their own marked spirit of nationality; and this change of feeling has been chiefly brought about by the labours of the great Portuguese historian, Alexandra Herculano de Carvalho e Araujo and his disciples, and by the modern Portuguese poets, João Baptista Almeida-Garrett and Antonio Feliciano de Castilho.

A sketch of the life and career of Herculano will show best how

he became a historian, and with what motives he entered on his arduous labours. Alexandra Herculano de Carvalho e Araujo was born at Lisbon in 1810, and was sent to Paris for his education. He there imbibed such revolutionary ideas that soon after he returned to his family in Portugal he was forced to go into exile in 1831, when the adherents of Dom Miguel, the defender of absolutism and the monks, became all-powerful. In the following year he served under Dom Pedro in the defence of Oporto as a volunteer for a short time, but soldiering was not to his taste, and he soon retired to England, where he spent a few months, and learnt to read Walter Scott's novels in the original. From England he went on to Paris, where he lived among the young and enthusiastic followers of the Romantic movement, directed by Guizot, Cousin, and Vilemain, of which the poets were Lamartine and Victor Hugo. After the final overthrow of the Miguelites, and the Convention of Evora Monte in 1834, Herculano went back to Lisbon, and there started the *Panorama*, a weekly political and Liberal journal, in which he published his first articles and poems. He had arrived in Lisbon an advanced Liberal and a believer in parliamentary Government, but the perpetual and useless civil wars which succeeded each other between 1835 and 1851 nearly exhausted his patience, and sorely tried his political opinions. It was at this period that he began to turn from the contemporary troubles of his country to the history of its past glories. This feeling showed itself also in other young Portuguese Liberals of the time, notably in Almeida-Garrett, and Castilho, and all three vented their feelings in historical poems. The outpourings of Herculano's muse were confessedly inferior to his friends', and were published in 1836 and 1838 respectively, under the titles of the "*Voz do Propheta*," or "*Voice of the Prophet*," and the "*Harpa do Crente*," or "*Harp of the Believer*." Both these little volumes give abundant proofs of Herculano's admiration for Lamartine and the poets of the French Romantic School, and of his mastery over the Portuguese language; but it was evident from them that he had not yet found the most appropriate channel for the expression of his thoughts and opinions. In 1843, however, he came nearer to his true vocation by publishing the first part of a historical novel, "*O Monasticon*," under the title of "*Eurico o Presbytero*." This historical novel showed the influence of Walter Scott as clearly as the poems showed that of Lamartine; but it showed something else besides—a singular power of comprehending the far distant past, and a fine style of historical description. It was at this period that he began to compose his History; he had for years worked hard among the archives at Lisbon, and had collected much valuable historical material for his "*Eurico o Presbytero*." He now began to marshal his facts into a consecutive narrative, and in 1845—the year before the horrible

civil war known as the War of Maria da Fonte, or Patuleia—Alexandra Herculano published the first volume of his “*Historia de Portugal*.”

The publication of this volume marks an epoch in the literary history of Portugal. There had been great chroniclers who had told the early story of the wars against the Moors, such as Ruy de Pina, Duarte Galvão and Acenheiro; there had been great historians—great rather in style than in accuracy—in the palmy days of Portuguese literature, such as Bernardo de Brito and Antonio Brandão; there had been distinguished writers in the seventeenth century, such as Jacinto Freire de Andrada, the author of the *Life of Dom João de Castro*, one of the most beautiful biographies ever written; there had been diligent collectors and editors of ancient chronicles and documents, such as José Correa da Serra and the Viscount de Santarem; but there had never before been a scientific Portuguese historian. The second volume of his *History*, going down to the death of Alfonso III. in 1279, was published in 1850, with two dissertations or essays on the elements which composed the Portuguese people, and on the history of the municipalities of the country. Weight has purposely been laid on the career of Herculano in order to bring out the sources from which he obtained his historical inspiration. He had been led to take an interest in the early ages of Europe by his study of Walter Scott and of the French Romanticists, and he had learnt from these masters of fiction that the men and women of all centuries are alike human, and are never demi-gods or fiends in human shape. He was therefore ready to disbelieve in legendary stories, which made men more or less than human, while not neglecting the picturesque point of view in the lives of the men of past ages. But while it was from these masters that Herculano learnt his attitude towards the past history of his country, he derived his method of study from quite a different school. The influence of the German historical school, of which the most illustrious masters have been Niebuhr and Von Ranke, and of which the disciples are now numerous all over the Continent, had penetrated even to Portugal. Early history, Herculano learned, could only be re-written after an elaborate study of ancient documents and a careful comparison between them, and Nature fortunately granted him the qualities of patience to wade through documents, and of critical insight by which to judge them. To this power of indefatigable study he added the gift of a keen perception of the picturesque, and the talent to tell history with clearness, conciseness, and eloquence. No wonder, then, that he became a great historian, and the founder of an historical school which was to have great weight in the politics of his native country. The very bitterness of the opposition of the Clerical and Conservative party against him showed what excitement the

publication of Herculano's History had caused in Portugal; its influence was felt alike in politics and literature; no more was heard of a union with Spain; Saldanha's rising of 1851 failed utterly; and patriotism being alive once more, the leaders of a political party, when defeated in the Cortes, tried to obtain their ends by peaceful and constitutional opposition, instead of by raising armies and plunging the country into civil war. To attribute this happy change to the publication of Herculano's History entirely would be ridiculous; but its influence counted for much, for it undoubtedly turned the minds of his countrymen away from the bitterness of their party feuds to think of the cause of their country alone, and made them take more interest in the history of their past glories. On Portuguese literature it had an even more important effect. It produced a school of new historians, contented to labour for the truth, and changed the minds of the young men of the time from the writing of melancholy poetry to the study of history and its attendant sciences, political economy and critical jurisprudence.

The later career of Herculano was not of the same political importance. He published no more of his history after 1850, but in 1854 and 1855 appeared his work, "On the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal," in which he proved how greatly the Roman Catholic Church was answerable for the degradation into which Portugal sank in the seventeenth century, and thus gave a helping hand to his friend Castilho's scheme of secular education. He remained an indefatigable writer on every sort of subject, though it is hardly necessary to mention more of his works except a collection of charming little historical novels published, under the title of "*Lendas e Historias*," in 1851, and his essays, or "*Estudos Historicos*," in 1876. Far more important was the work he did as an editor of old chronicles. Recognizing, as he did, that it was only possible to understand history by studying contemporary documents, Herculano commenced the publication of the "*Portugalliæ Monumenta Historica*," an immense series of reproductions and editions, of which the cost was defrayed by the Portuguese Government. This series he divided into three sections: "*Scriptores*," containing editions of unpublished chronicles and lives of saints, "*Leges et Consuetudines*," and "*Diplomata et Chartæ*." For producing these editions Herculano had great advantages from the position he held as librarian to the king, and upon them he bestowed the chief labours of his later life, thankful to see younger students coming to his help, and admiring the works of those who were proud to call themselves his followers and disciples. In their admiration, and that of his countrymen generally, he felt that he had his reward; and his greatness as the founder of the scientific historical school in Portugal was recognized on January 22, 1858, by his election to the highest honour open to a European historian, that of

corresponding member of the Institute of France in the section of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. Towards the end of his life he retired from Lisbon to live a hermit's life on a little property he possessed near Santarem, and was visited there by a Spanish author, Don Ricardo Blanco Assenjo, who describes him in eloquent if rather far-fetched language as a "Cincinnatus, handsome as statue by Flaxman, with much of Cato's rudeness and Seneca's philosophy. His life was a desperate struggle, the grand protest of a soul indomitable in its greatness, which will have naught to do with the repugnant miseries of reality, as represented in this epoch by political quackery, religious hypocrisy, ignorant vanity, envy, and evil-speaking."

Herculano died on September 13, 1877, but the work he commenced has been continued; and, for a small country, Portugal can boast of an unexampled list of modern scientific historians. The result of their work has been to continue the impression which he made upon the minds of his countrymen, and there is hardly any nation in Europe more proud of its nationality than the Portuguese. Of these followers it is only possible to mention a few names, of which the most distinguished are those of Luis Augusto Rebellos do Silva, whose "History of Portugal" treats of the years from 1642 to 1756; Simião José da Luz Soriano, José Maria Latino Coelho, A. P. Lopes de Mendonça, and Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, whose "Rainhas de Portugal," published in 1878, is one of the ablest modern works on the history of his country. It is interesting to note that the careers of these men do not justify the saying that a prophet has no honour in his own country; on the contrary, although the names of the new school of Portuguese historians are almost unknown out of Portugal, they are there honoured for their labours. Herculano was for a time himself a member of the Portuguese Cortes, and both Rebellos do Silva and Latino Coelho held seats in the Cabinet at different times. All are proud of their work, and do not spare labour over it; and it is certain that the great influence which Herculano and his followers have exercised upon the politics of Portugal has been entirely good, and that it has for ever killed the notion of a union of the whole Iberian Peninsula under either a monarch or a republic.

It is a far cry from Portugal to Bohemia, and yet it is in the latter country that the new historical school has exerted a political influence second only in importance, if inferior at all, to that exercised by it in Portugal. The policy of the Emperors, ever since the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, had been to stamp out the Czech nationality, and to Germanize the people of Bohemia. The Czech language was proscribed in legal and other documents, it was not allowed to be taught in the schools or in the University of Prague, and the children of the Czech nobility were carried off to be educated and married at Vienna. The work, then, of the Czech historical

revival of the present century was not, as in Portugal, to resuscitate a pride of nationality which had never become extinct, although dormant, but to call back the Bohemian people to remember that they had once been a nation at all. Herculano had had a difficult task; but that of Dobrowski and Palacky was still more difficult, for while the Portuguese language had never, even in the most debased days of Portuguese history, lost its form as a literary language; the Czech had for a century and a half been practically proscribed and regarded as a language fit only for the peasantry of Bohemia. Franz Palacky is the central figure of the Bohemian historical revival, and his influence was even greater, from a political point of view, than that of Herculano. He was the son of the village schoolmaster of Hodslavice in Moravia, and was born in 1798. He was educated at the University of Pressburg, and while acting as a private tutor in Vienna made the acquaintance of Schafaryk, the Bohemian poet, with whom he collaborated in many works during the next few years. In 1823 Palacky established himself at Prague, and began his researches into the old Czech chronicles, which were to form the basis of his historical labours. He began modestly, by publishing articles and memoirs on special subjects; but his merit soon became known, and in 1829 he was appointed national historiographer by the States of Bohemia. From this time he steadily worked at his great History, of which, however, the first volume was not published for some years, and he pursued his search after authorities and authentic documents, not only in the public libraries of Europe, but also in the archives of the old Bohemian nobility. During these years of preparation he published two volumes which deserve mention—his “History of the Early Years of Wallenstein,” and his “Life of Joseph Dobrowski.” Palacky felt that his own work was to some extent the sequel of that of Dobrowski. Dobrowski was rather a philologist than a historian, but Palacky recognized how great his merits were, and how great the services he had rendered to his country. Dobrowski had revived the study of the Czech language; it was reserved for Palacky to rewrite Czech history. In 1836 appeared the first volume of Palacky’s “History of Bohemia,” published simultaneously in German and Czech. The book made its mark at once, and it was recognized in Germany that a great genius had risen. Palacky was essentially a disciple of the new historical school, a follower of Niebuhr. He had laboured diligently among chronicles and documents to discover the truth, and, like Herculano, did not fear to destroy the legends which were most cherished by the Bohemian people, when he found that they had no historical basis. The success of his work among his fellow-countrymen was immense. In spite of the policy of Austria, the Czech national spirit had not been destroyed; the nobility and bourgeois had been to some extent Germanized, but the Slav feelings

had not been extinguished. The work of Palacky completed what Dobrowski and Schafaryk had begun ; it made known to the Czechs of the nineteenth century what manner of men their ancestors had been, and what great deeds in the past they had done for their descendants to remember with pride. Palacky no more caused the Bohemian revival of the present century than Herculano had caused that of Portugal, but he became the central figure, and the father of the new historical school there, which signalized the revival. Like Herculano, he did not bring his history down to modern times, but between 1836 and 1854 he published six volumes, going down to the end of the reign of King Sigismund. The publication of each volume was almost an historical event ; in each, old legends were destroyed, and the early history of the Czech people, with its curious and interesting development, was for the first time truly and clearly narrated.

As has happened in Portugal, and in every country in which the new historical school has had a real influence, its leaders have played a political part, and a very important one. In 1848, the year of revolutions, troubles broke out in Bohemia, as in other parts of the Austrian dominions, and a large portion of the youth of the nation loudly demanded the absolute independence of Bohemia. Palacky, though he had done so much to encourage the growth of the spirit of Czech nationality, had studied history too deeply to be led away by this movement. He understood that by obtaining practical independence and local government the Czech nationality would gain all it wanted, that absolute severance from Austria would involve the little State in perpetual quarrels with the German kingdoms around it, and that a federal union with the rest of the Austro-Hungarian Empire would be a source of strength and not of weakness to Bohemia. With these views, he boldly combated the extreme Czech party, and even accepted a seat in the Bohemian Cabinet as Minister of Public Instruction. Austrian statesmen did not forget his conduct at this epoch, and in 1861 the great historian was made a life member of the Austrian House of Lords. In the united Austrian Parliament he became, with his son-in-law, the distinguished political economist Rieger, a leader of the Slav party, and steadily opposed the attempts of the more aggressive Magyar politicians to obtain for Hungary more than her fair share in deciding the policy of the Austrian Empire. But political affairs did not wholly absorb the energies of Franz Palacky's later years. He never forgot that he was a historian more than a politician, and that it was to his greatness as an historian that he owed his political influence. Like Herculano, he devoted himself after the completion of his History to the collecting and editing of ancient chronicles and documents. He knew that that was the only way by which early history could be truly studied, and spared no

labour in such work. He superintended all the editions of the various publications of this nature issued by the Academy of Prague at the expense of the Bohemian Government, and himself collected and issued a collection of documents on John Huss, the Czech reformer, which threw an entirely new light on the early career of the man who, with John Ziska, the blind general, shares the honour of making the Czech history for a period of the greatest importance to the general history of Europe. Palacky himself died at Prague on May 26, 1876, but he left behind him a band of disciples, who have continued his labours, and have made the modern school of historians especially conspicuous and well represented in the little State of Bohemia. The publication of documents increases apace, and of the numerous series perhaps the most noticeable are the "*Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*," and the "*Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Moraviæ*;" while among the followers of Palacky may be mentioned Gindely, Tomek, and Jaroslav Goll, the learned author of the bulletins on Bohemian history published from time to time in the *Revue Historique*. The labours of these historians and editors of documents have all tended in the same direction—to ascertain the true history and development of the Czech people. The result has been a revival of the Czech spirit of nationality, which in some instances is carried almost to ridiculous extremes. The division of the University of Prague into a Czech and a German university in 1882, and the encouragement of the teaching in primary schools of the Czech language, literature, and history, is sufficiently praiseworthy; but the affectation of some of the younger Bohemians, who, while knowing German perfectly well, pretend only to be able to speak Czech, is simply absurd. Yet this very affectation shows how great an influence the Czech revival of the nineteenth century has exercised; this small nationality planted in the heart of Germany preserves its pride, and is determined to hold its own against the Germans on the one hand and the Russian Slavs on the other. Modern ideas will never allow another attempt to extinguish this national spirit, and Czechs in future ages, when they recognize the debt they owe to the leaders of the revival of the nineteenth century, will not fail to give the first place to the founder of the modern historical school in Bohemia—to Franz Palacky.

The influence of the modern scientific historical school is best illustrated in the cases of Portugal and Bohemia, and Herculano and Palacky are two great historians, whose careers and work are not generally known in England, and for those reasons more attention has been given to them than it is possible to give here to other small nationalities. Yet a few words must also be devoted to the effect of scientific historical work in Roumania, Finland, and Poland, in each

of which countries it has had an important political influence. In none of these countries has an historian arisen comparable to either Herculano or Palacky in the depth of their historical researches or the excellence of their style, but in all of them sound work has been done in publishing and critically examining ancient chronicles and documents. These editors and historians are all disciples of the new school of Niebuhr and of Ranke, and seem to have taken their inspiration to become diligent seekers after truth, instead of cultivators of an elegant style, from Ranke's "*Kritik Neuerer Geschichtschreiber*," in which he pointed out the right method to pursue. If none of these historians can claim a place with Herculano and Palacky, they can yet boast of having possibly paved the way for the work of an equally great writer, and of having exercised an important influence over the minds of their countrymen.

The vitality of the new historical school in Roumania is particularly remarkable, for in the Danubian provinces, which form that kingdom, even more strenuous efforts had been made to stamp out the national spirit than in Bohemia. The extraordinary rapidity with which the Roumanian people has re-asserted itself in recent years, is one of the most remarkable facts in modern European history, and it is largely due to the labours of its historians. Up till 1822 the Roumanian language was vigorously proscribed; the rulers of the Danubian provinces permitted instruction to the upper classes in the language of the rulers only, and while Slavonic, and in the days of the Phanariots Greek, was the official and fashionable language, used in educating the nobility and bourgeois, the peasants were left in ignorance. Four men, whose names deserve record, first endeavoured to raise the Roumanian language to a literary level, and not only studied Roumanian history, but tried to teach the Roumanian people something of their own early history. Of these four, George Schinkai was by far the most remarkable. He was an inhabitant of Transylvania, a Roumanian province which still remains subject to Hungary, and he first thought of trying to revive the Roumanian nationality by teaching the people their history. He arranged the annals of his country from A.D. 86 to A.D. 1739 with indefatigable labour, during the last half of the eighteenth century, and, according to Edgar Quinet, in such a truly modern manner, after such careful weighing of original authorities, and with such critical power, that he deserves to be ranked with the creators of the modern historical school. It need hardly be said that Schinkai's History was not allowed to be printed by the Hungarian authorities, who had no desire to see the Roumanian nationality re-assert itself, and the censor marked on it "*opus igne, auctor patibulo dignus*." It was not published until 1853, more than forty years after its completion, and then only at

Jassy, for the Hungarians still proscribed it in Transylvania. Schinkai's friend, Peter Major, was more fortunate in his work, a "History of the Origin of the Roumanians in Dacia," which, as it did not touch on modern society, was passed by the Hungarian censorship, and printed at Buda Pesth in 1813. The two men who first taught Roumanian history in the provinces which now form the kingdom of Roumania were not such learned men as Schinkai and Peter Major, but their work was of more practical importance. In 1813 George Asaky got leave to open a Roumanian class at the Greek Academy of Jassy, under the pretext that it was necessary to teach surveying in the Roumanian tongue, because of the questions which constantly arose in that profession, in which it would be necessary to speak to the peasants in their own language, and in his lectures he carefully inserted lessons in Roumanian history, and tried to arouse the spirit of the people. George Lazarus imitated him at Bucharest in 1816, and the fruit of this instruction was seen when the Roumanians partially regained their freedom. The Moldo-Wallachian princes encouraged the teaching of Roumanian history, as they encouraged the growth of the spirit of Roumanian independence, and when the Roumanian Academy was founded, an historical section was formed with the special mission of studying and publishing documents connected with Roumanian history. The modern scientific spirit has spread widely throughout the kingdom, and such men as Odobescou, Papiu Ilarian, the Bishop Melchizédek, and Alexis Xénopol, have done, and are doing, good historical work; while the publication by the Roumanian Academy of the series of documents extracted from the archives at Vienna, having reference to Roumanian history, shows that it is thoroughly understood that good work can only be done, and truth only be discovered, by the critical study of original authorities.

Though perhaps not to the same degree as in Roumania, it is curious to note that the modern historical spirit has spread even into Finland, where it is concentrated at the University of Abo. The Finns have never coalesced with the Slavonic population of Russia, and while showing no sign of rebellion or discontent as long as their own institutions are not interfered with, they have of recent years experienced a remarkable literary development. At present the Finnish revival has been, under the influence of Ahlquist, as much philological as historical, but the pupils of the great philologist do not follow exactly in his steps, and show by their publications a decided tendency towards historical study. The most curious point about this revival is that, except among some of the younger Finn students, who dream perhaps of a Finnish republic, most of the historical teachers and writers openly avow their belief in the

expediency of continuing the union of Finland with Russia, in preference to being once more attached to Sweden. The dream of the Finnish national party at the beginning of this century was always for a reunion with Sweden, and it was on this account that Adolf Arwidson, its leader, and Professor of History at the University of Abo, was banished in 1822. The modern Finnish historical students feel, as Palacky felt in Bohemia, that as long as Finland preserves practically its local independence, it is rather an advantage for her than otherwise to form part, for purposes of foreign affairs, with a great empire like Russia. Yet while advocating the maintenance of the union, the Finns do not in any way renounce their own feeling of nationality, but, on the contrary, the development of the new historical school in their midst has, as in every other country, only increased the pride of race.

In Poland, the interest caused by the development of the new historical school in Germany is far greater than even in Portugal, or Bohemia, or Roumania, but it has not yet produced any distinguished historian, and its influence has yet to be seen. The progress of the new treatment of history had particularly serious difficulties to encounter in Poland, because of the singular success of the various badly written histories which appeared during the first half of the present century. Such works as those of Chodzko and Mieroslawski were conceived in the worst style of the eighteenth century; eloquent they may have been, and patriotic to excess they certainly were, but they made no pretence of telling the simple truth. It is perhaps hard to blame exiles, who as a rule wrote and published in Paris, for these defaults, but none the less they have done most serious damage to the right appreciation and study of Polish history. Of recent years a natural reaction has set in; Polish historical students are publishing old chronicles and documents with bewildering rapidity, while there is a decided absence of real histories. This activity in the publication of historical material appears in Austrian, Prussian, and Russian Poland alike, but it naturally has its centre at Cracow. It would be impossible to name one-half of the numerous series of Polish documents which are appearing all over Poland, but especially at Cracow and Léopol; but a good analysis of their progress is to be found in M. Pawinski's bulletin in the number of the *Revue Historique* for March 1887. The most important of these series are the "Acta historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia," in course of publication at Cracow under the editorship of M. Piekosinski, and the "Scriptores rerum Polonicarum," also appearing at Cracow; while the historians at Léopol, headed by Kentzynski, are producing a grand series of "Monumenta Poloniae historica." Nothing more clearly defines how strong is still the sentiment of Polish nationality

than this activity of the Poles in the study of their history. The historical workers there are keeping alive the spirit of independence, and while that fire is fanned there is little chance that the Poles will ever coalesce with the different empires to which they are attached. It is the wise policy of Austria to permit and encourage these historical studies, but it is almost a matter of surprise that they should be openly pursued in Russian and Prussian territory. The result has yet to come; meanwhile, many students, by working out the true history of their country, are rousing a more enduring love for her than the noisy parade of some of her former would-be defenders. The new method, it has been said, has hardly yet been fairly applied to the history of Poland; editors are many, but historians are few. M. Pawinski mentions a manual by Professor Bobrzynski, but confesses that no real History of Poland, according to the latest lights, has yet been written. Yet some good work has been recently done after the scientific method, and the names of Korzon, Kalinka, and Pawinski himself, may all be mentioned as among the leaders of the new Polish historical school.

Enough instances have been given to show how great has been the influence of the modern scientific historical school upon the smaller nationalities of Europe, and how the result of trying to write history with accuracy, instead of only with dramatic vigour, has been to revive the interest of the people in the story of the past. What has actually been done has been pointed out in Portugal and Bohemia, and what is being done in Roumania, Finland, and Poland. But it must not be believed that these are the only countries in which the new school is exerting its influence; they are only chosen as types. There are not, indeed, such men as Herculano and Palacky in the other nations, but most of the small nationalities can boast of some distinguished modern historians, who are content to labour long and arduously before they bring forth their work, and in most of them the Government, or else an Academy subventioned by the Government, is publishing valuable series of authentic historical materials. It is almost invidious to mention names, but among leading historians in small nationalities, who show the impression of the scientific school, might be mentioned Altmeyer, Delepierre, and Theodore Juste, in Belgium; Geijer, Cronholm, and Fryxell, in Sweden; Erslev and Vedel in Denmark; Ljudevit Gaj in Croatia; and Constantine Asopios and Constantine Schinkas in Greece. There is of course no use in comparing these local historians with the great masters of the modern school, with Ranke and Droysen, for example, or with Sorel and Chéruel, or Amari and Césaire Cantù; but it may be contended that the actual influence exercised by their works is far greater. Great nations are not in any danger of losing their

individuality ; small nations used to be in very great danger. Now that there has been a revival of the national spirit, it is not likely that the danger will recur ; and if it is to the advantage of Europe, as is surely the case, that these small nationalities should preserve their feelings of independence, if only to act as buffers to the growth of great empires, all Europe, and not only the Portuguese, Czechs, Roumanians, Finns and Poles, should feel grateful to the local representatives of the scientific-historical school, as represented by two of the greatest modern historians, Alexandra Herculano and Franz Palacky.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

THE ENGLISH WORKERS AS THEY ARE.

I THINK it may fairly be said that the well-to-do classes in this country really know very little about their working fellow-countrymen. I have myself knocked about the world a good deal, and, out of England, I have, at various times, lived on terms of tolerable intimacy with all sorts and conditions of men. But, until the last ten years, I must confess that the lives led by the great mass of the workers at home were almost a blank to me, and that, though I wished them well, I scarcely entered into their feelings at all. As I don't think this was due to want of imagination or to the lack of sympathy, and I had certainly enjoyed exceptional opportunities for observation in town and country, I suppose I may be taken as a fair specimen of ordinary educated men of good means. Between the modes of thought of the workers and of men who have never had to face the difficulties which surround those who live from hand to mouth by daily toil there is a great gulf fixed. Among the cultured minority there is a sort of unexpressed belief, which finds too often harsh utterance by many who are merely rich, to the effect that if the working-men were fit for anything better than to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the minority, they would become a part of that minority themselves, and thus cease to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. The "survival of the fittest" is one of those pseudo-scientific arguments, also, which does great service in support of this view. Nowadays a change is taking place, and there is, as I believe, a genuine endeavour among at any rate a large section of the upper and middle classes to learn what the multitudes around them really stand in need of or are making ready to demand.

I was brought directly into contact with the workers of London in their own homes for the first time about twenty years ago. The

shipbuilding trade was then rapidly leaving the Thames for the Clyde, and East London was in a very depressed condition. "Slumming" became quite fashionable, as it has again become of late. I slummed myself—partly out of curiosity, partly out of the hope that I might do some good. Emigration, then as now, was the great panacea put forward by well-meaning people; charity was the remedy actually applied. I soon saw, as others saw, that, whatever might be thought of emigration, charity was ruinous. It cursed both him that gave and him that took. I could not but recognize that, as things stood, the trade must go, for the time at any rate; that the strike of the shipwrights against a reduction had but served to bring on the crisis a little sooner, and that the case therefore was hopeless. After some months of fitful work in conjunction with an intimate friend, now dead, I gave the visits up. But I have never lost the impression of what I then witnessed. The endless patience in terrible misery, the calm bearing up under almost unendurable suffering, a fourth of which would have driven men of my class into something little short of insurrection, was wonderful to behold. Then I regarded this passive attitude as the noble resignation of people who bore an unavoidable calamity with firmness and stoicism. Now I look upon it merely as a symptom of that hopeless apathy which until lately has afflicted the whole working community. Much indeed were it to be wished that this same doubtful virtue of patience were less practised among them, for their own sakes and for the sake of the future of our country.

It is this uncertainty of employment, however, which more than anything else weighs upon working-men of all grades. No man, even of the highest ability, can be sure of getting continuous work. A week or a fortnight's notice, no matter what his previous career or character may have been, and he is out upon the streets seeking for a job. This drawback affects skilled artisans less than unskilled, and trade-unionists have, besides, their out-of-work pay to fall back upon. But it is an ever-increasing evil even with them. The latest Report of the Amalgamated Engineers, for instance, shows that, without any great strike to exhaust their funds, the mere necessity for supporting the members who can get no work to do has almost broken down their finances. Yet that is the strongest combination of workmen of one trade in the world, and all our English trade-unions are, actuarially speaking, bankrupt, owing chiefly to this cause, at the present time. But the trade-unionists form only a small minority of English working-men. Hundreds of thousands even of skilled artisans belong to no trade-union. For all of them, as well as for the unskilled men, the uncertainty I speak of is terrible. I have watched friends of mine who have had to go round week after week, month after month maybe, seeking for a job. Such men do not parade their griefs, never or very rarely ask a middle-class man

for help, and would utterly scorn to beg. Yet, as a highly skilled artisan said to me only a few days ago, "I would almost as soon go round begging bread as begging work; they treat you as if it were a favour you asked." I have watched such men, I say, skilled and unskilled too, and the mental effect upon them of these long periods or short periods of worklessness is more depressing than I can describe. Let a man have been never so thrifty, if he has a wife and children, a very few weeks of idleness sweep away his savings; then he begins to pawn what little things he has; later he gets behind with his rent. His more fortunate comrades help him—this is invariable so far as I have seen among all classes of labourers; and then if he is lucky he gets into work again; if not, his furniture goes, and he falls into dire poverty. All the time not only has the man himself been suffering and losing heart, but his wife has been fretting herself to death and the children have been half-fed. In the winter-time, when the uncertainty of getting work becomes in most of our great industrial cities the certainty of not getting it for a large percentage of the labouring men and women, things are of course at their worst. After having vainly trudged around from workshop to workshop, from factory to factory, from wharf to wharf, after having, perhaps, fought fiercely but unsuccessfully for a few hours' work at the dock-gates, the man returns home, weary, hungry, half-dead, and ashamed of his growing raggedness, to see his home without firing or food, perhaps to go to bed in order to try and forget the misery around him.

The trade-unionist, of course, can take no jobs as an unskilled man. If he does, he at once forfeits all the results of his years of payments to his union. To offer him even a fair wage out of his own line is simply to insult him with the chance of work he must not do. The non-trade-unionist or unskilled man at times of depression finds thousands like himself striving for employment at barely living rates of wages. After a few turns of such times a man's spirit is broken. He never feels any confidence in his future. He knows but too well that at any moment he may have to undergo a similar experience. Those who talk so glibly of thrift as a panacea for all the social ills of the workers can never, I am sure, have carefully tabulated the income of a working-class family one year with another, making allowance for the incidental expenses of a home of the humblest kind. Periods of slack work in all trades now come so much more often than they did that no amount of thrift can save the workers as a class from the effects of this growing uncertainty. The majority of them, of course, have no idea of the reasons for this fitfulness of employment even in good times, and the more frequent recurrence and heavier pressure of hard times when they come. But I am convinced that if any intelligent man, in any

grade of labour, were asked what on the whole occasioned him the greatest anxiety and made him most hopeless of his future, he would say this terrible uncertainty of which I have spoken.

Closely bound up with this is the steady reduction in the age at which masters decline to take men on. In nearly all trades now a man with grey hairs in his beard is rarely engaged, and is the first to be discharged. Some firms, and these the largest, make it a rule never to employ men over forty years of age if they can possibly help it. The reason for this is clear. The pressure of modern competition, the rapidity of modern machinery, are so great that a man must be in the fullest vigour to keep pace with the current. Individual employers, harsh as they may seem, can scarcely be blamed. They have to carry out contracts against rivals, and adopt what they think is the best way of keeping their business in full swing. It is the same with the coal-viewers in the colliery districts. None of them will take on a man nowadays, and especially since the Employers' Liability Acts have been made more stringent, who is at all past his first vigour. They will keep older pitmen who are accustomed to the work and make up by experience for loss of quickness, but they refuse to employ fresh hands over forty years of age. This, as will be seen at once, is a permanent cause of uncertainty and a constant drain upon whatever benefit funds the workers may contrive to rake together when in employment.*

Besides the greater stress of modern machinery referred to, the necessity, even without machinery, of getting through more work in less time wears men out earlier than it used to. One of the saddest conversations I ever had was with a skilled joiner, a trade-unionist, who had reached the age of forty-four, having worked at his trade since he was fourteen. He had been thrifty, sober, and industrious, but his frame now was completely pulled to pieces, sickness had disabled him for many months, and the look-out for himself and his family was very black. After discussing the position, he said, as a Sheffield file-grinder might say in his place, "I have worked on beyond the average of men in my trade, and I can't complain myself. It is hard on my wife and family." When statisticians prove to their own satisfaction that wages have risen, they invariably omit these considerations of slack time and the greater rapidity with which men are now used up than they were formerly. In actual life these points are forced home deeply and keenly enough.

Here, too, comes in the positive loathing for the "House," the workhouse, which has become more noticeable and more bitter within my memory. To begin with, of course the improvement in general

* The Government, though often challenged, has never dared to publish the figures as to those out of work in East London. The official figures are really in excess of those given by the Social-Democratic Federation last winter.

education and the better conditions of life which, on the whole, prevailed from about 1855 to 1875 produced their effect in rendering the entire working class more independent and less inclined to submit to the degradation of being separated from their relations and treated as paupers. I know of my own knowledge hundreds of families which have suffered the actual pangs of starvation, men, women, girls, and children of tender years, rather than be forced into the acceptance of indoor relief. They look upon it as worse than going to prison. So do I, looking upon it for them. I can imagine nothing worse than the modern workhouse as a rule; and I marvel, in view of the hostile report of the French medical men who came over to examine them on behalf of the French Government, that nothing is done to remedy the cruelty with which our Poor Law is administered. But that is by the way. The workers at any rate dread and hate the workhouse; and if I had the space to tell the tales of petty tyranny, of actual starvation, and revolting details which I have heard from time to time, no one would wonder that respectable people of the working class prefer to starve outside to being starved and bullied inside these refuges for the destitute. Yet one in twelve of London workers dies a pauper.

Through all this, one feature of working-class life to which I have incidentally referred should be noted. Working-men, whatever may be their deficiencies in other respects, and they are many and great, as I shall show later, do as a rule stand by one another in trouble, and really think nothing of it. What is more, the poorer they are the more certain is it that they will help their friends in distress. But for this feeling of fellowship among those who suffer most from uncertainty and have the greatest difficulty in keeping their heads above water, things would be yet worse with them than they are. From the well-to-do the workers expect neither help nor sympathy. A certain section of persistent cadgers of course there are in all great cities—men and women who have become utterly broken down and disheartened in the struggle of life. These are ready to bow down and whine and cant and cringe in order to get the where-withal to buy a meal or a glass of gin. But the overwhelming majority, though no doubt ready to take what may be offered them in times of trouble, are certainly not of this description. Neither in London nor in the country do English working-men of the industrial classes—differing in this respect certainly to a great extent from the ordinary agricultural labourer—expect, as a rule, consideration from the rich. In the Black Country, that a man of the upper classes should take the slightest interest in the sorrows of the people is regarded as an inexplicable thing. An accident of a very distressing character occurred to a miner in one of the chief colliery towns of Staffordshire. The poor fellow was completely crushed. A friend of mine

who was stationed there (Herbert Burrows) went to see him as he lay dying, and got him a few things. Not a pitman's family in the neighbourhood but was talking of this for weeks afterwards. My friend, who is a well-known man in London, was pointed to as a phenomenon—a well-dressed person, not a doctor or a parson or a minister, who had been to see a pitman who had got hurt. Such an action had never been heard of before in the neighbourhood. This was on Lord Dudley's property, where any one can see more hideous squalor and neglected physical and moral degradation in a week than will serve him for a lifetime. I mention that case, but it is only one out of many. That they should help and sympathize with one another is, however, among the poor a matter of course, though death and disease come too close to them in every-day life to leave any lasting impression on the mind. There is none of the sort of sham solemnity about death which is to be found in the houses of the rich. How can there be, when even comparatively well-to-do artisans can afford but two rooms? The sick and the dying are in the midst of the household living, and are still in the midst of the household when dead.

And this naturally leads me to speak of that question of the housing of the people wherein the workers agree fully with the conclusions of the Royal Commission, but in regard to which nothing of any importance has been or is being done. I know at this moment numbers of families of excellent character, where the bread-winner himself is well educated and quite capable of appreciating the nature of his surroundings as well as the utter hopelessness of bringing up children satisfactorily in such conditions, who are forced to live in what are little better than pigsties. Even artisans earning the highest wages are very badly off in this respect, as they are obliged to live near their work, especially in London, and this necessitates the payment of high rents. A working-man, as a rule, pays a far larger proportion of his income than the middle class for rent, and gets far worse accommodation for the rent he pays. On this point all classes are agreed. It is scarcely too much to say that a great part of the physical degeneration observable among all descriptions of workers is due to the bad, crowded condition of their dwellings. Glasgow, Liverpool, and other large towns, as well as the agricultural districts, are as bad as London in this respect. Though the scantily supplied new model dwellings are as dull as prisons and almost as bare, they show by the decreased death- and disease-rate how the workers suffer from their surroundings in the miserable rack-rented dens that the house-farmers are allowed to make fortunes out of. It is my opinion that nothing could possibly be done to improve the health of the people which would produce a greater effect than immediate attention to this dwelling question. That a reduction in rents, if universal, would in present conditions be.

followed probably by an equal reduction in wages would not interfere with the healthier conditions of existence which they would gain. No one who knows from personal experience the manner in which millions of our working countrymen are pigged together—evidence on this head of the most revolting character is to be found throughout the Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor—can wonder that they are not such fine specimens of humanity as could be wished. The marvel is that the children grow up with any sound physique at all. Even in the mining districts of the North, where the pitmen are, though rough, sound, vigorous, well-educated men, the villages, with their rows of hovels sandwiched in between rows of dustbins and water-closets, are a disgrace. Everywhere we look, in short, it is impossible not to observe that all serious improvements in town and country have so far stopped short of the homes of the people.

How is it they themselves don't use their increasing power in the State to compass social gain for themselves and their children? How is it? Unfortunately, the answer is only too ready. Because as a whole they are too ignorant, too apathetic, and too much split up among themselves. The last point is perhaps the most important of all. "What is the Third Estate?" asked the Abbé Sieyès. "Nothing. What should it be? Everything." Nowadays that saying might be applied with far more reason to the working class. If, however, as I have said, there is little common feeling between the workers and the well-to-do, and a knot of working-men will almost instinctively stop their conversation if a "gentleman" comes in upon them, even though they know him pretty well and the subject is quite unimportant—if this is unfortunately the case between two clearly defined strata in our society, there is far too much of the same sort of thing, though of course not in that precise form, between the different grades of the working classes themselves. Skilled artisans, for instance, rarely mix much with unskilled labourers, or take any deep interest in their grievances. They are shut out, if trade-unionists, by the rules of their trade from any active co-operation with them. Not unfrequently they neglect to take account of the sufferings which the labourers have to undergo in consequence of the enforced idleness inflicted upon them by reason of their own strikes; though, seeing that the simple labourers have no organization of their own to fall back upon at such times, and are little likely to get funds from the outside public, they suffer far more than the skilled men, with still less prospect of advantage even in the event of victory. This was the state of affairs in the unfortunate strike among the coal-hewers of Northumberland, which has lately terminated after four months' struggle. The labourers, who are outside the trade-union, were in a most miserable condition, literally starving, they, their wives, and

their children ; the unionists having been out against a reduction of 12½ per cent. in their already low wages. It is pitiable to see such misery, knowing well, too, that the people who suffer can never have at any time of their lives any real leisure or enjoyment to compensate them for it. On the other hand, in the case of the great strike at the Llanberis slate-quarries, the unionists who had savings gave up their strike pay in the noblest way for the benefit of the non-union men, though these very men had been against the formation of a union at all. As a rule, nevertheless, skilled workers of different trades and unskilled labourers of various occupations do not recognize that in the main their interests are identical. Men who earn high wages rank themselves as a sort of aristocracy of labour, and look down upon their less fortunate brethren. This is one of the greatest stumbling-blocks in the way of the social improvement of the working class as a whole—this, with the competition between the labour of men and women, which, in present conditions, has a most depressing effect upon the whole class of workers, women as well as men. Since I was a boy I have seen women's labour displace that of men in many departments of exhausting factory labour, where, but that women are cheaper and more docile, the men are unquestionably the better suited to the work. This, however, is too large a question to be dealt with cursorily. It is enough to say that the long-continued depression and the breakdown of the union finances all round are forcing even the most skilled men to take a wider view of the situation, and are proving to them the folly of mere strikes.

Nothing is more discouraging to any one who goes much among the workers than their lack of initiative and "go." They have grievances enough in the course of their daily life to cause them to bestir themselves, Heaven knows ; but they too often display hopeless stolidity when the possibility of complete change is pointed out to them. Among the older ones apathy has become chronic. They have lived through a period of sluggishness in which social questions have been thrust into the background, and they ask in sheer helpless fatuity, "What are we to do?" Moreover, they are so accustomed to put out their thinking and political organization to be done for them by this faction or that, by a wire-puller or a sectarian of some sort, that the idea that any real change for the better must come from themselves seems absurd to them at first. And this I have found quite as true in the manufacturing districts of the North of England and Scotland as in London and the South. Everywhere, no doubt, there is a certain percentage who are almost beyond hope of being reached at all. Crushed down into the gutter, physically and mentally, by their social surroundings, they can but die out, leaving, it is to be hoped, no progeny as a burden on a better state of things. But I am not speaking of them. I speak of the great body of the

people who work with their hands for wages, and of them it is certain that the majority, the overwhelming majority, over five or six and twenty years of age, though ready enough to admit the truth when put to them, are so far quite incapable of taking any initiative of their own to remedy their own deep-seated grievances. With the younger men who are now coming into the workshop and the factory from the Board Schools the case is different. They have learnt just enough to be personally desirous to learn more, and to wish to obtain better conditions of existence than their parents. This they soon find, by bitter experience, is impossible as things stand. From among these younger men are arising the leaders of the working people everywhere; while the young women, also, are less inclined than their mothers were to accept the inevitable and live and die workers for wages. That is the result of my observation—that the rising generation will be far more discontented and far more exacting in its demands than that which is passing away. As, at the same time, wages are being reduced and uncertainty of employment is increasing, the probability of a thorough change is greater. These younger people are losing confidence in the old organizations, political and social. They see that trade-unions are of little real value, and that mere politics are of no use at all. That they have not yet come to a direct practical conclusion as to what they mean to do I recognize as clearly as any one.

But here must again be noted that physical degeneration which, in spite of all optimist statements, is so striking a feature in our urban and even in our rural population. Among the factory operatives throughout Great Britain an average man of the upper classes will find that he is taller, stronger, and in every way better developed than ninety-nine out of every hundred of these workers. Navvies, coal-heavers, and others who work in the open air are, of course, more powerful; but even these are not, so contractors tell me, equal to what they were. I think I can notice the physical degeneration myself. Thirty years ago I spent a considerable time reading with a tutor at Stockport, and I saw a great deal of the neighbourhood, visiting the mills in nearly all the towns around, and attending large gatherings, as at racecourses, public meetings, cricket matches, and the like. It is undoubtedly very difficult to compare one's impressions at such a distance of time when the observer has himself changed so much. But it is certainly my opinion that the people are smaller than they were, and I am sure they seem no better off in other respects. All the social mischiefs which I remember then to have heard descanted upon seem to me still to flourish quite unchecked. The bad housing, the neglect of the children by the mothers, the very early sexual connections, in and out of wedlock, formed by the boys and girls, the want of scope for enjoyment of a healthy kind, all

seem pretty much as they used to be, or even worse. And my general impression is supported by the records of the Blue Books, the returns of the certifying surgeons, and the fact that the standard for recruits for the army has been reduced from 5ft. 8in. to 5ft. 3in. since the Queen came to the throne. The inferior, indigestible food, especially the lack of milk for the children, the bad, close air, and the want of proper physical relaxation, following upon begettings from a stock already enfeebled by overwork and privation, have produced their natural effect. Since I was last in Manchester two successive bishops have enlarged upon the deplorable results, physical and moral, of this degeneration. The tendency at present in our cities is therefore to the reproduction of excitable, nervous organisms, educated enough to understand the misery of their surroundings, and therefore bitterly discontented with them, yet suffering from privation which renders them physically depressed.

Amid all these drawbacks, nevertheless, teetotalism spreads and co-operation is increasing. That is undoubted. But teetotalism, beneficial as it may be to the individual, does not help its votaries to any permanent improvement. Most of the active men among those whom I have worked with for the last few years are teetotallers: the best known of them all are. What they tell me is that though a teetotaller has an advantage over his fellows in health, as they believe; in the preference given by an employer to a teetotaller as a steady, sober man; and in the little savings which can be made for bad times; yet that the pressure now is so severe, and teetotallers have become so numerous, that the general advantage gained is, after all, but trifling. A teetotaller can hold on a little longer than a man who takes beer or spirits—though, be it observed, as they say to me, teetotal drinks, outside of water, are not so very cheap—by dint of his savings, and has of course a great superiority over a mere drunkard; but, if I am to trust my own experience, the percentage of teetotallers thrown out of work and into difficulties is very little if at all, below that of the much-maligned moderate drinkers. I do not deny, of course, that drink is a curse to the workers as to any other class, but, apart from the fact that misery is the cause of alcoholism far more than alcoholism is the cause of misery, the truth is that total abstinence cannot save the worker from being crushed in our present society. So far as the progress of the working class goes, I only wish they were all completely sober. But the whole of their life must be changed before that can be possible, and then, to use a paradox, it will not be necessary.

Then there is co-operation. That is chiefly to be seen in the North of England. There it has attained vast proportions so far as distribution is concerned; and many of the co-operative concerns are very fairly managed. What I find among co-operators, as among

fanatical teetotallers, is a certain narrowness of vision, leading them to imagine that they have found the more excellent way. I will not here enter into the general arguments against the co-operative system as we see it. But in this case, as with total abstinence, I fail to observe that the workers are protected against those fearful uncertainties due to the development of machinery, the constant shifting of centres of industry, and the recurrence of world-wide industrial crises which produce such frightful effects. No doubt the co-operators get their goods cheaper and of better quality when they are in work. This is an enormous gain, I admit; for the small retail system means for them the worst possible articles at the highest possible prices, and they are thus fleeced every way. But on the other hand, and this any one who wishes can note for himself, the predictions of Bronterre O'Brien and others have been fulfilled to the letter in regard to the narrowing of the horizon of aspiration which this perpetual dealing with twopenny-halfpenny gains involves. While men are debating about their gains on sugar, on bacon, on tea, coffee, &c., they are apt to lose sight of their far more important interests as a class. They become imbued in a small way with the trading spirit of profit, which is quite opposed to the true spirit of co-operation. This injures the tone of the working people, who, as a body, are, in spite of all drawbacks, more open to the reception of high conceptions of duty and far-reaching ideals of what might be than the upper or middle class. That is a reason why mutual lending societies among the workers are in the long run not beneficial. The shareholders look to their 10 per cent., or whatever the rate may be, and forget their mutuality in money-lending. A friend of mine, not a Social Democrat, who was one of the most skilled workers in his trade in London, started a little mutual business of this kind in Soho with the best intentions, and the effect was anything but good. To return to co-operation; it has never taken root in London, and probably never will, on a large scale. There are few facilities for storage in London rooms; people are in the habit of buying their goods from hand to mouth in very small quantities, and cooking apparatus is of the worst description. But it may be doubted whether if all workers turned co-operators in buying they would be appreciably better off than they are to-day.

Certainly, nothing which the working classes have done for themselves has as yet touched the main causes of their depression. Overwork is still as crushing as ever in nearly all departments of business. The curtailment of hours in skilled branches is but nominal after all. What has been gained is more than made up by greater intensity of labour during the hours worked; while persistent "overtime," though it may give the men more wages, takes more out of them, as they always say, than the extra remuneration they get. On the other hand, in many directions the number of hours worked have

been increased without any proportional increase of wages. This has been the case with omnibus and tramcar drivers and conductors, shopmen and shopwomen, railway men, the slaves of the sweaters, and others. It is almost impossible for those who are thus kept perpetually at high pressure to find the time for deep reading or discussion, and I am surprised that people who are thus overdriven know as much as they do. To look properly after their families is too often quite impossible for women and men alike. For political and social information they are, as a rule, wholly dependent on the weekly paper—the importance of which in the coming democratic period is not yet fully understood—and gossip. Of course the more active contrive to do much more than this, and some actually wear themselves out in social and political agitation, which calls for continuous reading at great (proportional) expense and sacrifice. But hard work and long hours keep the majority from any adequate study of their surroundings. That is the real difficulty in all proposals based upon the votes of the workers. We are in a vicious circle. The workers themselves have not the leisure, as they themselves admit, to master the causes of their unfortunate position. The classes above them, who possess the education, have a direct interest in maintaining the present system.

In any case the two portions of the working class who suffer most neither agitate nor act for themselves. The women and children of the wage-earners have before them a most unenviable prospect. Of course there are lucky families which go through life with a fair amount of comfort, and have a reasonable share of material happiness, such as a man not having too many children, who is in steady employment at good wages, can secure to himself and his belongings. But the numbers of those who are thus fortunate may easily be exaggerated, and at best they constitute a small proportion of the whole. And, for the rest, the heaviest part of the domestic trouble always falls upon the woman. Take a married female factory hand, for example, who may be earning good wages, though the rates of such wages are as habitually exaggerated as the wages of colliers are, what home-life is there for her? She is obliged to hurry off to the mill early in the morning, in cold or fog, rain or snow, barely, perhaps, recovered from her confinement, leaving her babe at the most critical stage of its existence to the care of strangers. Her husband and herself together earn no more than enough to rent a decent room or two or a small cottage. As the children grow up they are packed off to school, but the expense of keeping them increases, and the mother, herself pulled to pieces by heavy work, sees her offspring developing into puny, weak lads, far different from the rosy-cheeked boys whom she remembers playing in the village where she was born. Then comes a period when the mills work short time, or

are shut down altogether. Husband, children, herself, all in fearful want for weeks or months, losing strength and losing heart at the same time, looking forward at last to the renewal of the dull, monotonous work at the loom or the spindles in bad, close air, with cotton or wool fluff flying all round, as the best hope in the world. What wonder that such women sometimes take to drink? What marvel that homes which are no homes almost drive boys and girls forth to the only pleasures left to them—drink and lust? But what is true of the cotton and woollen districts is equally true elsewhere. Prostitution itself, if we are to believe the testimony of every great doctor who has examined into the question, is, in our great towns, an evidence of the overwork and underpay of women. The girls take to the streets in the first instance to supplement a starvation wage. More than a generation has passed, since Hood wrote the "Song of the Shirt," and still the hopeless seamstress stitches on—the machine has intensified the labour, but left the wages where they were. All this meets any man who goes much among the working class. He sees daily and hourly such a hideous waste of life, such never-ending ruin of physical and mental faculties, such terrible suffering and privation borne by those whom he gets to know and respect, that his inclination is to turn off in another direction, and to believe, in spite of the teachings of science to the contrary, that all this is inevitable. To watch the gradual breakdown of shop-girls and barmaids from sheer overwork and excessive standing is itself almost as bad as to see the match-girls and sweaters' hacks at the East-end of London crushed out of existence by short food and hopeless toil. I never hear or read strong advocacy of unrestricted women's labour but the picture of these over-driven women in every branch of industry in which women are employed rises before me. How is it possible for them to beget healthy offspring when their physical strength is thus enfeebled?

And then the children. Their lot is a sad one too. None too strong when born, they are, many of them, brought up under every possible disadvantage. I only wish a census, a trustworthy census, could be taken of all the children in Great Britain who are insufficiently clothed and insufficiently fed. I am confident the return would horrify those who think well of our civilization. This is what the workers feel most bitterly—the impossibility of giving their children the good milk and other nourishing light food which the conditions of city life render more rather than less essential to their well-being. Uncertainty, strikes, slack time, bad trade, reduction of wages, all tell at once upon the health of the children. A keen observer can detect it immediately. This of all the sad features in a period of depression is the saddest, and I should advise any one who wants fully to appreciate the irony of our civilization to be present at the School

Board summonses for non-attendance of children at school or non-payment of school fees. There is a silent tragedy in each case. And none are quite safe from this sudden calamity. No worker can be sure that his children will not be left in destitution, or, the much-paraded returns of the Savings Banks notwithstanding, that he will not find himself at the end in the workhouse.

And yet, as I have said, in spite of all drawbacks, the working class display noble qualities, and have a capacity for understanding the possibilities which lie before the race far in advance of their nominal superiors. I have spoken as I have seen. But I do not believe, for one thing, that any man gains the confidence of the workers by flattering them. Certainly there is much which is contemptible in the servile following of a name; but the mere windbag, the self-seeking demagogue who wishes to curry favour, loses his influence very quickly. It is often stated that the democracy is fickle. I don't believe it. My charge against my working countrymen is that, on the contrary, they stick too faithfully to men who, having done them some little good, have afterwards deceived them time after time. This steady adherence to their chosen leaders—instances of it will occur to all as they read—completely gives the lie to the current notion so far as Englishmen are concerned, and is indeed a manifestation of that quality of trustfulness and confidence which will yet render our people, as they recover from their physical degeneration, the most formidable democracy the world has seen. They have still the love of fair play and open debate with order which we of the educated class are said to be losing, and they will allow a fair adversary or a friendly critic to say things to them which are assuredly far from agreeable, and permit references to be made to their apathy and ignorance, which I do not believe would be put up with by the men of any other nation. When the French workmen delegates came over from the Paris Municipality last year, they were in amazement at the calm self-restraint and discipline of the great meetings of working-men—most of them, of course, holding the extremest opinions—which they saw throughout Great Britain. Speaking of the great demonstration in Trafalgar Square, one of the ablest of them said to me, "If we had such a meeting as this in Paris, we should want to capture the city." This natural capacity for orderly gathering, this voluntary discipline which is so marked a feature of all English crowds, betoken great qualities of citizenship. It will be the fault of the "governing classes," not of the people, if we have to face in this country another such period of rioting and suppressed civil war as lasted from 1835 to 1842, and partially till 1848. The working classes are patient to long-suffering and apathy. They welcome reforms with a gratitude out of all proportion to the benefit conferred. But they, in common with the rest of the world, see that the social question, *their ques-*

tion, now presses for solution ; they, or at any rate the younger ones among them, feel the increasing competition and struggle for existence as unnecessary and unjust. Peaceful and law-abiding as they are, therefore, they will not be patient for ever. A new spirit is abroad among the workers throughout Great Britain, and matters which closely concern them, the knife-and-fork questions of which Stevens the Chartist spoke on Kersall Moor upwards of forty years ago, are being daily discussed in the dinner-hour and at the clubs. And now ideas spread faster than ever, and conditions develop more rapidly. The period of social apathy is clearly at an end. Let us hope that a full and timely recognition of the just demands of the people, an endeavour to realize, in part at least, the ideal of national and international industrial co-operation; now firing the minds of the labouring classes throughout Europe, will enable England to take that lead in the peaceful re-organization of society for which she is fitted by the state of her economical development and the political freedom which, on the whole, her inhabitants enjoy.

H. M. HYNDMAN.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN CHINA.

AMONG the countries of the distant East, China holds the highest place in the estimation of the Western world. She will certainly keep the position she has won, and it becomes a duty for Western statesmen to make themselves acquainted with her history and resources. The combinations of educated intelligence with vast population, of homogeneousness of race with fertility of production, of excellence of climate with vast mineral resources, unite in giving her a unique position among the Eastern nations.

The Marquis Tseng has told us in vigorous metaphor that China was always powerful, though she did not know it, and that she is now better acquainted than ever before with the realities of her position. She has many skilled diplomatists, who know how to take advantage for her good of the mutual jealousies and fears of the European States. These men study telegrams and read translated leaders from the *Times*. The viceroys and governors serve their country loyally, and rejoice in her prosperity. They appreciate highly the usefulness of political craft, and when the cloud of expected war hangs over the European horizon at any point, they cherish the hope that they may by diplomatic skill make the changed combinations of Western politics subserve the interests of their country. They are better statesmen than they are generals, and they are beginning to enjoy Western politics as an interesting game of skill in which they may take part with every prospect of success through that unimpassioned Oriental astuteness which is the gift of their race. Europe has six great Powers, America one, and Asia is now aspiring to be recognized, and is recognized, as having one great Power also. War has done China much good by making her sensible of her deficiencies, and showing her how she can best cope with foreign Powers. She is now stronger than she ever was before, and she will become stronger yet. It is quite within her power to increase the number of her trained soldiers, to gain still more aid from the employment of foreign officers, and to strengthen the forts which guard her harbours. It has been proved that Chinese soldiers can meet European soldiers on the field of battle, behave well,

and oblige their opponents, after hours of severe fighting, to return to their ships, worn out. Then they have seen them weigh anchor and sail away, leaving China in possession of the territory they coveted. It may on some future occasion be proved that China can also take care of her war-ships when unexpectedly attacked by some foreign enemy. She has now initiated an elaborate system of naval instruction, so that her war-vessels will in future, it is to be hoped, be manned by more competent persons. There is nothing to prevent the command being given to men of energy, promptitude, and courage, whether Chinese or foreign. Should there at some future time be unfortunately another war, China's navy may quite possibly prove able to take care of itself, and inflict loss on those who attack her. If this be the result of the naval training now being given in the newly established schools, the Government and people of the Middle Kingdom will certainly have made advancement, and considering the experience they have gained in fighting, and their possession of Western artillery, they may be said to be stronger now than they ever were before. But it is unsafe to prophesy. The Chinese fight better on shore than at sea, and they have not yet had a naval hero.

Although the imperial family is Manchoo, and new to China two centuries and a half ago, the patriotism of the viceroys and governors is undoubted; they are animated by a real love for the Government—a love which seems to survive undiminished the severe punishments to which they are, when in fault, sometimes exposed. Their humble submission to chastisement is most remarkable, and loyalty is a virtue which is assiduously cultivated from their earliest youth. The patriotism of the governing class has been conspicuous for a generation in the band of Hoonan patriots who have occupied high positions. The province of Hoonan lies north of Canton and south of the Yang-tze river. Hoolinyi was one of these patriots. He was Governor of Hoo-pei when the Taiping rebellion broke out, and formed the plan by which it was ultimately put down. Tseng-kwo-fan, the first Marquis Tseng, and his son and successor in the marquissate, just returned from Europe, and his brother, the Viceroy of Nanking, and another son, treasurer of Kwei-chow, all belong to this band. Another member of it was Kwo-sung-tau, who came as Minister to England ten years ago. Tso-tsung-tang, who re-conquered Cashgar after a revolt of twenty years, was another. Peng-yii-lin, who was sent to Canton as special commissioner to assist the viceroy in keeping the French away from that important city, is also a member of this band; and so is Yang, the Viceroy of Foochow. These men slowly rose from comparative obscurity, and they have unitedly aided in the enthusiastic endeavour to restore peace to their native country by quelling rebellions, whether Taiping or Mahomedan. There is abundant evidence of the devoted loyalty of such men to the Government. The same may be said of the public men belonging to other provinces, such as the redoubtable Li-hung-chang, viceroy of the metropolitan province, and one of the Grand Secretaries. There is not the least reason for doubting his fidelity even during those years when many foreigners said he was not to be trusted, and was himself planning revolt. Those who spoke thus did not know the man, nor did they understand the country. There is positively no ground for questioning the loyalty of any of the viceroys or governors, and as they are men of tried ability, who have passed through many years of service in inferior

posts, by which they have acquired much official experience, they form a staff of useful public servants, who keep the wheels of the State vehicle moving, and avert many a danger threatening the public welfare.

The fact that the Manchoo nation rules the Chinese does not weaken China. The people, and especially the *literati* of China, are loyal to the imperial family just as if it were Chinese. "The Emperor is to me the donor of literary rank, and his ancestors gave my ancestors literary honours for seven or eight generations. I owe him fealty as the fountain of my honours." Such is a specimen of the way in which they reason, and it is an understood thing that any who, on occasion of a popular rising at any place, may be acting as chief magistrates, must die rather than quit their posts. To talk politics is in common life not allowed. The well-conducted citizen pays his taxes, attends to his own affairs, and avoids criticizing the Government. If he goes to take a cup of tea in a large tea-shop, he sees written up in large characters—"Do not talk politics. The master of the house wishes his customers to avoid such conversation, on his own account as well as on theirs." People will converse of course on political subjects, notwithstanding this injunction, and run the risk of being observed by some one who may report what they have been heard to say, with additions. The daily newspaper, too, is forcing its way as an exciting novelty, and its compact dose of news, local and foreign, is growing into a necessity. But the old system is built up on the absence of political thought as a foundation, and it is considered that this abstinence from criticism of the Government is a duty. Passivity engenders loyalty, as in some countries ignorance is thought to be the mother of devotion. In China a prudent man does not call in question the wisdom of the powers that be. The ancient emperors who ruled badly are criticized. History holds her balances, and puts each actor on the scene into her scales, to decide what good he has done and what evil; but as to the living, silence is golden.

Certainly, revolutions in Chinese history have been numerous, and the people have more than once shown very strongly the desire to expel foreign dynasties. But the Government has always been despotic, and a change of dynasty is only a change of masters. The good to be gained by an uprising is problematical. The risks to be run by a rebel are overwhelmingly great. The patriotic cry of China for China has its effect only when a rebellion has become powerful enough to maintain order and conduct the literary examinations throughout whole provinces. Then the people have no choice, and they transfer their loyalty to those who have the power. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, in the fourteenth century, China became intensely patriotic when the Mongol emperors were driven out. In the fury of the people's zeal at that time the Nestorian missions disappeared, and the Roman Catholic churches and fathers in Peking were not again heard of. It was not that the religion they taught was hated; the people hated its foreign origin. In the twelfth century the population in North China were loyal to the Golden dynasty, which was Tartar; while South China was loyal to a native imperial family. Treaties of peace were made at that time with the imperial title of the emperors the same for the two countries, and written at the same height on the paper. The patriotism of China for China did not at that time lead many of the northern people to travel to South

China, and reside there rather than live under foreign masters; but there were some such, and among others we hear of the hereditary dukes, the descendants of Confucius, having done this. The remaining descendants of the sage remained in their old home under the Tartar dynasty, and one of them was made a duke, to keep up the sacrifices. During this period the *manes* of Confucius received double honours under the fostering patronage of the two emperors, Chinese and foreign. The Chinese practically do not distinguish the Manchoo empire in their thoughts from the Chinese empire. Their patriotic feeling is one and undivided. The Taipings thirty years ago failed to attract the sympathy of the well-dressed classes in any part of China. They raised the cry of China for China entirely without success. The religion of the Taipings was foreign, and the hearts of the people remained with the Manchooks, who have consistently maintained the institutions and religion of China. That the Chinese show not the least desire to expel the Tartar dynasty, and have remained faithful to it through the foreign wars and the native rebellions of the last half-century, proves that China is an undivided unit and has a genuine loyalty to the reigning family. This ought to be understood by the European observer who would estimate accurately the extent and stability of Chinese power.

Five-and-thirty years have passed since the Taiping rebellion commenced in China. They have been mostly years of weakness and disorder. A new period of prosperity has, however, now begun its course, and the cessation of the Chinese Emperor's minority just at this time will have caused many eyes to be directed to that country which has so lately entered into diplomatic relations in a regular manner with all the great powers of the West. The rebellions which have weakened it are at an end, and China is now a great Asiatic Power. It is the time to take a nearer view.

On February 7th, 1887, at nine o'clock in the morning, the young monarch of that country, just fifteen years and a half old, was present at a special ceremony in the great hall of audience, where he received the homage of about four hundred of the princes, nobility, and officers of State, on the occasion of his personally undertaking for the first time the responsibility of the government. The Empress Regent last summer fixed this early time for the Emperor's attaining his majority under the impression that he had shown great diligence and made great progress in his studies, and that the termination of difficulties with France afforded a suitable opportunity for her to resign to him the reins of power. Her decision caused great trepidation to the Ministers. It seemed too soon. The Empress's wisdom and experience were still needed in the conduct of the government. A compromise was proposed and adopted, and in consequence the Emperor has assumed personal authority, but the Empress assists still in the government as the Emperor's chief adviser.

The Tai-ho-tien, where the ceremony of installation took place, is the same lofty hall in which the Emperor receives the homage of his Court on New Year's Day and on other special occasions. His personal suite surround him at such times. Four secretaries stand on the right, holding pencils and tablets to record what the Emperor may say. On each side there is a band of musicians, outside the hall door, on the broad marble terrace which fronts it. The music is soft and low. Voices accompany sweet-tuned instruments, and the words chanted express congratulation. Loud sounds are not permitted. Below the terrace are

arrayed the courtiers according to rank, including on this occasion none but those of high grades; and beyond them are more musicians. These last make louder sounds than are permitted on the terrace. Beyond them, again, and outside the palace gate, are assembled officers of the lower ranks, who there perform their prostrations. It is not considered necessary for them to see the Emperor; it is enough to know that he is on the throne, and this fact the strains of the louder music heard in the distance announce to them. On this occasion the Marquis Tseng, who has become so well known and esteemed in Europe for his ability and diplomatic success, was placed high among the near and the favoured. To render the new Emperor's title valid in all respects, all was done that could be done at the time when he was selected. When it was felt that the late Emperor's illness was beyond cure the Grand Council was called. This consists of princes, nobles, and the chief members of the Government. Four sons of Taikwang and uncles of the last Emperor were present. Eight hereditary princes, whose titles were given to their forefathers 250 years ago, at the conquest, for their services as generals and councillors, were all there. So also were several of the second and third class of princes, with the Cabinet and the heads of the six Boards. Though the majority were Manchooks, a not inconsiderable number, and these very influential persons, were Chinese. The question of the succession was considered in all its bearings. The Emperor was too ill to make a will, but a will might be made for him, and it might be read to him and his consent obtained. This was done. The Empress-dowager named Tsaitien, son of the seventh prince, her younger sister's first-born. The dying Emperor is said to have given his consent. The document fixing the succession, approved by the Emperor, but not written with the vermilion pencil, was read to the Council. All the members of the Council signed a document by which they signified their recognition of the new Emperor. When this had been done the ninth prince went in his chair to bring his little nephew, which he did, carrying him upon his knee. The Emperor will not now be able to recollect what took place that night, for he was but three years and a half old. It was a very cold night in January. His father's residence was in the south-west of the Tartar city, fully two miles and a half from the palace. It was late at night. The little fellow would be warmly wrapped in sables, the favourite winter attire of the rich Manchooks in Peking. He was conveyed by the ninth prince because he is younger than the seventh prince, and for some inscrutable reason was on that account admissible at the seventh prince's residence when the elder brothers, the ninth and sixth princes, would not have been. He was taken at once to the imperial apartments known as the Yang-lsin-tien (the Hall for Nourishing the Heart), where the two dowager Empresses were in waiting to receive him. There he has been ever since, occupying the same apartments in which seven emperors before him have resided since the beginning of the dynasty.*

China has not the law of hereditary right to settle the succession. The Government is despotic, and the Emperor can choose his own successor; but on the whole it is the eldest son who usually succeeds his father. The Emperor is an absolute ruler, and cannot be controlled; but should the best and most capable prince be chosen, and he not be

* His imperial name is Kwang-hsi.

at the same time the eldest, no one need complain that the hereditary principle has not been adhered to. The public welfare needs wise and able Sovereigns, and the dying monarch may make a better choice than if he were obliged by law to take the eldest. The monarch, too, in China should in his will appoint a regency. If there be a regency of high functionaries, the Empress need not be regent; but if such a regency be not appointed, the Empress will become regent. In the case of the Emperor Kanghi, who came to the throne in 1662, there was a regency of four; in the case of Kwang-hsü, the two Emperesses were regents. When the father is succeeded by his eldest son, that son offers the sacrifices twice a year to his *manes*, for the rule is that the eldest son is the most suitable person to do this. Should the successor to the throne be a nephew, he ought to be adopted as a son by his uncle. This law of adoption views the empire as an inheritance, and the Chinese law resembles that of the Romans in this respect.

A pathetic tragedy happened at the funeral of the last Emperor in connection with the principle of succession to the empire by adoption. An officer, Woo-koo-too, committed suicide because the succession had not been settled to his mind by the Empress and the Grand Council. He thought that the Emperor Tung-chih was not well treated, because the Emperor Kwang-hsü is a cousin and not a nephew. He reasoned in this way: if the Emperor Kwang-hsü marry and have a direct heir, that heir will succeed him and perform the sacrifices to him; thus the Emperor Tung-chih will be left without a lineal successor. To remedy this fatal flaw in the dynastic succession the Emperor Kwang-hsü should, when his son becomes old enough, appoint him the adopted son of Emperor Tung-chih, and resign to him the throne. The Court did not, and would not, consent to this view, as he was aware; nor would the Empress see why the new Emperor should be bound to resign when he grew up, by an edict which Woo-koo-too thought she ought to issue. He therefore committed suicide, leaving a document stating his views. This document was found near his body, and shown to the Empress. In the decree issued on the occasion, while sympathy was shown for the loyal feeling of the unfortunate officer, his view was not accepted, because the young Emperor must be left to decide when the fitting time shall arrive what steps should be taken to ensure the due performance of sacrificial rites to his predecessor on the throne.

An incident like this, taking place seven or eight years ago, shows the genuine loyalty of the Chinese officials, the result of the loyal adherence by the Manchoo Sovereigns to the system of examinations, and of the honours distributed yearly to successful candidates. The Manchooks, when they conquered the country, continued the system of the Ming dynasty which they found prevailing, and by a wise intermixture of Chinese and Manchooks in the chief offices of the Government succeeded in inducing the *literati* to accept with cordiality the rule of a foreign race. Each of the six Boards, whether of Works, Revenue, Ceremonies, Civil Office, Military Establishments, Criminal Law, has a Manchoo and a Chinese president, and two Manchoo and Chinese vice-presidents. The offices of importance through the country are filled frequently by Manchooks, but usually by Chinese. The ancient principle in selecting officers is to take those who are "virtuous and prudent." The system of examinations is adopted as a method for discovering what men

bear this character. The promotion of education is a secondary aim; the supply of competent officers is the primary intention. This works well for enlisting the people on the side of the existing imperial *regime*. The officials are connected with the prefectures through the whole empire; the ramifications of their family relationships reach to every part, near or distant. The sympathies of the people are therefore everywhere with the Government. Those who do not obtain office with its emoluments obtain some amount of honour and influence through the literary degree they have obtained, or some official title bestowed on them as a reward for services rendered. The Government has titles not only for the able and scholarly, but for all military accomplishments—for the rich and the successful in every branch of life. Those who can shoot well at a target are made Bachelors, Masters, and Doctors, just as those who can write a good essay or improvise a poem. The natural patriotism of the people is directed therefore towards the existing Government, because all are looking to it, for themselves or for their relatives, with the ardent expectation that at the next scattering of honours and promotions some will fall to their share.

The boundary-line of Chinese territory, across which the sons of Han look at Russia, is of immense length, in all more than four thousand English miles. This boundary-line begins at Possiet, on the Manchurian east coast, north of Corea. It consists chiefly of rivers for two thousand miles, and for the remaining two thousand, of mountain chains. The river boundary is easily fixed and as easily violated. Russia is more likely to cross the river boundaries than those which consist of lofty mountain chains. All along these lines China is busy strengthening her position. By the last *Gazettes*, which contained a report of the defence expenditure of the three eastern provinces stretching from the Amour River to the Newchwang, Port Arthur, and Corea, it appears that it is under the new Naval Board, and that £216,000 sterling per annum is the total outlay. For this sum about 5,000 men, drilled in foreign fashion, are maintained in each of the three provinces. They have sixty Krupp guns under their charge, twenty in each province. In future a million taels will be required annually for this item—that is about £250,000. The necessary quarter of a million for frontier defence in the Manchurian provinces will, for the present at least, be supplied from the foreign customs revenue. A change is being made in the administration of the three Manchurian provinces. The Chinese emigrant farm-workers, attracted by the fertility of the soil, have increased so much that the normal civil system of China proper is in course of rapid establishment there. Each military governor is now required to discharge the duties of the corresponding civil office. Under him are a certain number of magistrates, who control prefectures and arrondissements. It is easy to foresee that the old military system of Manchuria and Mongolia will be greatly modified, and almost replaced, by a system whose main features are the use of foreign drill and European cannon, and a regular expenditure for frontier defence from the receipts of the foreign customs.

In Chinese Turkestan similar changes have taken place. Surrounded on three sides by mountains, this region is protected from foreign invasion by difficulties like those which opposed themselves to Hannibal and Napoleon when they marched across the Alps into Italy. This renders the task of defence easier. Here also the civil administration of China

proper has been introduced, of which a tax on agriculture is the basis. The grass land of Mongolia is here exchanged in many places for fertile gardens and cornfields. The aim of the Government is to make all the outlying provinces as much like China as possible. As emigrants press in year by year, the population increases, till the fitting moment has arrived for the establishment of the civil and military examinations, and this completes the transformation of agricultural Tartary to the Chinese type. An admirable method of cheapening military expenditure is that of military colonies. Soldiers cultivate the soil as part of their duties; the receipts and expenditure of military farming districts are a part of the official accounts. By this system lands that once lay waste are brought under cultivation, and the soldier maintains the industrious habits of his youth, while there is a force ready for immediate action should there be either a rebellion or a foreign invasion. The criminal administration is made to dovetail with this official colonization. Criminals sentenced to transportation are conveyed to some locality where waste land is capable of cultivation. Their wives and children accompany them. They have land, grain, and a cow lent to them, and when the crops are gathered they account for these loans, and pay what is demanded. The Government allows their families to accompany them in their distant exile, that they may not run away, and is thus able to prevent their either escaping the full term of their penalty or cheating the Government of the autumn dues. This system of military colonies dates from before the Christian era, when the Chinese first conquered Turkestan.

A great impulse has been given to emigration from North China to the fertile lands north-east and north and north-west of the Great Wall by the great famine of 1876, and by the rebellions of the last thirty years. The floods of the Yellow River have also driven multitudes to seek a peaceful home in the rich valleys of the north. They can be reached in a few days by pedestrians walking with packs on their backs in groups of three, five, or more. After a few months, having earned something in a land of plenty, the emigrants return to remove their families to the new home in the wilderness. This work of colonizing the extensive tracts of fertile land which exist beyond the Great Wall must go on increasing so long as peace shall continue. Naturally the policy of China is definitely expansive in this respect. The Government fosters emigration, and loses no time in appointing governors to new cities and provinces. For a time the colonies are under military law. Civil law follows, with the system of literary degrees and official distinctions. The Marquis Tseng says, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, that "in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Chinese Turkestan there are immense tracts of country which have never felt the touch of the husbandman." It is just in these tracts into which the surplus population of China's northern provinces is now pressing so rapidly that the Government is fast completing the change from military to civil administration. Thus China is positively becoming stronger in her possessions in Tartary by their growing population and assimilation to her provinces at home. This is a set-off to famines and war, and if the Government is successful in preserving internal peace, the northern provinces will recover after a few years the old figures at which they stood in the population lists. The quickness with which the population returns rise and fall is a

striking fact in Chinese history. However great their losses may be, the Chinese are morally certain to recoup them in a very few decades, on account of the salubrity of the country and the self-maintaining physique of the race. The eighteen provinces became twenty-one, if we include Manchuria, where the Chinese are now the largest element of the population. The new large Turkish province will make the number twenty-two, and some think Corea will soon become a twenty-third province.

This brings us to the present attitude of China in regard to Corea and Japan. Corea was incorporated into the empire in the second century before Christ, and again in the seventh century. The Coreans speak a language half of which is their own and half Chinese. The same is true of the Japanese. Both nations long ago adopted the Chinese educational system. The Corean population includes, like that of Tung-king, a very large Chinese element, the residuum from early emigration. But the grammar of the native tongue in Corea and in Japan has kept its place; while the vocabulary of Chinese civilization in all its fulness, with the printers, painters, umbrella-makers, silk-weavers, tea cultivators, lacquer-makers, junk-builders, wine and toy manufacturers, as well as the books and mechanical implements of China, have made the social economy of those countries what they now are. Corea is legally subordinate to China; her king is a vassal of the Manchoo dynasty, and he and his queen receive their investiture from China. Japan has taken Loochoo, once a Chinese vassal State. France has taken Tung-king, another vassal State. England has taken Burmah, and will send the decennial embassy to keep up an old form; but China will retain no power there. Only Corea remains. Geographically, Corea ought to belong to China, if China were able to keep it. But China has enough to do in taking care of her own coast-line. It may be questioned if she would be acting wisely in assuming a new responsibility, involving a long additional coast-line, with some six harbours to protect. But *prestige* favours China. Corea fears and respects her; and history and near neighbourhood have linked the lesser and greater nationalities together from time immemorial. As to Corea herself, she has no power to say yes or no. She is a ball tossed between rival players, and is helpless for attack or defence. But her hope ought to be directed to Western civilization. It is not China that can do Corea much good. She had better be a neutral State, and facilities ought to be afforded to Europeans to work her coal, copper, and iron deposits, which are very abundant, with Western capital and appliances. Corea could then be brought into a flourishing condition. The great coal deposits of North China are continued under the Peking plain through Corea into Japan, and this fact ensures Corea's future prosperity.

The customs department in Corea is now made a branch of that of China. This shows that the absorption of Corea by China is not unlikely, for it multiplies the links which connect the two countries. The amount of revenue derived from the foreign customs in Corea during nine months of last year was 130,000 dollars. Subtracting the cost of the collecting service, the Corean Government would receive three-fourths of this sum. At Seoul, considering the unquestioned poverty of the country, this sum will not be considered small. During the same period the number of Japanese passengers arriving in Corea

by steamer was greater by 400 than the number of those who left; showing that about 500 Japanese are at present each year taking up their abode in Corea to gain a livelihood. Very few Chinese go there, and it may be concluded from present signs that the trade of Japan with Corea will steadily increase, while the progress of maritime trade between China and Corea will be slow. There is, however, an old-established land trade between Corea and Peking, and with the Manchurian cities on the route, which may account in part for the small amount of Chinese trade at the newly opened ports of Corea. China receives an annual embassy from Corea, and traders accompany the mission. She also gives them her almanac, and on the accession of a new king or queen sends an embassy to invest them with their titles.

At present Corea is exporting gold to Japan at the rate of nearly a million dollars' worth in a year. To China by land she exports a very good stout paper made of bark, which bears the same relation to Chinese paper which stout grey shirtings do to thin calico. She also exports ginseng and other medicines, native calicoes and miscellaneous articles. Her staples at the open ports are bones, cow-hides, and beans. The foreign articles her people like best are grey shirtings, lawns, muslins, and kerosene oil. A new policy needs to be inaugurated in Corea which would allow mines to be worked. It will then become possible for her to export the metals and coal which are now hidden beneath her soil, the source of riches in the future.

China is now happily at peace with Japan, after some months of troublesome negotiations arising out of the painful event of last year at Nagasaki, when lives were lost in a quarrel between Japanese and a party from a Chinese ship of war on shore at that place. China has lost Loochoo, her most distant dependency, through the action of the Japanese in taking possession of that archipelago without leave. But she has learned to feel that it is better to allow Japan, as matters stand, to retain that insignificant kingdom. The fear of war on account of the Japanese invasion of Formosa was averted by the mediation of the former British Minister to China, Sir Thomas Wade. An indemnity paid by China of half a million dollars secured peace. These two Powers were glad not to be obliged to fight longer, and this is a good omen. Only in Corea are these nationalities likely to come into collision, and there the presence of the various foreign representatives will tend to maintain harmony. China stands always in need of Japanese copper, lacquer-ware, coal, vegetables, wax, and sea-weed. At Chinese ports the imports from Japan are just at present, as compared with exports to Japan, as ten to three in value. The Japanese do not need silk or tea, and they receive gold and silver instead. The whole foreign trade of China is valued at 150,000,000 taels. Out of this amount seven millions is the value of Japanese trade, and twelve millions that of the United States. The Japanese trade has increased a million in eight years. It is with Japan as with India. China produces little that either of these countries wants. All three countries produce rice and wheat. The Japanese would be better for more wheat, for they have not the physical endurance of the Chinese. If they imported wheat from China, it would be well for them; as also mutton, to take the place of fish. Sheep will not live in Japan, but the Japanese might use Chinese mutton. This would tend to equalize trade and give more stability to their physical constitu-

tion. Before the treaties the Japanese trade with China was a mere shadow. Three centuries ago the Japanese came year by year in pirate fleets to ravage the coast of China. Now there is an increasing trade between the countries, and very satisfactory diplomatic intercourse at Tokio and Peking; commercial intercourse is regulated at the ports by the presence of consuls. The general effect of all this is decidedly in favour of peace. Every year makes the quiet of the future more assured. China and Japan are learning to live by treaties and the rules of international law, just as if they were Western States. Japan especially benefits by foreign trade, because she will have nothing to do with opium. As an island empire should do, she increases annually her ships and her trade. In tonnage dues last year at Chinese ports she paid more than any country except Germany, America, and England. In the amount of duties on her cargoes, England, France, and Germany alone surpassed her, and she paid more than Russia or the United States. Considering that Japan does not require Chinese tea, whereas all these great powers need immense quantities of it, this fact shows a healthy condition in Japanese trade. Besides this, Christian missions in China and Japan show steady progress, and that progress has been increasingly rapid of late years. There is good reason, then, to expect the maintenance of peace, and increasing commercial prosperity in both empires, for the energies of the people are finding new channels of action, and just in proportion to the enlarged scope for their activities will be the diminution of insurrectionary and lawless tendencies of every kind.

China's position in regard to the western powers since 1842 is an entirely new departure in her history. Her Ministers sit with the diplomatists of Europe in the same council chambers, as equals with equals. This change must have a vast influence on her in coming times. She is too strong not to be respected. Her population is too great and her civilization too advanced to admit of her being subdued by an invading army: at least, no one at present is thinking of attempting it, and each year sees China growing stronger; so that the other Powers, whether in Asia or farther away, will be still less likely to attempt it at any future time. It is a great advantage to her that she has a literally inexhaustible supply of soldiers, and that, to meet the expense of foreign drill, she has nearly five million pounds sterling, which the foreign trade will now yield under the new arrangements. This includes the collection by the foreign custom-houses of the tax now agreed on—viz., £15 per cwt., or more exactly eighty taels per picul—on foreign opium. This sum, collected for her by the foreign customs service on the fringe of her empire, helps her to defend that fringe from the attacks of a foreign foe. But she has treaties with all the Powers whose ships come to her shores. She has accepted international law as it has been elaborated by Western jurists. So far as documents and signatures can tie and fetter a nation, China is now as much tied and fettered as any other Power; and, as Mr. Burlinghame said nearly twenty years ago, she has really joined the comity of nations. At that time China chose an eloquent American to be her mouthpiece, and he resigned his post as the United States Minister to China in order to serve her. Now she has her own diplomatist, the Marquis Tseng, who has, like Mr. Burlinghame, also adopted a flowery style when laying his views before the European public. Mr. Burlinghame said nothing of

China's power, but the Marquis Tseng thinks it well to make a point of this, while he seeks to show, that she will not make use of her power to conquer the territory of her neighbours. That is to say, she has consented to be tied by treaties, and she will not break loose with unexpected violence from the obligations she has accepted. Every new treaty between China and a foreign Power gives new evidence that China is becoming accustomed to live in the new atmosphere of foreign law with which she is now surrounded. Steam and the telegraph have made Peking and Shanghai nearer to London than Cairo and Alexandria were in the days of our grandfathers. China, therefore, instead of being, as then, a sort of unknown Neptune in the solar system of politics, has become a known factor, whose powers can be estimated, whose opinions can be foreseen, and whose sympathy can be secured by fair dealing and wise judgment.

Towards France, if she bears any malice, she has discreetly concealed it, and French residents in China were during the short war of 1885 in no way disturbed. The sale by the Pope of the Peking Cathedral to the Chinese Government, with the consent of France, has greatly pleased the Court; and the French clergy in Peking are in the possession of high honours, conferred most cheerfully by the Chinese. Tung-king has in earlier times been for centuries together a part of China, and has been repeatedly divided into prefectures and arrondissements. China really had always a fancy for Tung-king. In an atlas printed at Hankow in the year 1863 under the direction of the patriotic governor Hoo-linyi, the kingdom of Tung-king is carefully included as a part of the empire, and is in the same category with the islands of Formosa and Hainan. This atlas was published in the last year of the Taiping rebellion, and it shows that this governor never lost heart even in dark times, and that while he was planning the restoration of peace and order along the Yang-tze river, he was also hoping to see the glory of the Han dynasty of eighteen hundred years ago restored in the annexation of Tung-king. But each war extinguishes the hopes of some enthusiasts, and the war with France has drawn a line which checks the aspirations of the patriotic who desired to see China's boundaries extending on the south. The settlement with France is made much more satisfactory and secure by the cession of the cathedral. This restoration of an emperor's gift need never have been made if, twenty years ago, when it was rebuilt after a fire, its two towers had not been raised too high. This was a cause of irritation to the imperial family during all the intervening years. As they walked in the palace grounds or were rowed in boats on the lake, they seemed to be in the shadow of demon forms. Two lofty symmetrical towers surmounting a church, whose pointed arches periodically re-echo the mellifluous sounds of organ music and the solemn chant of worship, should rather be viewed as a lovely ornament; but the imperial family and the high mandarinates of China saw in them the symbols of intrusion and dangerous proximity. The Eastern imagination finds evil portents anywhere; and France, with her soldiers and her delicate sensitiveness, was always in these towers looking down upon them from a position of superiority. This feeling has now been removed, and the church, it is thought, will remain an architectural ornament only to the palace grounds. The new cathedral will be half a mile away, and the

height, which it may not exceed, is limited expressly in the Empress's edict announcing the cession of the cathedral. The Court of Peking breathed freely after long suspense, when at last the long negotiations with France, the Pope, and the clergy were happily concluded. The question of the French missions remains, and it cannot be determined previously by diplomacy, because the time, place, and circumstances of anti-foreign riots cannot be foreseen. The Government finds it hard to control popular frenzy arising from ignorance and superstition and a blind hatred of everything not Chinese. Lately at Chung-king the riot directed its fury against French, English, and American subjects without discrimination. The same thing has happened frequently before. One riot brings the Ministers of three or four countries at once with their complaints to the doors of the Yamen for Foreign Affairs. That Board has a hard time on such occasions. Indemnities are promised. Responsibility is recognised. The stupid violence of the people is admitted freely. But while all this has been done, what is most regrettable is that the same thing may occur again at any time in some new locality which before was tranquil. China has legislation against seditious gatherings and religious sects meeting in secret. Death and banishment are freely dealt out to offenders against the laws proscribing certain objectionable sects; but there is no Riot Act, and it is not made the duty by law of the local magistrates or citizens to help in suppressing the proceedings of a mob attacking foreign residents. Hence a popular rising against foreigners and their property rages on unrestrained by the executive. The sympathy of the richer classes is more with the mob than with the foreigners. The mischief comes to a head, and bursts upon a few helpless victims, and the country loses the amount of the indemnity because the local executive is powerless. In the Chinese Statute-book there ought to be a section defining the culpability and punishment of local officers when neglecting to give the protection needed by foreigners in these emergencies, and guaranteed to them by the treaties.

The missionary enterprises of Catholics and Protestants in China share, and ought to share, like other peaceable activities of man in society, in the protection of the law. Chinese law has now been enlarged by the recognition, on the part of the Chinese Government, of those parts of the European international law which guard commerce and religion from unjust hindrance and interference.

If missionaries had not been already at work in China when the treaties were made, the interests of merchants only would have been consulted; but happily it is now a fact, from which diplomacy cannot on either side retreat, that foreign residents for teaching religion and science, and travellers seeking to increase human knowledge, are now all of them under the ægis of the treaties. All the treaty Powers having any considerable amount of trade with China have also missionaries in that country, in whose protection their accredited representatives at the Chinese Court are naturally interested. It is well for China, a Power embracing many religions and nationalities, that the treaties have been made on a liberal basis, and that they engage the Chinese Government to respect the religious opinions of native Christians. Missionary operations it is impossible to repress, and the popular ignorance of China shows the paramount need of teaching the simple truths of

science in that country. This is done to no small extent in the schools and publications of the missions. In this way China is greatly benefited, and in course of time, as the spread of knowledge loosens the hold of superstition on the people, they will, it is to be hoped, be cured of this tendency to burn and destroy on a sudden impulse. The task of governing them will then become easier, and the advantage accruing to the governing classes by the operations of the missionary societies will be recognized, just as fully as it is at the present time in India, in the official statements of many public men who have had a wide knowledge of the effects of Christian missions in educating and elevating public opinion in that peninsula.

The feeling of China towards England has visibly improved. After all the mischief done by opium to China, her statesmen have none the less been quick to perceive that friendly relations with England should be cultivated. The Emperor Taou-kwang tried to put down the habit of opium-smoking by law, and failed, on account of the wretched love of the opium-smoker for the gratification, of which he suffers the pernicious effects. The former Minister to England, Kwo-sung-tau, and the lately returned Minister, Tseng-ki-tseh, sent home detailed and sympathetic reports of England, which were printed and widely read. England's consent to a collection of a high duty on opium, after long hesitation, was very pleasing to the Government. The habit of opium-smoking it was impossible to repress by law, and, in the circumstances it was considered better to admit Indian opium at a high duty than at a low one. The Government has made no serious and persistent effort to stamp out the native growth of the poppy, nor does it show at present any approach to a new policy in that respect. The cure of opium-smoking must be effected now by moral means. The opium revenue the Chinese Government value too much to abandon. They think it necessary for coast defence, and so pressing is this object that they are now planning railways as a source of revenue to meet the same need. Sixty per cent. from the receipts of railways, when made, is talked about as a convenient addition to the sum required for national defence, military and naval. The people themselves have societies the members of which avoid opium-smoking, tobacco-smoking, spirits and wine, just as they have also vegetarian societies. To this native propaganda are to be added the efforts of Christian missionaries to promote the abandonment of opium-smoking. The spread of a moral crusade against opium-smoking will be in proportion to the extension of the mission, and the Government will necessarily regard the Christian missionary as a helper in promoting social morality. The Government is busily engaged with other things, but the time must come when they will attend to this matter of native-grown opium. The opium question is perhaps becoming less a political question than a moral one. The harm done by opium-smoking in South Burmah while under British rule is opening the eyes of Indian statesmen to the necessity of restricting the supply of this dangerous commodity, and thus they are likely to appreciate better the views held by all the Chinese, high and low, who desire the welfare of their fellow-men and their country. The opium required by China from foreign countries has been during the last five years about 65,000 piculs annually, reaching the portentous amount of 8,700,000 lbs. There are no present signs of decided diminution of the import through

the enormous spread of the native production, which is now estimated to be three or four times as much in quantity as the foreign article.

The position of England in the trade with China is a security for the continuance of friendly relations between the two countries. The trade with China of Great Britain and Hongkong reached in 1885 a total of about a hundred million taels, or £26,000,000; while the trade of China with all the rest of the world was about half that amount. One million piculs of tea went from China to Great Britain, and another million to the rest of the world. Out of twenty-three thousand entrances of ships and steamers into Chinese ports, thirteen thousand were British. China receives, therefore, from Great Britain more than half of the revenue derived from her foreign customs establishment. If the revenue be assumed to be levied evenly on the trade, China receives from Great Britain annually more than two millions sterling.

This amount of revenue derived by China from British trade has operated, and must continue to operate, in promoting friendliness towards England on the part of the Chinese Government. Suppose, for example, that the course of action indicated by the Marquis Tseng in "The Sleep and the Awakening," respecting the unfairness of the treaties in some points, were to be adopted by the Chinese Government, when the time comes for a revision of the treaty with Great Britain, great difficulties would spring up. Great Britain would be unwilling to place Englishmen at the mercy of Chinese courts of justice, where, in the absence of evidence sufficient to convict an accused man, he is beaten to force confession. China must first reform her criminal procedure. Railways have taken a long time, and will still require some time before they are constructed. The reformation of the criminal procedure will require a longer time yet. So also it would not be easy to abandon the principle of concessions of land for foreign settlements at Shanghai and other ports. The civilized European must have a civilized house and garden. Settlements like Shanghai must have their own police to patrol the streets and maintain order. Will the Chinese be prepared at the decennial revision of the British treaty to give municipal privileges, to engage judges trained in European law to try causes, and take over the duties and responsibilities of the Supreme Court of China and Japan? The answer is self-evident. They will not dream of doing so. It must be many years before they will be able to conduct judicial proceedings where the accused belong to any of the treaty Powers. Consequently the treaties must in these two points, extra-territoriality and concessions of land for mercantile settlements at open ports, remain unchanged. This is sufficiently obvious, and there is no likelihood that the Marquis Tseng, in saying these things, was acting in pursuance of instructions. He wishes his country and its government and people to be just, civilized, powerful, and free. He would like China to have incorruptible judges, human laws, and improved education. He claims for this ideal China an abstract right to the same privileges which the highly civilized powers of the West award to each other. On these points he thinks as a Western man, and adopts an energy of phrase which is in fact more Occidental than seems quite befitting to a son of Han.

The movement of China at the present time is a slow assimilation to the European type. She has always studied politics, and she has had political writers from the time of Confucius till now. Her high ethical school of

conservatism is opposed to free trade, and in favour of exclusiveness and isolation. The system of Confucius tends in this direction. She has also had her free trade school, the levelling of classes, and the development of international politics by the division of her territory into smaller States. She is now retreating from the attitude of exclusiveness and the affectation of superiority, and is adopting *ex animo* the language and attitude of a Western Power. Her sentiments are becoming liberal, and her laws and institutions are in a fair way to be ameliorated. China, of all Asiatic countries, is the only one except Japan that has made a study of politics. Japan solved her great problem a quarter of a century ago, and was led to do so by foreign trade. The impact of foreign commerce on her shores communicated a thrill which stirred her to reflection, and in a very short time her irrational system of two centres and dual politics was exchanged for mono-centric government. The phrase, "the sleep and the awakening," may then be better applied to Japan than to China. But China is awakening too. The process is slower, however, and she lacks the youthful and impressive vigour of her island neighbour.

The advantage of the Chinese which enables them to maintain their autonomy, which the Hindoos have not been able to do, is not only homogeneity of race, but the habit of historical study and political thinking, which are foreign to the Hindoo mind. Her experienced councillors can therefore adapt themselves to the situation at the crisis brought on by the expansion of European trade. Are the Europeans traders? She herself is also devotedly fond of trading. Have they laws which control trade? So has she, and she has been accustomed for two thousand years to frame regulations, as they were required, for the control of such matters. At first when foreign traders came she made some absurd rules, the time for which has gone by, and she has had the wisdom to adopt foreign ideas and improve her theories and her practice.

There can be no two opinions as to the main objects of contemporary Chinese politics. China is determined to maintain her autonomic position and her prestige by the untold riches of her mines and the inexhaustible reserve of men who can be trained to fight. She is pursuing this course, as the Marquis says, with peaceful intentions. She cannot stop the foreign trade, and she would not do so if she could, because of the money it yields to increase her revenue. She will not part with the useful funds which help her to strengthen her forts and to drill her forces. The sum she gains is not in itself so very large, but it is to her at present indispensable, and all her hope is now in foreign drill, in railways, in mines, to be worked in foreign ways; in science, to be studied with the help of foreign professors. She is in fact entering on the adoption of a foreign *régime* in these respects just as certainly as Japan, but she takes a longer time to make the change.

A RESIDENT IN PEKING.



IRELAND'S ALTERNATIVES.

SPEECHES, lectures, pamphlets, articles, leaflets relating to Home Rule and Land Law in Ireland have been showered on the public as "thick" (and perhaps as dry—*absit omen*) "as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks in Vallombrosa"; yet it may be doubted whether the public has not been perplexed rather than instructed by this abundance—not knowing what to select or how to distinguish between many conflicting propositions. The object of the following pages is to inquire into the nature of governments in general, with a view of ascertaining the value, so to speak, of the various forms of ties by which communities of men are compacted into nations; and thus, having determined, so far as is possible by theory and by example, the strength of the diverse social structures which build up empires and nations, to apply the principles thus deduced to the case of Ireland, and show how far the plans put forward by the supporters of Home Rule are really calculated to excite alarm, or are of such a character as to deservedly brand the advocates of the measure with the opprobrium of being anarchists, revolutionists, separatists; or, in short of being men in any way holding a faith repugnant to the true principles of the British Constitution.

The inquiry proposed necessarily involves a description of the various forms of government which have been proposed for Ireland, and the reader may judge for himself whether their merits and demerits have been truly set forth. At all events, it is hoped that an endeavour to supply materials for a dispassionate view of the whole of the Irish "situation" may assist both opponents and supporters of Home Rule to take a more charitable view of the motives by which each party is actuated, and the conditions under which it works, and perhaps to arrive at the conclusion that

the differences between the various schemes competing for acceptance are not unfrequently questions, not of substance, but of form, arising from a desire in their promoters to have their own way, rather than objections resting on grave constitutional grounds, and involving, if they are to be set aside, an abandonment of principles binding on reason and the conscience.

Before analysing the materials of which a nation is composed, we must first determine what constitutes a nation. Happily, little difficulty arises in arriving at a conclusion on this question. A nation is a political society which possesses imperial or national powers; that is to say, the powers of making peace and war, maintaining fleets and armies, and regulating commerce with foreign nations.

A community possessing these powers, be it large or be it small, is a nation or a separate entity amongst the peoples of the world. It owns no superior, but possesses and exercises all powers of government by itself and for itself. The possession of imperial or national powers indicates nothing more than the separate existence of a community. Russia, the German Empire, the British Empire, the United States, France, are alike independent nations, possessing, in reference to other political communities, the common attribute of independent sovereignty.

Passing from imperial to local powers, we shall find that the most material local regulations may be classified as follows:—Class 1: Laws for the maintenance of peace and social order; laws relating to coinage, postal service, and internal communication. This class may be called "State Laws," using "State" in the American sense of a political community subordinated to some other power. Class 2: Laws relating to land; laws relating to education; laws relating to police; laws relating to the relief of the poor; municipal and sanitary laws; and so forth. This class may be named "Provincial Laws," using "Province" in the sense of a division less than a State.

These laws admit of various modes of classification, but the foregoing arrangement will be sufficient for our purpose. The simplest form of government, and probably the most absolute in the world, is that of Russia. Here all power, legislative, executive, and even judicial, is vested in the Emperor, and exercised by functionaries deriving their authority immediately from him. France, again, though a republic, is an example of a very centralized government. The legislative, executive, and judicial powers are distinct; but the central government, through the medium of the appointment of the local prefects, exercises a direct power throughout all the provinces of France; thus making every impulse of the supreme power felt immediately throughout the whole body of the State. It is of no use entering further into the nature or details of what may be called for distinction "single" governments, or governments consisting of

one compact political society, subject to a direct far-reaching central power. The problem with which we have to deal is Ireland, and Ireland is a component member of the most complex nation the world has yet known. Our inquiry, then, must be directed to an investigation of the structures of various composite nations, or nations made up of numerous political communities more or less differing from each other. From the examination of the nature of the common tie, and the circumstances which caused it to be adopted or imposed on the component peoples, we cannot but derive instruction, and be furnished with materials which will enable us to take a wide view of the question of Home Rule, and assist us in judging between the various remedies proposed for the cure of Irish disorders.

The nature of the ties which bind, or have bound, the principal composite nations of the world together may be classified as—

1. Confederate unions.
2. Federal unions.
3. Imperial unions.

A confederate union may be defined to mean an alliance between the governments of independent States, which agree to appoint a common superior authority having power to make peace and war and to demand contributions of men and money from the confederate States. Such superior authority has no power of enforcing its decrees except through the medium of the governments of the constituent States; or, in other words, in case of disobedience, by armed force.

A federal union differs from a confederate union in the material fact that the common superior authority, instead of acting on the individual subjects of the constituent States through the medium of their respective governments, has a power, in respect of all matters within its jurisdiction, of enacting laws and issuing orders which are binding directly on the individual citizens.

The distinguishing characteristics of an imperial union are, that it consists of an aggregate of communities, one of which is dominant, and that the component communities have been brought into association, not by arrangement between themselves, but by colonization, cession, and by other means emanating from the resources or power of the dominant community.

The above-mentioned distinction between a Government having communities only for its subjects, and incapable of enforcing its orders by any other means than war, and a Government acting directly on individuals, must be constantly borne in mind, for in this lies the whole difference between a confederate and federal union; that is to say, between a confederacy which, in the case of the United States, lasted a few short years, and a federal union which, with

the same people as subjects, has lasted nearly a century, and has stood the strain of the most terrible war of modern times.

The material features of the Constitution of the United States have been explained in a previous article.* All that is necessary to call to mind here is, that the Government of the United States exercises a power of taxation throughout the whole Union by means of its own officers, and enforces its decrees through the medium of its own Courts. A Supreme Court has also been established, which has power to adjudicate on the constitutionality of all laws passed by the Legislature of the United States, or of any State, and to decide on all international questions.

Switzerland was till 1848 an example of a confederate union or league of semi-independent States, which, unlike other confederacies, had existed with partial interruptions for centuries. This unusual vitality is attributed by Mill† to the circumstance that the confederate government felt its weakness so strongly that it hardly ever attempted to exercise any real authority. Its present government, finally settled in 1874, but based on fundamental laws passed in 1848, is a federal union formed on the pattern of the American Constitution. It consists of a federal assembly comprising two Chambers—the Upper Chamber composed of forty-four members chosen by the twenty-two cantons, two for each canton; the Lower consisting of 145 members chosen by direct election at the rate of one deputy for every 20,000 persons. The chief executive authority is deputed to a federal council consisting of seven members elected for three years by the federal assembly, and having at their head a president and vice-president, who are the first magistrates of the republic. There is also a federal tribunal, having similar functions to those of the supreme court of the United States of America, consisting of nine members elected for six years by the federal assembly.

The Empire of Germany is a federal union, differing from the United States and Switzerland in having an hereditary emperor as its head. It comprises twenty-six States, who have “formed an eternal union for the protection of the realm, and the care of the welfare of the German people.”‡ The King of Prussia, under the title of German Emperor, represents the empire in all its relations to foreign nations, and has the power of making peace and war, but if the war be more than a defensive war he must have the assent of the Upper House. The legislative body of the empire consists of two Houses—the Upper, called the Bundesrath, representing the social States in different proportions according to their relative importance; the lower, the Reichstag, elected by the voters in 397 electoral districts, which are distributed

* “Home Rule and Imperial Unity :” *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, March 1887.

† Mill on “Representative Government,” p. 310.

‡ See “Statesman’s Year Book” : Switzerland and Germany.

amongst the constituent States in unequal numbers, regard being had to the population and circumstances of each State.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire is a federal union, differing alike in its origin and construction from the federal unions above mentioned. In the beginning Austria and Hungary were independent countries—Austria a despotism, Hungary a constitutional monarchy, with ancient laws and customs dating back to the foundation of the kingdom in 896. In the sixteenth century the supreme power in both countries—that is to say, the despotic monarchy in Austria and the constitutional monarchy in Hungary—became vested in the same person ; as might have been anticipated, the union was not a happy one. If we dip into Heeren's " Political System of Europe " at intervals selected almost at random, the following notices will be found in relation to Austria and Hungary:—Between 1671 and 1700 " political unity in the Austrian monarchy was to have been enforced especially in the principal country (Hungary), for this was regarded as the sole method of establishing power ; the consequence was an almost perpetual revolutionary state of affairs."* Again, in the next chapter, commenting on the period between 1740 and 1786 : " Hungary, in fact the chief, was treated like a conquered province ; subjected to the most oppressive commercial restraints, it was regarded as a colony from which Austria exacted what she could for her own advantage. The injurious consequences of this internal discord are evident." Coming to modern times we find that oppression followed oppression with sickening monotony, and that at last the determination of Austria to stamp out the Constitution in Hungary gave rise to the insurrection of 1849, which Austria suppressed with the assistance of Russia, and as a penalty declared the Hungarian Constitution to be forfeited, and thereupon Hungary was incorporated with Austria, as Ireland was incorporated with Great Britain in 1800. Both events were the consequences of unsuccessful rebellions, but the junction which, in the case of Hungary, was enforced by the sword, was in Ireland more smoothly carried into effect by corruption. Hungary, sullen and discontented, waited for Austria's calamity as her opportunity, and it came after the battle of Sadowa. Austria had just emerged from a fearful conflict, and Count Beust † felt that unless some resolute effort was made to meet the views of the constitutional party in Hungary, the dismemberment of the empire must be the result. Now, what was the course he took? Was it a tightening of the bonds between Austria and Hungary? On the contrary, to maintain the unity of the empire he dissolved its union and restored to Hungary its ancient constitutional privileges. Austria and Hungary each had its own Parliament for local purposes. To

* Heeren's " Political System of Europe," p. 152.

† " Memoirs of Count Beust," vol. i. Introduction, p. xliii.

manage the imperial concerns of peace and war, and the foreign relations, a controlling body, called the Delegations, was established, consisting of 120 members, of whom half represent and are chosen by the Legislature of Austria, and the other half by that of Hungary ; the Upper House of each country returning twenty members, and the Lower House forty.* Ordinarily the delegates sit and vote in two Chambers, but if they disagree the two branches must meet together and give their final vote, which is binding on the whole empire.†

The question arises, What is the magnetic influence which induces communities of men to combine together in federal unions? Undoubtedly it is the feeling of nationality ; and what is nationality? Mr. Mill says,‡ “ a portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and any others ; which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than other people ; desire to be under the same government, and desire that it should be a government by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively.” He then proceeds to state that the feeling of nationality may have been generated by various causes. Sometimes it is the identity of race and descent ; community of language and community of religion greatly contribute to it ; geographical limits are one of its causes ; but the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents : the possession of a national history and consequent community of recollections—collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret—connected with the same incidents in the past. The only point to be noted further in reference to the foregoing federal unions, is that the same feeling of nationality which, in the United States, Switzerland, and the German Empire, produced a closer legal bond of union, in the case of Austria-Hungary operated to dissolve the amalgamation formed in 1849 of the two States, and to produce a federal union of States in place of a single State.

One conclusion seems to follow irresistibly from any review of the construction of the various States above described : that the stability of a nation bears no relation whatever to the legal compactness or homogeneity of its component parts. Russia and France, the most compact political societies in Europe, do not, to say the least, rest on a firmer basis than Germany and Switzerland, the inhabitants of which are subject to the obligations of a double nationality. Above all, no European nation, except Great Britain, can for a moment bear comparison with the United States in respect of the devotion of its people to their Constitution.

* “Statesman's Year Book.”

† The Emperor of Austria is the head of the empire, with the title of King in Hungary. Austria-Hungary is treated as a federal not as an imperial union, on the ground that Austria was never rightfully a dominant community over Hungary.

‡ “Representative Government,” p. 295.

An imperial union, though resembling somewhat in outward form a federal union, differs altogether from it both in principle and origin. Its essential characteristic is that one community is absolutely dominant while all the others are subordinate. In the case of a federal union independent States have agreed to resign a portion of their powers to a central Government for the sake of securing the common safety. In an imperial union the dominant or imperial State delegates to each constituent member of the union such a portion of local government as the dominant State considers the subordinate member entitled to, consistently with the integrity of the empire. The British Empire furnishes the best example of an imperial union now existing in the world. Her Majesty, as common head, is the one link which binds the empire together and connects with each other every constituent member. The Indian Empire and certain military dependencies require no further notice in these pages; but a summary of our various forms of colonial government is required to complete our knowledge of the forms of Home Rule possibly applicable to Ireland.

The colonies, in relation to their forms of government, may be classified as follows:—

1. Crown colonies, in which laws may be made by the Governor alone, or with the concurrence of a Council nominated by the Crown.

2. Colonies possessing representative institutions, but not responsible government, in which the Crown has only a veto on legislation, but the Home Government retains the control of the executive.

3. Colonies possessing representative institutions and responsible government, in which the Crown has only a veto on legislation, and the Home Government has no control over any public officer except the Governor.

The British Colonial Governments thus present an absolute gradation of rule; beginning with absolute despotism and ending with almost absolute legal independence, except in so far as a veto on legislation and the presence of a Governor named by the Crown mark the dependence of the colony on the mother country.

It is to be remembered, moreover, that the colonies which have received this complete local freedom are the great colonies of the earth—nations themselves possessing territories as large or larger than any European State—namely, Canada, the Cape, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania. And this change from dependence to freedom has been effected with the good-will both of the mother country and the colony, and without it being imputed to the colonists, when desiring

a larger measure of self-government, that they were separatists, anarchists, or revolutionists.

Such are the general principles of colonial government, but one colony requires special mention, from the circumstance of its Constitution having been put forward as a model for Ireland; this is the Dominion of Canada. The Government of Canada is, in effect, a subordinate federal union; that is to say, it possesses a central Legislature, having the largest possible powers of local self-government consistent with the supremacy of the empire, with seven inferior provincial Governments, exercising powers greater than those of an English county, but not so great as those of an American State. The advantage of such a form of government is that, without weakening the supremacy of the empire or of the central local power, it admits of considerable diversities being made in the details of provincial government, where local peculiarities and antecedents render it undesirable to make a more complete assimilation of the Governments of the various provinces.

Materials have now been collected which will enable the reader to judge of the expediency or in expediency of the course taken by Mr. Gladstone's Government in dealing with Ireland. Three alternatives were open to them—

1. To let matters alone.
2. To pass a Coercion Bill.
3. To change the government of Ireland, and at the same time to pass a Land Bill.

The two last measures are combined under the head of one alternative, as it will be shown in the sequel that no effective Land Bill can be passed without granting Home Rule in Ireland.

Now, the short answer to the first alternative is, that no party in the State—Conservative, Whig, Radical, Unionist, Home Ruler, Parnellite—thought it possible to leave things alone. That something must be done was universally admitted.

The second alternative has found favour with the present Government, and certainly is a better example of the triumph of hope over experience, than the proverbial second marriage.

Eighty-six years have elapsed since the Union. During the first thirty-two years only eleven years, and during the last fifty-four years only two years have been free from special repressive legislation; yet the agitation for repeal of the Union, and general discontent, are more violent in 1887 than in any one of the eighty-six previous years. In the name of common-sense, is there any reason for supposing that the Coercion Bill of 1887 will have a better or more enduring effect than its numerous predecessors? The *prima facie* case is at all events in favour of the contention that, when so many trials of a certain remedy had failed, it

would be better not to try the same remedy again, but to have recourse to some other medicine. What, then, was the position of Mr. Gladstone's Government at the close of the election of 1885? What were the considerations presented to them as supreme supervisors and guardians of the British Empire? They found that vast colonial empire tranquil and loyal beyond previous expectation—the greater colonies satisfied with their existing position; the lesser expecting that as they grew up to manhood they would be treated as men, and emancipated from childish restraints. The Channel Islands and the Isle of Man were contented with their sturdy dependent independence, loyal to the backbone. One member only stood aloof, sulky and dissatisfied, and though in law integrally united with the dominant community, practically was dissociated from it by forming within Parliament (the controlling body of the whole) a separate section, of which the whole aim was to fetter the action of the entire supreme body in order to bring to an external severance the practical disunion which existed between that member and Great Britain. This member—Ireland—as compared with other parts of the empire, was small and insignificant; measured against Great Britain, its population was five millions to thirty-one millions, and its estimated capital was only one twenty-fourth part of the capital of the United Kingdom. Measured against Australia, its trade with Great Britain was almost insignificant. Its importance arose from the force of public opinion in Great Britain, which deemed England pledged to protect the party in Ireland which desired the Union to be maintained, and from the power of obstructing English legislation through the medium of the Irish contingent, willing and ready on every occasion to intervene in English debates. The first step to be taken obviously was to find out what the great majority of Irish members wanted. The answer was, that they would be contented to quit the British Parliament on having a Parliament established on College Green, with full powers of local government, and that they would accept on behalf of their country a certain fixed annual sum to be paid to the Imperial Exchequer, on condition that such sum should not be increased without the consent of the Irish representatives. Here there were two great points gained without any sacrifice of principle. Ireland could not be said to be taxed without representation when her representatives agreed to a certain fixed sum to be paid till altered with their consent; while at the same time all risk of obstruction to English legislation by Irish means was removed by the proposal that the Irish representatives should exercise local powers in Dublin instead of imperial powers at Westminster.

On the basis of the above arrangement the Bill of Mr. Gladstone was founded. Absolute local autonomy was conferred on Ireland; the assent of the Irish members to quit the Imperial Parliament was accepted;

and the Bill provided that after a certain day the representative Irish peers should cease to sit in the House of Lords, and the Irish members vacate their places in the House of Commons. Provisions were then made for the absorption in the Irish Legislative Body of both the Irish representative peers and Irish members.

The legislative supremacy of the British Parliament was maintained by an express provision excepting from any interference on the part of the Irish Legislature all imperial powers, and declaring any enactment void which infringed that provision ; further, an enactment was inserted for the purpose of securing to the English Legislature in the last resource the absolute power to make any law for the government of Ireland, and therefore to repeal, or suspend, the Irish Constitution.

Technically these reservations of supremacy to the English Legislature were unnecessary, as it is an axiom of constitutional law that a sovereign Legislature, such as the Queen and two Houses of Parliament in England, cannot bind their successors, and consequently can repeal or alter any law, however fundamental, and annul any restrictions on alteration, however strongly expressed. Practically they were never likely to be called into operation, as it is the practice of Parliament to adhere, under all but the most extraordinary and unforeseen circumstances, to any compact made by Act of Parliament between itself and any subordinate legislative body. The Irish Legislature was subjected to the same controlling power which has for centuries been applied to prevent any excess of jurisdiction in our Colonial Legislatures, by a direction that an appeal as to the constitutionality of any laws which they might pass should lie to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This supremacy of the imperial judicial power over the action of the Colonial Legislatures was a system which the founders of the American Constitution copied in the establishment of their supreme Court, and thereby secured for that legislative system a stability which has defied the assaults of faction and the strain of civil war.

The Executive Government of Ireland was continued in her Majesty, and was to be carried on by the Lord Lieutenant on her behalf, by the aid of such officers and such Council as her Majesty might from time to time see fit. The initiative power of recommending taxation was also vested in the Queen, and delegated to the Lord Lieutenant. These clauses are co-ordinate and correlative with the clause conferring complete local powers on the Irish Legislature, while it preserves all imperial powers to the Imperial Legislature. The Governor is an 'imperial officer, and will be bound to watch over imperial interests with a jealous scrutiny, and to veto any Bill which may be injurious to those interests. On the other hand, as respects all local matters, he will act on and be guided by the advice of the Irish Executive Council. The system is self-acting. The Governor, for local pur-

poses, must have a Council which is in harmony with the Legislative Body. If the Governor and a Council, supported by the Legislative Body, do not agree, the Governor must give way, unless he can, by dismissing his Council and dissolving the Legislative Body, obtain both a Council and a Legislative Body which will support his views. As respects imperial questions, the case is different; here the last word rests with the mother country, and in the last resort a determination of the Executive Council, backed by the Legislative Body, to resist imperial rights, must be deemed an act of rebellion on the part of the Irish people, and be dealt with accordingly.

In acceding to the claims of the National Party for Home Rule in Ireland another question had to be considered: the demands of the English garrison, as it is called—or, in plain words, of the class of Irish landlords—for protection. They urged that to grant Home Rule in Ireland would be to hand them over to their enemies, their tenants, and to lead to an immediate, or at all events a proximate, confiscation of their properties. Without admitting the truth of these apprehensions to the full extent, or indeed to any great extent, it was undoubtedly felt by the framers of the Home Rule Bill that a moral obligation rested on the Imperial Government to remove, if possible, “the fearful exasperations attending the agrarian relations in Ireland,” rather than leave a question so fraught with danger, so involved in difficulty, to be determined by the Irish Government on its first entry on official existence. Hence the Land Bill, the scheme of which was to frame a system under which the tenants, by being made owners of the soil, should become interested as a class in the maintenance of social order, while the landlords should be enabled to rid themselves on fair terms of their estates, in cases where, from apprehension of impending changes, or for pecuniary reasons, they were desirous of relieving themselves from the responsibilities of ownership. A former article* contains the details of Mr. Gladstone’s land scheme: it proposed to lend the Irish Government 3 per cent. stock at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest, the Irish Government undertaking to purchase, from any Irish landlord desirous of selling, his estate at (as a general rule) twenty years’ purchase on the net rental. The money thus disbursed by the Irish Government was repaid to them by an annuity, payable by the tenant for forty-nine years, of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on a capital sum equal to twenty times the gross rental; the result being that, were the Bill passed into law, the tenant would become immediate owner of the land, subject to the payment of an annuity considerably less than the previous rent—that the Irish Government would make a considerable profit on the transaction, inasmuch as it would receive from the tenant interest calculated on the basis of the *gross* rental, whilst it would pay to the English Government interest calculated on the basis of the

* See “Home Rule and Imperial Unity”: *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, March 1887.

net rental—and that the English Government would sustain no loss if the interest were duly received by them.

The effect of such a plan appears almost magical : Ireland is transformed at one stroke from a nation of landlords into a nation of peasant proprietors—apparently without loss to any one, and with gain to everybody concerned, except the British Government, who neither gain nor lose in the matter. The practicability, however, of such a scheme depends altogether on the security against loss afforded to the British taxpayer, for he is industrious and heavily burdened, and cannot be expected to assent to any plan which will land him in any appreciable loss. Here it is that the plan of Mr. Gladstone's Land Bill differs from all other previous plans. Act after Act has been passed enabling the tenant to borrow money from the British Government on the security of the holding, for the purpose of enabling him to purchase the fee-simple. In such transactions the British Government becomes the mortgagee, and can only recover its money, if default is made in payment, by ejecting the tenant and becoming the landlord. In proportion, then, as any existing purchase Act succeeds, in the same proportion the risk of the British taxpayer increases. He is ever placed in the most invidious of all lights : instead of posing as the generous benefactor who holds forth his hand to rescue the landlord and tenant from an intolerable position, he stands forward either as *the grasping mortgagee* or as *the still more hated landlord*, who, having deprived the tenant of his holding, is seeking to introduce another man into property which really belongs to the ejected tenant. Such a position may be endurable when the number of purchasing tenants is small, but at once breaks down if agrarian reform in Ireland is to be extended so far as to make any appreciable difference in the relations of landlord and tenant ; still more, if it become general. Now, what is the remedy of such a state of things ? Surely to interpose the Irish Government between the Irish debtor and his English creditor, and to provide that the Irish revenues in bulk, not the individual holdings of each tenant, shall be the security for the English creditor. This is the scheme embodied in the Land Act of 1886. The punctual payment of all money due from the Government of Ireland to the Government of Great Britain is secured by the continuance in the hands of the British Government of the Excise and Customs duties, and by the appointment of an Imperial Receiver-General, assisted by subordinate officers, and protected by an Imperial Court. This officer receives not only all the imperial taxes, but also the local taxes ; it is his duty to satisfy the claims of the British Government before he allows any sum to pass into the Irish Exchequer. In effect, the British Government, in relation to the levying of imperial taxes, stands in the same relation to Ireland as Congress does to the United States in respect to the levying of federal

taxes. The fiscal unity of Great Britain and Ireland is thus secured, and the British Government is protected against any loss of interest for the large sums which must be expended in carrying into effect in Ireland any agrarian reform worthy of the name.

The Irish Bills of 1886, as above represented, have at least three recommendations:

1. They create a state of things in Ireland under which it is possible to make a complete agrarian reform without exposing the English Exchequer to any appreciable risk.

2. They enable the Irish to govern themselves as respects local matters, while preserving intact the supremacy of the British Parliament.

3. They enable the British Parliament to govern the British Empire without any obstructive Irish interference.

To the first of these propositions no attempt at an answer has been made. The Land Bill was never considered on its merits; indeed, was never practically discussed, but was at once swept into oblivion by the wave which overwhelmed the Home Rule Bill.

The contention against the second proposition was concerned in proving that the supremacy of the British Parliament was not maintained: the practical answer to this objection has been given above. Pushed to its utmost, it could only amount to proof that an amendment ought to have been introduced in Committee, declaring, in words better selected than those introduced for that purpose in the Bill, that nothing in the Act should affect the supremacy of the British Parliament. In short, the whole discussion here necessarily resolved *itself* into a mere verbal squabble as to the construction of a clause in a Bill not yet in Committee, and had no bottom or substance.

It was also urged that the concession of self-government to Ireland was but another mode of handing over the Loyalist party—or, as it is sometimes called, the English garrison—to the tender mercies of the Parnellites. The reply to this would seem to be, that as respects property the Land Bill effectually prevented any interference of the Irish Parliament with the land; nay, more, enabled any Irishman desirous of turning his land into money to do so on the most advantageous terms that ever had been—and with a falling market it may be confidently prophesied ever can be—offered to the Irish landlord; while as respect life and liberty, were it possible that they should be endangered, it was the duty of the imperial officer, the Lord Lieutenant, to take means for the preservation of peace and good order; and behind him, to enforce his behests, stand the strong battalions who, to our sorrow be it spoken, have so often been called upon to put down disturbance and anarchy in Ireland.

As the Bill was drawn, the removal of Irish obstruction was effected by the exclusion of the Irish members from the British Par-

liament. This it was urged was a dismemberment of the British empire and a destruction of its unity. In vain it was replied, that even when Ireland had a virtually independent Parliament Burke held that the unity of the empire still existed. In vain it was urged that representation of a component member of the empire had of necessity nothing to do with its unity; that the Channel Islands, Isle of Man, and groups of colonies extending over one-sixth of the surface of the globe, constituting the British Empire, were a standing protest against such a contention; therefore, however undesirable such an exclusion might be, at all events it could not dismember the empire by merely placing one component member, Ireland, in the same position as other component members of the empire, not being physical parts of Great Britain. All was in vain—sentiment prevailed; this exclusion became a rock of offence to a sufficient number of the Liberal party to enable a majority to be formed against the Government, and on this rock the Bill was wrecked.

An alteration of the Home Rule Bill, with a view to restore the Irish members to their places in the British Parliament, raises no question of principle, but involves extreme difficulties of detail. If they are to be entitled always to attend and vote even on questions exclusively English or Scotch, they have undue privileges accorded to them, inasmuch as they acquire a right to interfere in local British matters, while the British representatives can say nothing on local Irish affairs. On the other hand, if they vote only on imperial matters, three Parliaments are established—-an Irish Parliament, a British Parliament, and an Imperial Parliament; and undoubtedly it is not easy to draw the lines of demarcation between them. Far the best way, then, would seem to be, to accept for the present the assent of the Irish members to be left, for a time at all events, to manage only their own affairs; but if this desire on their part is persistently overruled by the determination of the British members to have Ireland represented in Parliament, provision must be made for such representation on occasion of discussions on peace and war, and some other matters of imperial consequence.

Competing plans have been put forward, with more or less detail, for governing Ireland. The suggestion that Ireland should be governed as a Crown colony need only be mentioned to be rejected. It means in effect, that Ireland should sink from the rank of an equal or independent member of the British Empire to the grade of the most dependent of her colonies, and should be governed despotically by English officials, without representation in the English Parliament or any machinery of local self-government. Another proposal has been to give four provincial Governments to Ireland, limiting their powers to local rating, education, and legislation in respect of matters which form the subjects of private Bill legislation at present; in fact, to place

them somewhat on the footing of the provinces of Canada, while reserving to the English Parliament the powers vested in the Dominion of Canada. Such a scheme would seem adapted to whet the appetite of the Irish for nationality, without supplying them with any portion of the real article. It would supply no basis on which a system of agrarian reform could be based, as it would be impossible to leave the determination of a local question, which is a unit in its dangers and its difficulties, to four different Legislatures; above all, the hinge on which the question turns—the sufficiency of the security for the British taxpayer—would not be afforded by provincial resources. Indeed, no alternative for the Land Bill of 1886 has been suggested, which does not err in one of the following points: either it pledges English credit on insufficient security, or it requires the landowners to accept Irish debentures or some form of Irish paper money at par; in other words, it compels the landowner, if he sells at all, to sell at a most inadequate price. Before parting with Canada, it may be worth while noticing that another, and more feasible, alternative is to imitate more closely the Canadian Constitution, and to vest the central or Dominion powers in a central Legislature in Dublin, parcelling out the provincial powers, as they have been called, amongst several provincial Legislatures. This scheme might be made available as a means of protecting Ulster from the supposed danger of undue interference from the Central Government, and for making, possibly, other diversities in the local administration of various parts of Ireland in order to meet special local exigencies.

Mr. Dicey intimates that one of two forms of representative colonial government might be imposed on Ireland—either the form in which the executive is conducted by colonial officials, or the form of the great irresponsible colonies. The first of these forms is open to the objection, that it perpetuates those struggles between English executive measures and Irish opinion which has made Ireland for centuries ungovernable, and led to the establishment of the union and destruction of Irish independence in 1800; the second proposal would destroy the fiscal unity of the empire—leave the agrarian feud unextinguished, and aggravate in every particular the objections which have been urged against the Home Rule Bill of 1886. A question still remains, in relation to the *form* of the Home Rule Bill of 1886, which would not have deserved attention but for the prominence given to it in some of the discussions upon the subject. The Bill of 1886 provides “that the Legislature may make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland,” but subjects their power to numerous exceptions and restrictions. The Act establishing the Dominion of Canada enumerates various matters in respect of which the Legislature of Canada is to have exclusive power, but prefaces the

enumeration with a clause "that the Dominion Legislature may make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Canada in relation to all matters not within the jurisdiction of the provincial Legislatures, although such matters may not be specially mentioned." In effect, therefore, the difference between the Irish Bill and the Canadian Act is one of expression and not of substance, and, although the Bill is more accurate in its form, it would scarcely be worth while to insist on legislating by exception instead of by enumeration if, by the substitution of the latter form for the former, any material opposition would be conciliated.

What, then, are the conclusions intended to be drawn from the foregoing premises?

1. That coercion is played out, and can no longer be regarded as a remedy for the evils of Irish misrule.

2. That some alternative must be found, and that the only alternative within the range of practical politics is some form of Home Rule.

3. That there is no reason for thinking that the grant of Home Rule to Ireland—a member only, and not one of the most important members, of the British Empire—will in any way dismember, or even in the slightest degree risk the dismemberment of the Empire.

4. That Home Rule presupposes and admits the supremacy of the British Parliament.

5. That theory is in favour of Home Rule, as the nationality of Ireland is distinct, and justifies a desire for local independence; while the establishment of Home Rule is a necessary condition to the effectual removal of agrarian disturbances in Ireland.

6. That precedent is in favour of granting Home Rule to Ireland—*e.g.*, the success of the new Constitution in Austria-Hungary, and the happy effects resulting from the establishment of the Dominion of Canada.

7. That the particular form of Home Rule granted is comparatively immaterial.

8. That the Home Rule Bill of 1886 may readily be amended in such a manner as to satisfy all real and unpartisan objectors.

9. That the Land Bill of 1886 is the best that has ever been devised, having regard to the advantages offered to the new Irish Government, the landlord, and the tenant; and that any Bill intended to be just to the Irish landlord, the Irish tenant, and the British taxpayer, must follow the line of that Bill to a very great extent.

THIRING.

THE MOABITE STONE.

SOME years ago I considered it advisable to intervene in the question, at that time red-hot, of Mr. Shapira's too notorious "Deuteronomy," and make short work of a mystification whose protraction threatened to cast undeserved discredit upon studies of the highest order, accessible only to a few. I then explained, as follows, the motives which led me to this intervention, singularly unwelcome to certain blind or prejudiced persons:—

"The first duty of a savant is to keep watch over science, and to rid it as quickly as possible of such impostures; for they cannot but compromise it in the eyes of the profane, who, after repeated deceptions of this kind, go so far as to confound in the same scepticism the true and the false, and hold in suspicion the most obvious facts and the least doubtful monuments. Have I not heard it insinuated around me, in London, that if the Shapira MS. were a forgery, the Moabite Stone and the inscription of the aqueduct of Siloah—that is to say, the most precious and genuine pages of Semitic epigraphy—might be equally false?"

The event has finally justified my apprehensions—at least, partly so; and has proved that after having mistaken the tares for the wheat, one is too easily inclined to take the wheat for the tares. Here is the Moabite Stone, in its turn, put on its trial, and the innocent made to pay for the guilty.

In expressing myself thus, I meant, I must say, not so much the savants, who are supposed to be guided only by cool reason, as the public at large, which yields, very excusably, to the impulse of superficial impressions. It appears that I was in error as regards this point, for it is a scholar, a very estimable Hebraic scholar, the Secretary to the Anglo-Jewish Association, who, under the influence of a hallucination of scepticism, now rises up, solemnly declaring the stela of Mesha to

* "Les Fraudes Archéologiques en Palestine," &c., p. 228. Paris, 1885

be the work of a forger, and this angular stone of Semitic epigraphy and Biblical exegesis "nothing but a stone of stumbling." Hereupon he brings his action against it in due form, in one of the last numbers of the *Scottish Review*,* accompanied, like an illustrated article upon the hero of a celebrated crime, by the portrait of the guilty stela. If we are to believe him, the Louvre should lose no time in sending the monument which has dishonoured it for so many years to join the bits of leather offered to the British Museum by the unfortunate Mr. Shapira. As for me, I would have nothing better to do, should Mr. Löwy gain his case, but to take the first express for Rotterdam, and blow out my brains in turn; for, after all, I cannot conceal that I have a good deal of responsibility in the matter, having thus inconsiderately introduced to savants, under the name of King Mesha, the vile impostor unmasked by Mr. Löwy.

But before going to such tragic extremes, I may perhaps be permitted, as the case is in some measure my own, to timidly raise my voice on behalf of the Moabite king, so sharply attacked by the descendant of one of his secular enemies, and to have my say in this old quarrel of Israel and Moab, which has been reopened on fresh ground, after so many centuries, under a form as piquant as unexpected. Alas, poor Mesha! Before deceiving us, how he deceived himself, when he inscribed on the basalt his thanksgiving to his god Kemosh, for having delivered him from the hand of Israel, and made him definitively triumph over his "enemies and haters." He did not foresee Mr. A. Löwy and the retaliation of which the Rev. Rabbi was to be, many centuries later, the providential instrument.

The account of this new "burden of Moab" sounds truly like the inspired voice of a second Isaiah. But one must perhaps not exclaim too hastily: "Moab is confounded; for it is broken down."

Possibly silence would have been the best answer to give to such extravagances, which will not for a moment bear critical investigation, and do not deserve, in the eyes of true savants, the honour of a regular refutation. But, besides savants, there is the public, on whose mind the extraordinary assurance of Mr. Löwy may have left a few clouds of doubt which it is expedient to disperse. I have also another reason for breaking this silence; it is that Mr. Löwy might interpret it as a tacit admission on my part, since he already gives his readers to suppose that my confidence is shaken.† By-and-by he

* April 1887. "The Apocryphal Character of the Moabite Stone." By the Rev. A. Löwy. With an illustration.

† "An apprehension of this kind," says Mr. Löwy, "may have had some weight with M. Ganneau, who possibly has lost his confidence in his famous discovery." He completes his idea in a letter recently addressed to the *Academy*, saying that those scholars "who have long ago pledged their literary reputation to vindicating the authenticity of Mesha's monument, now very cautiously refrain from an impartial re-examination." If such be the stakes and we play fairly, the tables may perhaps be turned, and Mr. Löwy's "literary reputation" also exposed to run the same risks.

may be capable of classing me amongst those "continental scholars" whom he professes to have converted to his manner of thinking. However flattering might be to me the company of MM. Graetz, Zunz, Steinschneider, &c., who are summoned as having preceded or followed their bold co-religionist in the way of truth, I prefer "very incautiously" following my own road in the way of error, where I am also neither in too bad nor too meagre company. I am not a little surprised that scholars of the standing of M. Graetz and M. Zunz* should have allowed themselves to be talked over by the archæological paradox of Mr. Löwy. One must, however, believe it, since the latter asserts it: unless it is with them as with M. Oppert, whom Mr. Löwy shows to us, in all sincerity I doubt not, as one of his partisans, and who, notwithstanding, has authorized me to expressly contradict the opinion unduly attributed to him.†

The theory maintained by Mr. Löwy has not even, as might be supposed, the merit of novelty. He himself loyally acknowledges that he is by no means the first to have put forward doubts as to the genuineness of the Moabite Stone and sounded the alarm-bell. We had already heard a faint tinkling of this kind in the note of a German savant, Dr. Kautzsch—a singularly equivocal note‡—which was written under the then recent impression of the mortifying adventure of the false Moabite crockery purchased at a high price by the German Government, and brought down by me to its proper value.§ It is always, as may be seen, the same story: "Chat échaudé craint l'eau froide."

Consequently, Mr. Löwy is quite right when, relying on the tenour of this note, he proves, text in hand, to M. Socin that his colleague, Dr. Kautzsch, has most certainly had doubts of the authenticity of the Moabite Stone.

But he is quite wrong when he states that "no one has hitherto ven-

* See, on this point, the just observations made in the *Academy* (July 9, p. 28) by the anonymous opponent of Mr. Löwy.

† Here is the letter addressed to me on this subject by the eminent Academician:—"Kissingen, 12 *Juillet* 1887. Je vous autorise pleinement à rectifier l'erreur. J'ai vu M. Graetz à Breslau fin Septembre 1876, et je crois lui avoir parlé, sans hésitation ou doute, mais avec indignation, des fourberies moabitiques du fameux prosélyte. Depuis j'ai en l'honneur de voir le célèbre historien des Israélites, le 23 Mars 1881, en présence de M. Joseph Derenbourg, et je ne crois pas que notre conversation se soit arrêtée un seul instant sur l'inscription de Mésa. Je n'ai à aucune époque, pu douter de ce monument. Les raisons mises en avant par M. Löwy consistent presque exclusivement dans des objections concernant le style du texte: mais, fussent elles même au point de vue hébraïque moins contestables qu'elles ne le sont, elles sombreraient devant les considérations paléographiques, archéologiques et matérielles militant en faveur de l'authenticité. J'ai reconnu dans les arguments de M. Löwy les cousins germains des démonstrations avec lesquelles on a combattu jadis, et avec lesquelles on combat encore aujourd'hui les découvertes diverses de l'assyriologie. Je me dois cette rectification à moi même.—J. OPPERT."

‡ "Die Aechtheit der Moabitischen Alterthümer geprüft. Von Prof. E. Kautzsch und Prof. A. Socin. Strasbourg, 1867. P. 105.

§ The detailed account may be found in the book above mentioned, "Les Fausses Archéologiques en Palestine," chap. iii. pp. 103-183.

|| It appears from a recent letter of Dr. Kautzsch (*Academy, loc. cit.*) that he has repented. So much the better; but it was not before the cock had crowed more than twice.

tured to undertake a critical examination of the Stone of Moab, with a view of ascertaining whether its inscription is really 2,800 years old."

This new-fashioned Messiah, come to destroy and not to confirm, has had, without being aware of it, his forerunner. But it must have been only the voice of one crying in the wilderness, for public and savants together have remained equally deaf; the echo does not appear to have reached even the ears of Mr. Löwy himself, though they are so marvellously sharp that he recognizes in the Moabite pronunciation of King Mesha the twang of a German-Jewish mountebank hidden in the Punch and Judy box. He forgets, in fact, or he is ignorant of, the existence of a curious little pamphlet published in 1879 by Mr. S. Sharpe, under the title of "An Inquiry into the Age of the Moabite Stone." The author leans upon several considerations, some of which we find again in Mr. Löwy's article, in order to establish that the inscription cannot possibly be that of King Mesha, and he arrives at a conclusion which is not without a certain originality. Our text must have been engraved about the year 260 A.D., by order of a Palmyrenian prefect of the land of Moab—perhaps Mæonius, cousin of Odenathus—with a view to prove by the help of a fictitious document the *ab antiquo* rights of the Moabites over the territory of the tribe of Reuben. Mr. Sharpe, at least, left us the illusion that the imposture dated from many centuries back. Mr. Löwy is merciless; he deprives us of this last little bit of consolation by peremptorily asserting that the fraud is of yesterday, and not even of the day before.

Upon what arguments does Mr. Löwy rely to give an opinion which, whatever he may say, runs counter to that of the great majority (not to say unanimity) of the most qualified savants? Has he, at least, a good reason to bring forward? Has he discovered some unheeded fact which can be considered as a proof, or even the beginning of a proof? Not at all, and one is confounded by the frailty—or, to express it better, the inanity—of the reasons for this daring judgment, bawled on the housetops of the *Scottish Review*, and aiming rather to strike the public imagination by an ostentatious display of erudition, than to convince competent scholars.

There is one point upon which Mr. Löwy does not, so to speak, touch, and which is, nevertheless, of capital importance in the question. He has already been justly reproached for it from several quarters.* It is that of the palæography of the Moabite Stone. Mr. Löwy pretends that the forger has taken his philological inspiration from the

* Read particularly M. Halévy, who, in the *Revue des Etudes Juives* (April-June, 1887, p. 315) has taken the trouble to discuss, with minute details, Mr. Löwy's theory. He peremptorily rejects it, of course, at the same time paying him unexpected compliments, to which I cannot subscribe. I humbly acknowledge that I do not see in what manner this attempt, which is so complete a failure, "will considerably contribute to the progress of interpretation." On not a single obscure point of the text does its commentary throw—I will not say light, but—even the shadow of a light.

inscription of King Ashmunazar. Will he maintain that he was also palæographically inspired by it? The shape of the letters upon the two monuments differs entirely. The sarcophagus of Ashmunazar, which, as I long ago pointed out, does not even date from the Persian but from the Ptolemaic * epoch, offers us a type of Phœnician writing of a later period—having already undergone sensible alteration; the Moabite Stone on the contrary, gives the most ancient and the purest type of this writing, nearly similar to that already partly known to us by several archaic specimens: the epigraphs engraved on the bronze lions of Nineveh, the legends on many intaglios, and, above all, the most ancient Greek inscriptions. To this type also belongs the inscription of the aqueduct of Siloah at Jerusalem, engraved on the rock in the time of Ezechias. Mr. Löwy cannot say that this text, discovered long after the Moabite Stone, with which it presents the most striking palæographical analogies, has served as a model. He has still the resource, it is true, of declaring it apocryphal. Apocryphal also must be the two inscriptions, in characters identical with those of the inscription of the aqueduct of Siloah, engraved on the rock which I had already discovered in 1870 at the very gates of Jerusalem!

Mr. Löwy does not enter into any explanation as to the personality of this mysterious forger to whom we should owe the Moabite Stone, and who must certainly have been a marvellous scholar, so perfectly conversant with the latest scientific discoveries and theories that he has even anticipated them on several points. What a pity it is that, after the achievement, at the cost of a thousand difficulties and sacrifices, of this masterpiece of erudition, imagination, and patience, he has vanished without leaving the slightest trace, having derived from his enterprise neither honour nor profit! What admirable unselfishness! For he has worked solely for the love of art, without the smallest thought of personal interest, merely seeking the platonic pleasure of mystifying the most reputed savants. One would, nevertheless, have been glad to see the face and know the name of this masked Hebraic scholar, who has so nicely taken in his most cunning brethren, but has luckily ended by finding his master in the learned Secretary of the Anglo-Jewish Association. Probably the unfortunate fellow perished just after having so satisfactorily terminated his task, taking his secret with him to the grave. What an irreparable loss to science! May these few lines, which render very feeble homage to his merits—too little appreciated by Mr. Löwy—serve as his funeral oration.

Whilst respecting, and for very good reasons, his impenetrable

* I think I have succeeded in establishing that Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus) is mentioned as the suzerain of Ashmunazar in the epitaph of this king, under the title of *Adon Melakim*, "Lord of Kings or Royalties"—literal translation of *Χρῖστος βασιλείων*.

incognito, Mr. Löwy, I must confess, does not estimate as highly as I do the varied talents of this mystificator, intangible as a goblin. He has no difficulty in showing us that after all he is a clumsy "schoolboy," with a very limited knowledge of Hebrew, and a still more limited knowledge of Moabite; much less, at all events, than Mr. Löwy, for whom the language of Ruth, as well as that of David, has no mystery. Shall I own it? Man's vanity is infinite. Whilst reading the first pages of Mr. Löwy's paper I had vaguely deluded myself with the unacknowledged hope that he would perhaps do me the honour of suspecting me to be the author of the forgery. Vain hope! I was quickly compelled to give up this naughty but nice illusion, and it was with a true feeling of humiliation that, instead of the part, flattering in spite of everything, of culprit—or at least accomplice—I was obliged to resign myself to the rôle, always somewhat disagreeable, of victim and dupe. Mr. Löwy points out here and there, in the incriminated text, turns and idioms of Germanic or Anglo-Saxon language; but not the least little Gallicism! If my conscience has been relieved by this, my *amour-propre* has been rather disappointed.

Here, in a few words, is Mr. Löwy's theory. The inscription of Mesha must have been fabricated by a forger about twenty years ago, on the pattern of the inscription of the King of Sidon, Ashmunazar, engraved on the sarcophagus shown in the Louvre. Subsequent to the discovery of this sarcophagus, "purchased by the Duke de Luynes for the sum of £400, the cupidity of all sorts and classes of men in Palestine, as also in regions east of the Jordan, became excited by the expectation that large profits might be realized through the fabrication of curiosities, inscribed or uninscribed." This must have encouraged Shapira to undertake the criminal and lucrative industry, of which the two most remarkable operations are the fabrication of the Moabite pottery acquired by Prussia, and of the "Deuteronomy," about which so much noise was made but lately in England. Nevertheless, Mr. Löwy does not think that the inscription on the Moabite Stone "was concocted by Shapira: the plot was evidently laid by persons more skilled than he was in the arts and wiles of imposition."

Mr. Löwy could not say otherwise, for in fact Shapira had neither much nor little to do with the affair of the stela of Mesha. This stone of highest respectability has had, thank goodness, not the slightest connection whatever with so compromising a person. He none the less insinuates that this monument must belong to the same series of more than doubtful finds. I may be permitted to observe at once that Mr. Löwy makes a material mistake when he states, to support his hypothesis, that Mr. Shapira was in 1869 already actively engaged in his traffic in Moabite antiquities—that is to say, before the time when the Moabite Stone was introduced to the public. In reality, it was after this revelation and the sensation created by it, that the

Moabite crockery made its first appearance in Jerusalem. These fantastical idols—or, to call them by their proper name, these dolls—are not, as I have fully pointed out elsewhere, the brothers and sisters of the stela, but its sons and daughters—its very illegitimate children, of course. Their manufacture was suggested by the stela, and did not accompany, still less precede it. This is an historical point definitely ascertained, and it is not without its importance; the result being that the apparition of the stela from the heart of the land of Moab is an absolutely isolated and unexpected circumstance, for the arrival of which none of the premonitory and suspicious symptoms, wrongly supposed by Mr. Löwy, had prepared the way.

However it may be, the forger, armed with the text composed on the pattern of that of Ashmunazar, had repaired, according to Mr. Löwy's version, to the Bedouins of Moab, accustomed to receive "frequent visits from Jerusalem," and had, with their consent, comfortably taken up his quarters in an isolated place, to engrave the inscription on the spot, on a stone "suitably and carefully prepared"; he had gummed upon the surface to be engraved the copy of the inscription, previously transcribed on a sheet of tracing-paper, and had finished his work of "lightly and quickly" engraving in a few days.

Mr. Löwy asserts that "the dressed surface of the stone," which has suffered from the injuries of time, "is ancient, whereas the inscription itself is modern," the characters inscribed on the stone having in no instance suffered from similar influences. Here at least is a categorical and precise assertion, and it is also printed in letters of a size proportionate to the importance attributed to it. Unluckily for Mr. Löwy, it is contradicted by an examination of the original, as every one may see in the Louvre. To his assertion in large type I ask permission to oppose the following in letters of equal size, in order to reply, charge for charge, to his heavy but inoffensive artillery:

THE CHARACTERS ARE CONTEMPORARY WITH THE DRESSED SURFACE UPON WHICH THEY ARE ENGRAVED; IF THEY ARE MODERN, IT IS ALSO MODERN.

If the engraved characters have in general suffered less than the "pitted and indented" surface,* that is natural and is to be observed in other antique inscriptions. The causes of alteration have necessarily less action in the interior of the sunken strokes. Moreover, it is very possible that originally these sunken letters were, as was frequently done by the ancients, painted with a coloured matter (minium or some other substance) intended to make them more visible.† This is the more probable in the case of the Moabite Stone, because the

* Unfortunately—for us, as for Mr. Löwy—there are exceptions; a good number of the characters are sufficiently defaced (and were so already before the breaking of the stone, as is shown by the squeeze) to render the deciphering of some passages very difficult.

† If I recollect rightly, Sir Charles Warren even thought that the letters on the Moabite Stone had perhaps been gilt.

characters, finely cut in this very hard stone, would, without this artifice, have been distinguished with great difficulty on the blackness of the basalt, as is now indeed the case. This substance eventually disappeared, but it must have exercised for a time a preservative influence on the hollows filled by it, whilst the surface was exposed to corrosion without protection. This would help to explain the unequal preservation of the letters and of the ground. The condition of the stone might be compared to that of an etcher's plate submitted to the biting action of aquafortis; the colouring matter serving in some measure as a protecting varnish.

Consequently, it must perforce be admitted, the forger would not only have had to engrave the text upon so refractory a substance as basalt, which would itself have been no trifling job, even with the famous "three-cornered chisel" discovered by Mr. Löwy's perspicacity, and of which he speaks emphatically, as though he had really found a *corpus delicti*: he would, besides, have had previously to cut, dress, mould, and polish the stela itself, which is highly improbable. This is not all; he would, moreover, have had to subject the stone to a complicated treatment, in order to give to all the surfaces of this huge block the most perfect appearance of age and decay, such as is admitted by Mr. Löwy himself.

This hypothesis, fanciful as it is, at least evades a difficulty of which Mr. Löwy has never thought. The insidious engraver, having, according to him, brought a tracing of the inscription to be cut, must have found, precisely on the spot at Dibon, an antique stela, all ready shaped to measure, and purposely left without inscription, whose form and dimensions answered exactly to his pattern. What a happy combination of circumstances! There is really a Providence over forgers, as over children, lovers, and drunkards. Mr. Löwy says: "Dressed blocks, dating from the times of the Romans, abounded in different parts of the ancient land of Moab, and could easily be inscribed by a forger who was an adept in his art." Evidently Mr. Löwy means by this, ordinary quadrangular blocks; he forgets that the Moabite Stone is not a simple square block, but a stela, a stone of very peculiar shape, recalling the Egyptian and Assyrian stelæ, rounded on the top, with its inscribed surface framed in a projecting moulding. I doubt whether there are many of these uninscribed stelæ sown about by the ancients in the "field of Moab," for the greater convenience of future forgers, finding thus close at hand in the desert "tout ce qu'il faut pour écrire," as M. Scribe says.

Otherwise, we must suppose that the mysterious author of the false inscription—who, after all Mr. Löwy tells us, could be none other than a European, and a European remarkably well up in Hebrew and in palæography, in spite of the quarrels which the learned and sceptical Hebraist tries to pick with him—went in person to the ruins of Dibon, and proceeded with his own hand to the

engraving of the inscription composed by himself, modifying the justification of the lines so as to make it fit the surface to be utilized! But in this case how are we to reconcile these various suppositions, which Mr. Löwy ought really to have taken into account, with what he tells us in reference to the, according to him, irrational manner in which is cut the word *הדיבני*, *had-Daiboni*, "the Dibonian," at lines 1 and 2:—"The person who engraved the epigraph does not seem to have been acquainted with the value of the Phœnician letters. . . . This unnatural separation suggests also that the author of the forged inscription does not control the arrangement of the lines."

Starting from this fixed idea that the inscription is false, Mr. Löwy undertakes to prove it by a critical, detailed, and "unbiased" analysis, exclusively based on the transcription given last year by MM. Smend and Socin.* He does not seem to be aware that this transcription, taken by him as a standard text, is not to be depended upon in several points, as I have proved in a work Mr. Löwy might and ought to have been acquainted with.† He would thus have spared himself more than one *coup d'épée dans l'eau*, such as that he directs against the alleged construction of the genitive by the help of the pretended preposition *min*.‡ It is truly too easy to tax this reading with being "barbarous rendering," "egregiously un-Hebraic," for it exists only in the imagination of the two *Gelehrten* whom Mr. Löwy has taken for his sole guides, and appears to hold infallible—probably because they are German.

The same remark applies to the reading *bemesh'a mesh'a* (lines 3, 4); and might be applied to other no less erroneous readings of MM. Smend and Socin that Mr. Löwy accepts as gospel truth, although they are just as inadmissible. It is needless to superadd to the visionary blunders of the author of our inscription the "solecisms and barbarisms" which only rest on misreadings of its last but not final interpreters.

Mr. Löwy reproaches the author of the inscription of Mesha—already convicted of knowing German and English—for introducing here and there into his fancy language Arabic forms; he does not think to ask himself whether these forms, before being Arabic, are not Aramean, and whether we ought not *à priori* to expect, considering what we already knew concerning the Moabites, that the Semitic dialect spoken by them should be just intermediate between Hebrew, Aramean, and archaic Arabic. Moreover, Mr. Löwy follows a very convenient but most strange way of reasoning. Each time he meets in the inscription with either a form or an expression approaching to biblical language, it is the result of plagiarism; each time, on the other

* "Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab." Freiburg. 1886.

† "La Stèle de Méša, examen critique du texte." Paris. 1887. Imprimerie Nationale. This answer has remained until now without a reply.

‡ Lines 11, 12, and 25, 26.

hand, he meets with a form or an expression deviating from it, it is the result of ignorance or of the imagination of the forger. And yet he is the first to acknowledge that there should be certain national and philological differences between the Israelites and the Moabites; brothers and cousins, although they may be alike, have none the less their characteristic features. Moabite is not Hebrew, Hebrew is not Moabite, although the two languages belong to the same philological family. Certainly the inscription of Mesifa contains a good number of un-Hebraic words and forms, and the savants who have studied it for seventeen years have not waited for Mr. Löwy's opinion on this point to share it; but—the false readings being left on the hands of their authors—there is not one word or form which is un-Semitic.

At this rate one might maintain with the same right, that the inscription of Ashmunazar—the pretended model of the forger—is itself false; for does it not contain at the same time many words and idioms which are pure Hebrew, and many words and idioms which differ from it? Mr. Löwy will say it is Phœnician, and Phœnician and Hebrew are congenerous, but not identical. Well, he cannot have anything to object against our making the same answer about Moabite. Why does he not also assert that the stela of Gebal, that the epitaph of Tabnith, discovered after the inscription of Ashmunazar, and resembling it still more than the inscription of Mesha, are imitations of it due to forgers?

The text begins with the words *Anoch Mesh'a*, &c. . . . "I am Mesha," &c. We naïvely think, do we not, that this formula belongs to royal protocols of all ages and all countries, and that Mesha, like the kings of Assyria, for instance, has the right to make use of it without deserving to have his stone cast at him? An error! Mr. Löwy assures us that it is the result of a servile imitation of the inscription of Ashmunazar! Ashmunazar and Tabnith, kings of Sidon, Yehawmelek, king of Byblos, say *Anoch Ashmunazar*, *Anoch Tabnith*, *melech Sidonim*, "I am Ashmunazar, I am Tabnith, king of the Sidonians;" *Anoch Yehawmelek*, *melech Gebal*, "I am Yehawmelek, king of Gebal." The odds are ten to one, if ever, by chance, an inscription of a king of Israel or Judah be brought to light, that it will begin by these words: *Anoch Ahab*, *melech Israel*, "I am Ahab, king of Israel;" *Anoch* or *Anochi Hizkiah*, *melech Yehudah*, "I am Hezekiah, king of Judah." Mr. Löwy does not allow that Mesha could make use of this formula. The poor king of Moab is forbidden to employ the word *anoch*, which belongs, however, to the common patrimony of the Semitic languages, under penalty of being collared like a vulgar pickpocket.

At line 17 Mesha has the imprudence to pronounce the name of goddess associated with his national god Kemosh, the name star-Kemosh, the Moabite Astarte. "Stop there!" exclaims our Hebraist; it is the Astarte of the inscription of Ashmunazar. And lo! is the innocent Mesha convicted of the treacherous abduction of

a goddess, and of a goddess who, nevertheless, has had adventures with more than one Semitic people, before and after Mesha.

Further on (line 18) the incorrigible Mesha makes the blunder of writing in full the name of Jehovah (יהוה), the God of Israel, whose sanctuary he has plundered. Mr. Löwy, forgetting that this orthography dates back from the beginning of the tolerably ancient period when the Jews no longer pronounced the sacred tetragram, and that consequently it is traditional, shows clearly as the day to the pseudo-Mesha that he is only an ignoramus, not to have omitted the third character (the *waw*).

Mesha, at line 29, boasts, like the good conqueror he is, of having annexed several towns to the territory of Moab. He will pay dearly for this foible, for Mr. Löwy has no trouble in proving that what he has really annexed is but a similar passage of the inscription of Ashmunazar. Is it, however, indiscreet to ask Mr. Löwy, reasoning for an instant, if he will condescend to inform us—on the supposition that our inscription might by chance be genuine—in what other terms Mesha ought to have expressed himself, in order to explain, in his language, this historical fact, which recurs pretty frequently, alas! at every period of the annals of humanity.

Mr. Löwy accuses the author of our inscription of having employed with unjustifiable emphasis the personal pronoun in the sentence: *Va-anoch malachti achar abi*, "And I, I reigned after my father": he ought, according to him, to have simply said: *Va-emloch*, &c., "And I am reigning." I would answer, that Mesha had sufficiently good reasons for speaking so pompously; he wished to show that he was a king, *the son of a king*, that he had inherited regal power from the hands of his father. This was a widely diffused feeling in antiquity, when monarchs attached very marked importance to direct transmission of royalty by hereditary succession; *παράλαβόντος τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς*, says Ptolemæus Epiphanes in the Rosetta inscription. Such was probably not the case with Mesha's father, whatever may have been his real name, partly defaced on the stone; for it is striking to observe that Mesha mentions only his father and not his grandfather, whilst Ashmunazar (whose inscription is supposed to have been imitated by the forger!) does not omit to give both. I am inclined to conclude from these two facts, compared one with another, that Mesha's father must have been the founder of a new Moabite dynasty, originated by favour of some event which sensibly weakened the suzerain power of the kingdom of Israel. The thirty years of reign attributed by our inscription to the father of Mesha invite us to go back tolerably far to seek for this event—(towards the epoch of Omri?).

On the other hand, it must be admitted, in order to find place for the series of important events and works of public utility related by Mesha, that he only had the stela made after he had reigned several

years. These remarks lead us to take a new view of the exact moment, hitherto much debated, when the erection of this commemorative stela took place. Amongst the possible solutions of this problem there is one which has been too much slighted, and which I deliver over to the consideration of savants until I return to it myself, without, however, yet maintaining it to be the true one. May not the Moabite Stone be posterior to the reigns of the two sons of Ahab, Ahaziah and Joram? This hypothesis, which would bring the Moabite Stone to about the year 884 B.C. (according to admitted chronology)—that is to say, subsequent to the tragedy of Jehu,—would explain the sentence of Mesha, speaking of Ahab: “And I have seen him *and his house* (struck down).” This phrase recalls singularly the ruin of the “house of Ahab” (בֵּית אֲחָז), spoken of in the Second Book of Kings (ix. 8. 9, and *passim*) with regard to the death of Joram.* I do not, however, venture to make this comparison without trembling, as it will furnish Mr. Löwy with fresh weapons, for he, as usual, will not fail to see again in this striking resemblance, which, by-the-bye, has escaped him, a shameless plagiarism. Be that as it may, Mesha might have been, according to this view, successively contemporary with Ahab (בִּימֵי אֲחָז), Ahaziah, Joram, and Jehu. This is, I again repeat, but an hypothesis; I content myself with suggesting it, and reserve its technical discussion for another time.

But enough of serious talking. Let us return to our subject—that is to say, Mr. Löwy's criticism, of which this digression has momentarily caused us to lose sight.

He is so blinded by his prejudiced ideas, that he ends by losing himself on ground where an “inexperienced schoolboy” would be able to find his way. Mesha gives the name of *Karchah* to the place where he erected his stela and fixed his royal residence. Nothing can be more natural than to suppose that *Karchah* and *Dibon* formed part of the same city, and were connected in the same manner as Sion and Jerusalem. Not at all! According to Mr. Löwy, *Karchah* is the name of the present city of *Karak*, situated far from *Dibon*, much more to the south; and then he triumphantly asks by what miracle this massive stela has been conveyed from *Karak* to the ruins of *Dibon*, where it was found. He only forgets one thing; that in spite of the superficial resemblance, which may, to an uninitiated eye or ear, appear to exist between these two names, there is no connection possible between כָּרַךְ, *Karak*, and קָרַח, *Karchah*, which are written with radically different letters.

The forger knows and uses, not only his Old Testament, but even his New. Thus, at lines 3 and 4, the allusion to the meaning of the name of *Mesha* (“saved”) is nothing but a plagiarism from the Gospel

* See, for the losses of Moabite territory sustained by Israel at the accession of Jehu, 2 Kings x. 32, 33.

of St. Matthew i. 21, referring to the etymology of the name of *Jesus*. Further on (lines 13 and 14) the ethnical or geographical name *Macharoth*, מחרת, in which Mr. Löwy claims to find the name of the fortress of *Macherus*,* has been put there to touch pious souls, by calling up remembrances of the martyrdom of John the Baptist.

But the culminating point is when Mr. Löwy imputes as a crime to Mesha that he assumed this name of Mesha, to which, according to him, he has no right whatever, for it is simply a nickname given to him by the Israelites, and which he has never borne! This time it is no longer against the Moabite inscription that Mr. Löwy brings the action; it is against the Books of the Kings themselves. Useless to insist, is it not? Let us only add that this name of *Mesh'a*—which, according to Mr. Löwy, is not an historical name, but a nickname—is not even, in his opinion, a Semitic nickname. Until now, every one agreed with the Moabite king, who explained it thus himself on the stela, that it was nothing but a name meaning “saved,” very regularly derived from the Semitic root *Yasha'*. What a mistake! It is an Indo-European word; a near relation of the Sanscrit and Hindustani *Mesh*: of the Persian *Mish*, which means *sheep*; and it was given to the King of Moab by the Israelites, because the former was “an opulent sheep-master.”† Such an etymology gives us the measure of the critical capacity of its author. Since Mr. Löwy recognizes in the writing of the Books of Kings an “Aryan” influence of this proportion, one is less surprised to see him discern in the composition of the Moabite inscription the hand of a European having a tinge of Hebrew—very, very slight indeed.

After that we can draw the line, for my readers have seen enough to be edified as to the value of Mr. Löwy's opinion, resting on “internal and external evidence,” that “the Moabite Stone is a fraudulent fabrication.” It would be wasting time and trouble to discuss point by point such groundless objections.

So total a blunder might have been excused, had its author kept it to himself, or been content to consign his doubts to some technical periodical. The discussion between savants would have been short and limited to the circle of specialists. Had it ended to the advantage of Mr. Löwy, there would always have been time to bring the result before the public. But instead of that,

* Which is written with a *kaph*, and not a *heth*: מכור, *M'Kaur*. The most curious thing is, that Mr. Löwy thinks that for the former the word *Macharoth* was pronounced *Macharos* (= *Macherus*), which would betray his German-Jewish origin! Here is a worthy *Ashkenazi*, well up in the holy books of Christian Goims. At the same time, the name of מור is merely borrowed from the inscription of Ashmunazar, as usual.

† Mr. Löwy ingenuously adds: “It is less likely [I should think so, indeed!] that the name of Mesha, in its signification of ‘sheep,’ is connected with the Arabic *shah*, of which there exists the form *murāsh*, a collection of sheep.” Decidedly Mr. Löwy has no luck when he leaves his own native Hebrew ground to make raids on wider Semitic territory. The Arabic *ma'āsh* (read *ma'rāsh*), “flocks or herds,” plural of *māshī* (literally, “that walks”), has nothing whatever to do with the Arabic *shah*, any more, of course, than either one or other with the name of Mesha.

Mr. Löwy has thought fit, at the first onset, to address himself to general readers, who are not able to control his assertions, amazing them by a display of sensational erudition. He pursues, pleads, accuses, condemns without further appeal, and executes. He cannot find it amiss that he has been followed on to the ground on which he has been pleased to give battle, and he has only himself to thank if his rash attacks receive the retort they deserve. There is no more harm done to science by believing, or allowing to be believed, the authenticity of a false monument, than by believing and trying to make others believe in the falseness of an authentic monument. These two kinds of faults call for equal severity in criticism, particularly when they have for an acknowledged object and result to act less on the rational conviction of savants than on the excitability and credulity of public opinion.

I ask permission, before concluding this article, to recall to memory certain ideas I had occasion to expound lately,* upon the material form and dimensions of the Moabite Stone—ideas from which we may again draw a few fresh though now almost superfluous arguments in favour of the authenticity of the monument.

I have before said that the stela must have been of the ordinary shape of Egyptian and Assyrian stelæ—a block, the upper part rounded, the lower part square. Of the existence of the rounding of the upper part there is no doubt, since the rescued portion of the original has preserved this part. As regards the lower part there is less certainty. Mr. Klein, who was fortunate enough to see the monument before it was broken to pieces by the Bedouins, assures us that it was rounded equally top and bottom; but I am of opinion that he is wrong on this point, and that his mistake has been caused by the absence of the right-hand corner, which had disappeared in consequence of an old breakage. My squeeze, representing the inscribed surface as Mr. Klein saw it, and Selim's sketch,† may be taken as evidences of this.

The inscription consists at the present time of thirty-four lines; but, as I have pointed out long ago, there was *at least a thirty-fifth* line; for the thirty-fourth terminates, at the actual lower corner to the left, by the word: ואנך, "and I . . .," preceded by the disjunctive stroke of the verse, being the obvious commencement of another sentence.

It might very possibly be that the stela, so visibly mutilated at the lower part, is incomplete in quite unexpected proportions. Thus, the part existing measures about 105 centimètres in height. What proof is there that the primitive stela was not, for instance, *double* this height? We are acquainted with Egyptian and Assyrian stelæ, of similar shape, whose dimensions in height are much greater;

* "La Stèle de Mésa, examen critique du texte."

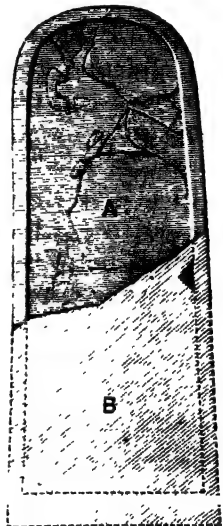
† Of which I have published the *facsimile* in the work above-mentioned.

it would be interesting to compare in this respect these congenerous monuments with ours, and to see what is generally the height in proportion to the mean width and thickness. Should this be the case, one might be allowed to believe that the primitive stela, containing an inscription *double or more in length* that which has reached us, may at some time have been either broken in half or cut into two or three blocks, and built in, in this state, with the materials of some subsequent construction. It may be observed that we have not found, on any one of the fragments of the *lower part*, any *trace of the projecting edge which apparently framed the whole stela*, and must have existed at the lower part as at the upper and the sides. It therefore remains to search whether by chance the ruins of Dibon may not conceal, buried or built up in some ancient wall, the fragment or fragments which, united to that we already possess, would constitute a truly imposing text, the rescued portion giving us but a faint idea of the whole.*

In order that my idea may be better understood, I illustrate it graphically by a roughly sketched diagram:—

What would then become, on that day, of all the card-houses built by Mr. Löwy? But this is only a dream, which may perhaps never be realized. Neither is it necessary it should, so that we may be delivered from this nightmare of forgery, which will henceforth, I trust, only trouble the brain where it has taken birth: *egri somnia*.

In any case, I think I have said enough to reassure the few whose faith may have been shaken by the preposterous doubts of Mr. Löwy. I hope that, with the most reliable savants, every one will persevere in the conviction that the "Stone of Moab" is as tried as the "Stone of Israel," and that, although refused by such builders as Mr. Löwy, it may yet remain by good right, for the time being, the headstone of the corner—that is, of Semitic epigraphy.



A. The part of the stone actually existing.
B. The part possibly missing.

CH. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

* The adventure would be worth attempting, without counting the chance of a discovery of some counterpart of the Moabite Stone. The negative results of some researches made at Dibon since 1870 are no criterion for the future. In the place where one finds nothing, another finds something. I must say a few words on this point. I have always wondered whether the curious bas-relief on basalt, discovered by M. de Saulcy at Shihān, not far from Dibon, to the south of the Arnon, and given to the Louvre by the Duke de Luynes, does not represent King Mesha in person, in his rôle of conqueror, assisted by Kemosh; we should then have there an invaluable figuration illustrating the Moabite Stone. If so, it might perhaps be in the vicinity of Shihān and Foukou' that it would be advisable to seek for the site of the ancient sanctuary of Kerioth, the holy city of Moab.

ALEXANDER KNOX AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

I GAVE an account, nearly two years ago, in the pages of this REVIEW, of the life, work, and influence of John Nelson Darby, the founder of the modern sect of the Plymouth Brethren. In the course of my narrative I several times mentioned the name of Alexander Knox. His was a name and a personality well known to the men of the last generation; he was the idol of the early Tractarians, the teacher of Charles Kingsley, and the inspirer of much of his Christian Platonism; and yet his name is practically unknown and his influence unrecognized by the men of this generation. Even forty years ago he was falling into oblivion. A story is currently credited to the late Earl Russell which illustrates this, and also proves, if proof were needed, with what ignorance of Irish affairs English statesmen of highest station have striven to govern Ireland. The present Primate of Ireland rejoices in the same name as the hero of this article. He is the Most Rev. Robert Knox, Archbishop of Armagh. He is now the oldest by consecration of the English and Irish prelates, having been appointed in 1849 Bishop of Down and Connor, in succession to Bishop Mant. He was then a Whig in politics, and was nominated to his See by a Whig Government. Soon after his consecration Lord John Russell is said to have asked an Irish nobleman of Liberal politics: "Well, what do you think of your new bishop?" "Oh," replied the peer, "we don't know much of him yet; he has not had time to make his mark." "Make his mark!" replied the statesman; "why, is he not the celebrated Mr. Knox?" And then for the first time he was astonished to learn that the celebrated Mr. Knox had been a layman all his life, and had been dead for well-nigh twenty years. The materials for a Life of Mr. Knox are numerous enough. Half a

century ago, and soon after his death, his thirty years' correspondence with Bishop Jebb saw the light, followed the very next year by four large volumes of Remains. These, with some other sources of information, will furnish us with sufficient matter for a brief account of a man notable as a politician at a remarkable period, as a thinker whose religious philosophy has produced results undreamt of when first enunciated, and above all, as the mediator or channel connecting John Wesley and the Wesleyan movement of the last century with the Tractarian movement of the present century, of which latter movement, indeed, I consider Alexander Knox the secret, the unacknowledged, but none the less the real fount and origin.

Alexander Knox was born in 1757. His father and mother, direct descendants of the great Scotch Reformer, were people of independent property, living near Londonderry, where they came under the influence of the Rev. John Wesley in one of his numerous visits to Ireland. Young Knox's health was very precarious during earlier life; indeed all through life his existence was that of a confirmed invalid. He was afflicted with epileptic fits, which intensified a natural repugnance to society and a tendency to unhealthy introspection. Wesley recognized his weakness, and judiciously strove to correct it in a series of letters (printed at the beginning of the fourth volume of Knox's Remains), marked with all that briskness of style and good strong common sense which we find everywhere in Wesley's correspondence. By nature and by education Knox was meditative and serious; but, according to his own narrative as given in a fragmentary diary, after he reached the age of manhood he flung himself into scenes of dissipation till about the year 1797, when he was suddenly recalled to the impressions and views of earlier days. With a man so constitutionally inclined to melancholy, ever ready to write bitter things against himself, we must be always on our guard.* Augustine, Bunyan, George Fox, Baxter, are notable instances of men who described youthful frolics in language suitable to the grossest sins, and Knox seems another illustration of the same tendency. Knox, whatever his moral shortcomings may have been, fell, however, into what he came to view as serious political errors, and formed very dubious political friendships. The United Irishmen and similar societies exercised, about 1790, a vast influence and established a wide-spread organization throughout England as well as Ireland. These societies called themselves by various names, and at first numbered among them some of the highest persons in the land. The Duke of Norfolk in England, Lord Castlereagh in Ireland, joined their ranks in agitating for Par-

* Knox suffered from intense nervousness, a disorder which was increased by an imprudent action on his own part, with which he is traditionally credited; for which, however, he could plead the liberal words of a saying of our Lord, and the example of the greatest scholar and critic among the Fathers.

liamentary Reform, which was the first object proposed as their aim. It is no wonder, then, that Mr. Knox, who all through life was a Constitutional Whig, should have united himself to these societies, from which, however, their bolder measures and wild revolutionary projects soon frightened him. He not only left them, but also for a time openly joined their opponents, announcing his change in a series of letters or essays on "The Political Circumstances of Ireland," which saw the light in 1795. These essays explain the change which had come over Mr. Knox, and in the light shed by them we can see that the step was a very natural one. An Irish gentleman of fair landed estate might be a Parliamentary Reformer and an ardent friend of freedom in 1790, and yet be a thorough-going supporter of the English Government in 1795, for the intervening five years were very dreadful ones. The year 1798 is usually esteemed the year of the Irish rebellion, but in fact from 1792 the country was in a state of open warfare. Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, were all engaged in organizing their forces, arming their adherents, and making war upon each other. A camp of 10,000 men was formed just outside the Irish metropolis, at Loughlinstown, between Bray and Dublin, and upon this camp depended the safety of the Parliament and the Lord Lieutenant.* Police there was none of any value, either in the cities or country. The peace of the rural districts depended completely upon the exertions of individual magistrates, supported by scattered bodies of soldiers, and as the natural result the whole country was in a state of civil war. The Roman Catholics assumed the name of Defenders, the Protestants that of Peep-o'-Day Boys. The Defenders repeatedly joined issue with the royal troops. The state of parts of Ireland, but only of parts, has been of late years bad enough; but what would be thought of even one such incident as any of the following? In January, 1793, a body of Defenders attacked the 41st Regiment in the county Meath, and a detachment of the same regiment was engaged by them with the greatest fury in the country Leitrim. In February a detachment of the 8th Regiment was attacked at Athboy, and two of the soldiers killed. In May, 1794, the Defenders were three days under arms at Kilmaleek, in the south of the county Cavan. It is a wild but beautiful district, just where the hills of Cavan sink into the plains of Meath, and is well known to all students of Swift's Life as the site of Quilca, the residence of his friend Sheridan, to which Swift was wont so often to resort. The insurgents laid waste the estates of the Bishop of Meath, which adjoined it, plundering and murdering his tenants. The county Dublin militia marched to encounter them, whereupon the

* The site of this camp is now in part occupied by the Rathdown Workhouse. The outline of some of the squares can still be traced in the lovely glen hard by, called "Bride's Glen." There is a local tradition that James II. encamped on the same spot in 1690, the royal tent being placed under an immense tree still flourishing.

Defenders retired to the town of Ballynaugh, which they fortified and held for some time, till at last the militia set fire to the town, and thus dislodged them with great loss. In August of the same year thirty Defenders were killed in an encounter with a party of dragoons in the county Roscommon. In May 1795, there were battles at Sligo and Tuam between the military and the banditti, when thirty of the peasantry were killed at the former place, and eighteen killed and a large number wounded at the latter; while, to crown the series, on September 21 of the same year the Battle of the Diamond was fought in the county Armagh between the Peep-o'-Day Boys and the Defenders, when no less than forty-eight of the latter were killed, and a great number wounded. There could have been very little security for life or property when such a state of affairs prevailed. Alexander Knox's first literary efforts were directed to calm these troubles, and, with this end in view, he appealed in a series of letters to all parties, and specially called upon the landlords to stand forward and use their influence upon the side of law and order. His words have a certain prophetic ring about them, and show that the inertness and incapacity for self-defence, which have so strikingly characterized the Irish landlords of the present time, were manifested in their ancestors a hundred years ago. Knox (on p. 67 of his essays on "The Political State of Ireland") draws a picture as applicable now as in 1795:

"I ask them, Have the men of property and independence done, in general, what they owe at once to Government and to themselves? On the contrary, have they not in too many instances looked up to Government as the waggoner in the fable looked up to Jupiter when he expected the aid of Heaven without once putting his own shoulder to the wheel? What did the men of property throughout the kingdom do? Did they, as was done in England, where the necessity was much less, and as the very practice of their adversaries might have suggested, form a constitutional league to counteract the anti-constitutional efforts of the lurking traitors, to administer antidotes as fast as they uttered poisons, and to meet each stimulus to popular frenzy with an equally ardent appeal to reason and to conscience? On the contrary, were not the flying sheets of the enemy, those miasms of mental pestilence, indolently permitted to make their way to every farm-house and to every cottage, and to appear in the view of the multitude, who judge only from appearance, unanswerable, because no answer was given them."

I have quoted these words, because they show that Mr. Knox's literary efforts, even from a political point of view, are worthy of study, though it is as a theologian he is best known. Knox soon after embraced an active political career and became Lord Castlereagh's private secretary in the year 1798. And here as an impartial historian I am bound to say that, though Lord Castlereagh's character has often been impugned, and the vilest motives and measures imputed to him, yet Knox, a man of the tenderest, most delicate conscience, and highest religious principle, always spoke of him and his measures with the

profoundest respect, the highest approval, and the warmest affection. Knox's connection with Castlereagh did not continue till the year of the Union, as he had resigned his position through ill-health before that time; but his testimony as to Lord Castlereagh's conduct during the rebellion of 1798 is of the clearest and most decided character. What can be higher praise than the following passage, selected from a letter* to a friend named Schoales,† describing his own life as a private secretary. After noticing various advantages he possessed, Knox then proceeds :

"But this is not all. I am gratified at being singled out as the confidential friend of the honestest and perhaps the ablest statesman that has been in Ireland for a century. I know of him what the world does not and cannot know, and what, if it did know, it most probably would not believe. His letters to England on the critically important business of this country pass through my hands frequently; and I am strongly inclined to think that to them we greatly owe the promptitude of England to assist us. Humane he is, and good-natured beyond the usual standard of men. In him it is not merely a habit or a natural quality, but it is a moral duty. And yet, when firm decision is requisite he can well exert it. There is no blood-shed for which he does not grieve, and yet he has no tendency to injudicious mercy."

The whole of the passage from which I have made this extract is well deserving of careful attention at a time when Lord Castlereagh's character and achievements are undergoing a severe storm of criticism.‡ Mr. Knox's political career soon terminated. Nature, indeed, had not cut him out for a statesman: his health was too delicate, his ideas far too speculative for the business of political life, where a man must look not so much at what is theoretically right and desirable, as at what is practically attainable, and where, therefore, unsatisfactory make-shifts must often take the place of matured and reasonable schemes. Mr. Knox's views on politics ever remained true to genuine Whig principles. He continued to advocate Roman Catholic emancipation, the moderate endowment of the Irish priesthood—the only plan which could have secured social peace in Ireland; while as to foreign affairs he was a severe critic of Pitt's

* "Remains," vol. iv. p. 31.

† Mr. Schoales contributed some most interesting facts about Knox's life and his conversational powers, in which he rivalled Coleridge, to the Ordnance Survey "Memoir of Londonderry," pp. 73, 74, 96, 97.

‡ Lord Castlereagh wished Knox to write the History of the Union. In a letter to Knox, dated March 30, 1811 ("Remains," iv. 539), he writes "The demons of the present day are at work to make those who carried the Union odious, as first having cruelly oppressed and then sold their country. I don't know whether the moment is yet come for giving to the empire a temperate history of both these great events (the Rebellion and the Union), stripped of the virulence which characterizes Musgrave and Duigenan on the one hand, and Plowden and Barrington on the other. I wish you would turn this suggestion in your mind. I know no person so equal to it as yourself. Such a work is essential to the public interest; I had almost said to the public safety." Again: "I feel confident that the intentions of the Government for the public good, at that time, will bear the strictest scrutiny. I believe their measures, when fairly explained, will stand equally the test of criticism; whilst in the conduct of the Union they pursued honestly the interests of Ireland, yielding not more to private interests than was requisite to disarm so mighty a change of any convulsive character."

policy, and entirely disapproved of the funding system and the creation of a national debt, which rendered war popular, because its burden was unfelt. Surely the following passage, culled from a letter * written to his friend Schoales in 1797, breathes the very spirit of Mr. Bright or Mr. Gladstone :

“ In my mind the great foible in the English character has been a passion for war. The great reason of this was the funding system, which made it practicable to raise money without sensible burdens. * The cure for this national pride, this ravenous appetite for glory and conquest, will be to let the people feel the full expense of the bloody game. After this they will be less disposed to provoke warfare, when they have experienced the effects at their firesides, which they now never do.”

Alexander Knox's real claim to fame rests, however, not on his political views, no matter how true and how prophetic, but upon his religious teaching, which was strikingly in advance of his times, and sounded the first note of a movement which has changed the face of the English Church. He was a religious mystic, too, when mysticism was utterly foreign to the spirit of the age. He was a High Churchman, of the school of Dr. Liddon perhaps, rather than of Dr. Pusey, and that in a time—the age of Lord Eldon—when the term High Churchman connoted violent Tory politics rather than any kind of theology whatever. Let us hear his own definition of his position in the year 1806.† He had been invited to write an article for the *Eclectic Review*, but had some doubts on the matter, which he thus explains to a friend :

“ The truth is, those *Eclectic* men are Dissenters chiefly, and also what is called evangelical. Now, I am a Churchman in grain—not a Tory Churchman, for that is a disease in the Church, not its constitutional turn; nor yet a Whig Churchman, for they did not value enough the distinguishing features of our Establishment. But, if I may use the term, I am a primitive Churchman; prizing in our system, most cordially, what it has retained from Christian antiquity, as well as what it has gained from the good sense of the Reformers in expurgating it from later abuses. But the truth is, I am not one whit Puritanic. I love Episcopacy—the surplice, festivals, the communion-table set altar-wise, antiphonal devotions—i.e., versicle and response; and I am somewhat un-Puritanic in doctrine too, being much more engaged by the sublime piety of St. Chrysostom than by the devotional dogmas of St. Austin or any of his followers.”

This passage, contrasted with another hereafter to be quoted from his correspondence with Bishop Jebb, in which he foreshadows the influence of the modern High Church school on public worship in its external aspect, seems to show a mind occupying exactly the position taken up thirty years later by the Oxford Tractarians.

Now, for the philosophic student of history the most interesting point about Alexander Knox is this, that he himself traces all these mental movements of his to the teaching of John Wesley, so that

* “Remains,” iv. 26.

† *Ibid.* iv. 206.

we should attribute the fatherhood of the Oxford movement, not to Hugh James Rose, or Pusey,* or Newman—all of whom were mere recipients and transmitters of mental forces evolved before their time—but rather to the great evangelist of the last century; or, to put it in biblical phraseology, Wesley begat Knox, and Knox begat Jebb, and Jebb begat Rose and Pusey and Newman. This assertion strikes the casual reader as very strange, because the modern Wesleyans denounce in the strongest language the High Church movement, though they have themselves been most profoundly affected by it. A Wesleyan of Adam Clarke's or Jabez Bunting's day would scarcely recognize in the Gothic chapels and choral services and correct ecclesiastical costume of modern Wesleyanism a vestige of the very plain society in which they ministered. These things are all due to the Oxford movement; and yet it is no unfamiliar phenomenon to see large bodies influenced more by their opponents than by their friends. It is not the Tories alone who steal the clothes of their opponents and masquerade in them. But when one looks deeper than the outside, as Alexander Knox did, one can see abundant germs of the modern movement in Wesley's teaching. There is one great mistake made by men who view the revival of the last century from the outside. They confound the party of Wesley with that of Whitefield under one common head, and imagine that they were both actuated by one and the same spirit. This is a great mistake, and one, too, into which such a keen investigator as Mr. Lecky has fallen in his *History of England*. The Methodist revival of the last century was divided into two great sections diametrically opposed to each other: Whitefield's party was Calvinistic and Puritan, Wesley's party was Arminian Anglican and Sacramental. These parties fought, and fought most bitterly, during Wesley's life. They remained opposed after his death, and they produced results which remain opposed to the present day, though, like the Wesleyans themselves, the outward form and dress of the contending parties have very considerably changed. This position could be amply vindicated, and is well known to every diligent student of Wesley's writings. As it is unknown, however, to the general public, and yet bears very directly upon the course of our narrative, a short space must be devoted to it.

The Calvinistic controversy raged with great violence from the year 1740 till 1770. Wesley took the Arminian side; Whitefield, Lady Huntingdon, and their friends took the extreme Calvinistic side. About the year 1770 Wesley determined to make a formal

* Comparatively few persons are aware that Dr. Pusey was a stern opponent of Hugh James Rose and the first attempts at Church revival. In 1828 he published a severe attack on Rose, as abandoning "the fundamental principles of Protestantism," and an enthusiastic defence of German Protestantism, entitled "*An Historical Inquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany*," by E. B. Pusey, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford." This was his first formal work.

public pronouncement on the question ; so he summoned a conference of his preachers to Bristol, where he put forward a series of propositions rejecting Calvinism in all its forms and dogmas, and enunciating a theory of justification identical with that taught by Bull, Jeremy Taylor, and the great Anglican divines of the seventeenth century, as well as by modern High Churchmen. This theory was set forth in a question and answer of the Larger Minutes, which are still one of the standards of Wesleyanism in all its branches.* A quarrel at once burst forth, which equalled in bitterness any that ever troubled and disgraced Christendom. On one side stood Wesley and the saintly Fletcher of Madely. On the other were arrayed Berridge, Rowland Hill and his brother, Toplady, and a host of others. Both sides soon waxed furious, but Wesley had this great advantage, he had a better command over his temper than his opponents over theirs. His effusions were, however, very often short, sharp, witheringly contemptuous. What could be more so than Wesley's remark, when challenged to reply to an attack of Toplady : " I do not fight with chimney-sweeps "—a sentence which, sharp as it may seem, was fully justified by the lampoons upon Wesley which filled the pages of the *Gospel Magazine*, edited by the author of the immortal hymn, " Rock of Ages." It will give my readers some idea of the bitterness which this controversy evoked if I quote a few stanzas from a poem which appeared in that magazine in 1777, under the suggestive title, " The Serpent and the Fox ; or, an interview between Old Nick and Old John." The whole effusion, as printed in Knox's edition of Southey's " Wesley," p. 380, would take up quite too much space. A few stanzas, however, will give the reader a sufficient idea of the bitter feeling which existed from 1770 to 1830 between the Calvinistic Evangelicals and the Arminian Wesleyans. The idea of the poem is, that Old Nick, or the Devil, pays Old John, or John Wesley, a visit, when a dialogue ensues :

* This important question will be found in vol. viii. p. 337, of Wesley's Works, ed. 1872. As it bears directly upon the development of religious thought in this century we append it, simply remarking that the Minutes of all Wesleyan Conferences, since the first assembly, have been drawn up in the shape of question and answer :—" We said in 1744 we have leaned too much towards Calvinism. Wherein ?—Answer: (1) With regard to man's faithfulness ; (2) with regard to working for life, which our Lord expressly commands us to do ; (3) we have received it as a maxim, that a man is to do nothing in order to justification. Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favour with God should cease from evil and learn to do well. Whoever repents should do works meet for repentance. And if this is not in order to find favour, what does he do them for ? Once more review the whole affair.—(1) Who of us is now accepted with God ? He that now believes in Christ with a loving, obedient heart. (2) But who among those that never heard of Christ ? He that, according to the light he has, feareth God and worketh righteousness. (3) Is this the same with he that is sincere ? Nearly, if not quite. (4) Is not this salvation by works ? Not by the merit of works, but by works as a condition. As to merit, of which we have been so dreadfully afraid, we are rewarded according to our works—yea, because of our works. How does this differ from 'for the sake of our works ?' and how differs this from *secundum merita operum* ? Can you split this hair ? I doubt I cannot." (Cf. Williams' " Polity of Wesleyan Methodism," p. 266, ed. London, 1880.)

"There's a fox who resideth hard by,
The most perfect and holy and sly
That e'er turned coat or could pilfer and lie.

"As this reverend Reynard one day
Sat thinking what game best to play,
Old Nick came a seasonable visit to pay.

"O your servant, my friend, quoth the Priest,
Though you carry the mark of the beast,
I never shook paws with a welcomer guest.

"Many thanks, holy man, cried the Fiend,
It was because you're my very good friend
That I dropt in, with you a few minutes to spend."

Wesley and the Devil then proceed to discuss the Calvinists, and Wesley suggests that they should rouse a public persecution of them. Wesley then introduces the case of Whitefield :

"As for Whitefield, I know it right well,
He has sent down his thousands to hell,
And, for aught that I know, he's gone with them to dwell."

To which charitable suggestion the Devil replies :

"I grant, my friend John, for 'tis true,
That he was not so perfect as you :
Yet, confound him, I lost him, for all I could do."

But I am sure my readers have had quite enough of such doggerel, which has, however, a practical interest, for it proves conclusively that, bitter as controversies, political or religious, may have been in our own time, they have never reached the pitch of bitterness attained among men whom superficial thinkers class as all forming one party, actuated by the same motives, teaching the same doctrines, and producing the same results. But the most important point about this Bristol Conference and its rejection of the Lutheran view of justification, and the adoption, instead, of the seventeenth-century or Anglican view is this, that Knox fully adopted Wesley's theory, made it the basis of all his teaching, and transmitted it to the Oxford Tractarians. These statements admit of the fullest demonstration, which would, however, require very lengthy extracts from the four volumes of Knox's Remains, and the two volumes of his Correspondence with Bishop Jebb. One quotation must suffice. To men of this generation the name of Adam Clarke is now becoming unknown, though few stories are more stimulating to easy-going students than that of the young Irish lad who one hundred years ago began the life of a laborious and poorly paid Methodist preacher, and yet found time to become one of the most learned Orientalists of his day. Knox had been the friend and patron of Clarke in his earliest age, both coming from the same district of Ulster, and the friendship thus begun in youth survived all external changes till old age had overtaken them. In the third volume of Knox's Remains there will be found a letter from him to Dr. Adam Clarke, marked by views which seem to me almost prophetic when we recollect the spirit of

the time. To the ordinary old-fashioned High Churchman of that day Wesley and Methodism were simply ideas associated with everything that was objectionable, wildly enthusiastic, and contrary to sound Church principles. By the High Churchman of the present age no name is more frequently lauded and no example more frequently cited than that of John Wesley. And not at all illogically, for Knox clearly predicts this revolution, and manifests the clear vision he possessed of the ulterior direction of principles and teaching which superficial observers mistake or entirely miss. I would ask special attention to the following brief extract from this letter to Adam Clarke : *

"In a word, I consider John Wesley as promulgating in his latter days, above all uninspired men who have gone before him, Christianity in all its efficacy, and yet in all its amiability.† On this ground he appears to me the first competent unveiler of that concentration of the evangelic rays which has been so wonderfully (and I would venture to say exclusively) insphered in our established liturgy. And I trust the time will yet come, and that it is not at any very great distance (though I confess as yet I see no sign of its approach), when the providential deposit which distinguishes the Church of England will be rightly appreciated; and Mr. Wesley's designation as the precursive announcer of its hitherto undeveloped excellences, will be fully understood and adequately recognized."

Alexander Knox's agreement with John Wesley, thus depicted by himself, was not confined to any minor details. They agreed on all fundamental questions. The leading points round which controversy has raged for the last hundred years are—Justification and Sanctification, their nature and effects; the two sacraments of Holy Communion and Baptism; the Christian priesthood, the Eucharistic sacrifice, and the best methods of promoting spiritual life—on all of which Knox and Wesley symbolized with the great Caroline divines on the one side, and the early Tractarians on the other, as opposed to Whitefield and the modern Evangelical party. Let us take the question of Justification, where a few quotations—somewhat dry it may be, but still most interesting from a philosophic point of view—will prove my case up to the hilt. Knox completely adopted Wesley's later views, which were those of Jeremy Taylor and Bull. Wesley's earlier views were pure, simple, naked solifidianism. Knox avows in his letter to Clarke his agreement with the Bristol Minutes, to which I have already called attention, where Bull's teaching is substantially adopted and defended. Let us listen to Knox in this letter to Dr. Adam Clarke : ‡

"In Mr. Wesley's latter days he urged those noble principles (*i.e.*, the practical identification of justification and sanctification) with more entire

* "Remains," iii. 489.

† Knox would have agreed with Keble's preface to the "Christian Year," where he speaks of "the soothing tendency" of the English Prayer Book. Both disliked the minatory and terrifying character of Calvinism.

‡ "Remains," iii. 481.

freedom and more engaging simplicity. It would seem that on the 1st of December, 1767, a new light broke in upon his mind. On grounds which appeared clear as the day he puts the question: If so, what becomes of the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*? and gives the strongest possible answer in the next significant query: If so, is it not high time for us

“*Projicere ampullas et sesquipedalia verba,*”

and to return to the plain words, ‘He that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him?’ Hence, I conceive, proceeded the well-known Minutes of 1770.”

He then proceeds to compare Wesley with Chrysostom, whose counterpart in the Anglican Church he considered Wesley to have been. Chrysostom, in fact, among the ancients, and Wesley among the moderns, were the writers whom Knox valued the most. Upon Chrysostom, indeed, he lavishes all the wealth of his copious imagination. When he wishes to show how different the Calvinistic Evangelicals of his time were from the Fathers and from the true doctrine of the Church of England, he selects the commendation passed upon St. Chrysostom in the First Homily as “that great clerk and godly preacher,”* comparing it with the Calvinistic Milner’s estimate, as set forth in his “Church History,” which regards him as lamentably ignorant of the true Gospel. He commends Chrysostom’s treatise on the Priesthood to another correspondent, and finds in Chrysostom’s writings the very religion which the Church of England exemplifies in her services. St. Chrysostom’s theory of justification he regarded as identical with that of Wesley’s, announced in the Bristol Minutes, and both as opposed to that popularly preached by the Calvinists of his day. In a letter to Mrs. Hannah More—one of his most favourite correspondents—written in 1807, he says that “the common method of stating Justification as depending wholly on our blessed Saviour’s merits, and resting in no respect on moral qualities in us, is the grand error of the present religious world.” While, again, in a formal treatise on Justification, written to a Mr. Parken in 1810, he identifies Baptism and Justification, and asserts that “in the judgment of the Church—ancient and Anglican alike—every one baptized in infancy commences life in a justified state.” I have insisted on this point at some length, because it is absolutely necessary, if we are to trace the filiation of thought and doctrine which connects Wesley and J. H. Newman as he stood in 1840, that this point of Justification be placed in the very forefront, because the Justification controversy raged during the whole period.

And now that I have named John Henry Newman, we may take his writings as the amplest confirmation of the theory I have been urging. In the spring of 1838 he published his “Lectures on Justification” as a manifesto on the question which then, as sixty years

* Letter to Dr. Woodward: “Remains,” iii. 45.

earlier, was considered the most important in the whole range of theological science. These lectures upheld the theory of Bull and Jeremy Taylor; and there, in the very forefront of the lectures, in the preface to the first edition, we have Mr. Knox's views on justification referred to; while, again, in the Appendix he is quoted as supporting Newman's doctrine in the following words :

"Our being reckoned righteous *coram Deo* always and essentially implies a substance of righteousness previously implanted in us, and our reputative justification is the strict and inseparable result of this previous moral justification. I mean that the reckoning us righteous indispensably presupposes an inward reality of righteousness on which this reckoning is founded."

These Lectures on Justification are all deserving of careful study, especially the closing one, "On Preaching the Gospel," where Newman shows, in language and by arguments which frequently recur in Knox's writings, that the Calvinistic scheme of a purely forensic justification must end in the complete and utter ruin of the interior spiritual life, and makes religion as completely an external thing—a mere matter of correct views and orthodox opinion, without any real relation to the soul's life—as the most formal and unspiritual scholasticism had ever done. In fact, Wesley, Knox, and Newman would have agreed in the verdict of an acute critic upon Scottish Calvinistic preaching of sixty years ago, that one wonders, after hearing such divines expound the plan of salvation, why one should not at once employ an attorney to carry out the whole transaction, it was so thoroughly legal.

I have thus proved by extracts and references that, so far as the question of Justification is concerned, Knox was the mediator between Wesley and Newman. I must now hurry on to other points of a very extensive subject.

After Justification comes the Sacramental question. Here, again, Wesley was one source whence, through Knox, the Tractarians derived their sacramental doctrines. Wesley, as all know, held what would now be called high sacramental dogmas. He held baptismal regeneration in its clearest and plainest form. His treatise on Baptism, published in 1756, when he was in the full maturity of his powers and activity, amply proves this, for there he states, in language which the highest Churchman will accept and use: "By water, then, as a means—the water of baptism—we are regenerated or born again, whence it is also called by the Apostle the washing of regeneration. Herein a principle of grace is infused which will not be wholly taken away unless we quench the Holy Spirit of God by long-continued wickedness." It is sometimes urged that Wesley's high sacramental theories were only the results of early Oxford influences, disappearing when he threw himself into active evangelistic effort. This tract on Baptism proves the contrary. When he wrote it he was well past

middle life: he had been nearly twenty years engaged in his evangelistic efforts; he had passed through many phases of doctrine, "had leaned too much towards Calvinism," as he himself puts it; had held exaggerated and even Antinomian views as regards justification; and now, in 1756, Wesley falls back upon his earliest doctrines as affording the surest ground for definite practical appeal to the individual conscience.

Wesley held similar ideas with respect to the Holy Communion. The strongest proof of this fact is Wesley's own teaching. He published a tract on the "Duty of Constant Communion" in 1733, which he reprinted in 1788, just fifty-five years later, in which he lays down the duty of weekly and saints' days celebrations, and sets forth at large the grace and blessings attending the Eucharist. To this tract he puts the following significant and crucial note, which ought to silence the boldest objector who holds that Wesley changed his views in this respect:—"The following discourse was written five-and-fifty years ago for the use of my pupils at Oxford. I have added very little, but retrenched much, as I then used more words than I do now. But I thank God I have not yet seen cause to alter my sentiments in any point which is therein delivered.—J. W." But we have even stronger evidence as to his doctrine on this subject. He republished a treatise on the Holy Sacrament originally composed by Dean Brevint,* where in one chapter he deals with the sacrificial aspect of the Holy Communion, and appends a large collection of hymns for the eucharistic service, of which modern High Churchmen make a very free and copious use. Mr. Sadler, for instance, has published a Eucharistic Manual, which has a very large circulation. In the first part of it there is a week's preparation for the sacred rite, consisting of Scripture readings, hymns and prayers. Almost all these hymns are drawn from Wesley's collection. The title-page of the last edition of his Eucharistic Manual published in Wesley's lifetime tells us that it had been seven times republished, and was sold at all his preaching-houses both in town and country. Is it not significant that it was never republished till Dr. Osborn printed it in his collected edition of the Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley, some few years ago? Wesley in those hymns taught the very highest doctrine, and used language quite consistent with consubstantiation, if not with transubstantiation. Thus I take as a specimen Hymn No. 57 in Dr. Osborn's third volume, and what do we read?—

" O the depth of love divine,
Th' unfathomable grace,
Who shall say how bread and wine
God into man conveys;

* Brevint is one of the divines quoted in Tract 81, furnishing, with Mede and Jeremy Taylor, the longest quotations on the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice. (Cf. Urlin's "Life of Wesley," pp. 60, 283.)

How the bread His flesh imparts,
 How the wine transmits His blood,
 Fills His faithful people's hearts
 With all the Life of God.

"Let the wisest mortal show
 How we the grace receive;
 Feeble elements bestow
 A power not theirs to give.
 Who explains the wondrous why—
 How through these the virtue came?
 These the virtue did convey,
 Yet still remain the same."

I think I need offer no further proof that, as regards the two sacraments, Wesley held decidedly High doctrines. These doctrines Alexander Knox adopted in his writings. Let us first take the case of Baptism, on which he wrote a formal treatise, found in the first volume of his Remains, entitled "The Doctrine respecting Baptism held by the Church of England," where he seems to borrow even the very language of Mr. Wesley's treatise. On p. 454 of the volume just referred to, he considers the case of Infant Baptism, and expressly declares that the formularies of the Church of England assert "that all infants who are baptized infallibly participate in the inward and spiritual grace which the sacrament of Baptism is intended to convey;" and as to the nature of this grace, he is no less explicit, but uses words which seem taken from Wesley, defining it as "a vital germ of all virtuous dispositions and pious affections, implanted in the mind of the baptized infant—a germ, however, which will not grow up of itself, but which will expand under culture, if not blighted in the opening by that perverseness which, on the supposition of free agency, must necessarily be incidental." Mr. Knox's theory of the Holy Communion was no less similar to Wesley's. It was embodied in his treatise "On the Use and Import of the Eucharistic Symbols," written in 1826, just the year before the first publication of the "Christian Year." The prefatory letter prefixed thereto, and addressed to his friend Mr. J. S. Harford, is worth study. It recalls the writings, the teaching, the expressions of Dr. Littledale rather than those of the Georgian epoch.* Knox regards the Marian persecution as a providential deliverance of the Church of England from extreme Protestantism; he depreciates Cranmer's views and mental character, as utterly wanting in "stability, in taste, and elevation of spirit;" he laments the loss of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI.; he approves Laud's Scotch Prayer-book of 1637, and claims the action of the Restoration revisers as all in favour of those higher doctrines which prevailed in King Edward's First Book. This latter

* Thus, in a letter to Jebb, dated January 5, 1813, Knox ("Correspondence," ii. 125) says: "What perverse influence the nickname of Protestant has had on our Church! Ever since this epithet became fashionable its vulgar definition has had more authority with Churchmen themselves than all the settled standards to which they were bound, and the consequence has been a steady increase of ignorance, coldness, and vacillation."

view, which some regard as a purely modern discovery, first worked out and elaborated in No. 81 of "Tracts for the Times," Knox expressly set forth so far back as the year 1816, when, in a letter dated Bellevue, June 4, on the situation and prospects of the Established Church, he writes thus about the results of 1662 :

"A revision of the Liturgy being called for, the revisers seized the opportunity to make our formularies, not more Puritanic, but more catholic. They effected this without doubt stealthily, and to appearance by the minutest alteration ; but to compare the Communion Service as it now stands, especially its rubrics, with the form in which we find it previously to that transaction, will be to discover that, without any change of features which could cause alarm, a new spirit was then breathed into our Communion Service, principally by a few significant circumstances, in the manner of conducting the business, which were fitted to impress the devout, though certain to be fully understood only by the initiated."

Knox in his other writings adopts Wesley's sentiments. In a letter to Mr. J. S. Harford, dated 1814 ("Remains," iii. 231), he expounds "certain great truths dwelt upon in the Epistle to the Ephesians," prominent among which he puts, like Wesley and Brevint, the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist, asking on p. 255 the pertinent question : "Is it not curious that, in exact proportion as the notion of strict catholicity has been dropped, the sacrificial idea of the Lord's Supper has been also abandoned?" He consequently asserts the reality and necessity of the Christian priesthood as plainly as Wesley did in his famous Cork sermon on the text, "No man taketh to himself this honour, save he that is called of God, as was Aaron;" and with respect to the nature of Christ's presence, expresses himself in the Eucharistic treatise in language approximating more closely to consubstantiation than even Wesley's. I have insisted at some length on this point, because the question of dates is very important. Language similar to Knox's abounds among the divines of the seventeenth century, and was universal among the Nonjurors. But a simple instance will show how rare—nay, we might almost say how extinct—it was among the writers of Wesley's day. Tract No. 81, already referred to, sets forth a catena of writers of the later English Church, testifying to the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and the only persons of ecclesiastical position whom its author could discover as teaching it in ever so slight a degree during the reign of George III., were the compilers of the American Prayer-book—where the Non-juring element had a certain influence—Bishop Horsley, Bishop Jolly of the Scotch Episcopal Church, and Archdeacon Daubeny; and none of them stated this doctrine with anything like the force and vigour shown by John Wesley, and Knox, the Irish disciple of John Wesley.

The filiation of thought, again, which connects Wesley, Knox, and the modern High Church movement, is demonstrated in the simplest

and most popular shape by what one might call their view of interior religion, and their counsels for its culture and development. They all recommended the same books—the spiritual writings of the great Anglican divines, Jeremy Taylor, and the Cambridge Platonists; they all favoured mysticism and mystic poetry to a large degree; and they all approved works like Scougal's "Life of God in the Soul of man," Worthington "On Resignation," Lucas's "Inquiry after Happiness," and Roman Catholic writers of an interior kind, like Thomas à Kempis, M. De Renty, Francis de Sales, Cardinal Bona, and Nicholl. Wesley * all his life was pursued with accusations of a Rome-ward tendency, because he reprinted several of the devotional works of these latter writers for the use of his followers. About the year 1750 there was a very angry controversy between him and Bishop Lavington of Exeter, when the Bishop hurled this accusation at Wesley because he had published De Renty's *Life* and De Sales' "Introduction to a Holy Life." Knox, in a long and interesting letter to Hannah More on the design of Providence respecting the Christian Church, reproduces the same idea. This letter was written in December 1806, and there he notices the want of interior experience and of depth in the ordinary Protestant and Calvinistic teaching. His notion seems to be that Protestantism has produced a good deal of average morality, but has been deficient in saints and saintliness. He recommends and praises the very same writers as Wesley—à Kempis, De Sales, De Renty. Yet he was not one whit inclined towards the Roman Catholic Church, though he could appreciate its strong points. Thus he remarks as one providential object of that Church: "Doubtless the Romish Church is like a garden overrun with weeds, neither pleasant to the eye nor good for food; but then there are in this garden some old fruit trees which bear fruit of extraordinary mellowness." And he anticipates that one day his own loved Church, which possesses exactly the same interior spirit in its Liturgy, will display the same tone of "pure self-denying, soul-elevating piety." ("Remains," iii. 110.) I will not enter upon an inquiry so far-reaching as an attempt to determine how far Knox's ideal has been realized in the modern Church of England. It is, however, certain that a deeper, more spiritual, and experimental tone of preaching has taken the place of the very dry and legal teaching of his own day, which Knox so often laments; while as for his favourite authors, a glance at any list of High Church devotional books will show what a copious use has been made of both classes of writers affected by himself and by Wesley, the great Anglican divines and Roman Catholics like à Kempis and De Sales. I

* All these writers, Jeremy Taylor included, taught a doctrine of Christian perfection identical with Wesley's. Knox defended Wesley's views on Perfection. ("Remains," iii. 221-230; "Correspondence," i. 134, 142; ii. 518.)

might pursue this inquiry into minor branches of a subject which would yield the same result. I can now, however, only notice that Wesley in his *Larger Minutes* advocates ascetic practices for his preachers—prayers, meditations, and, above all, fasting—regular, systematic and scrupulous—which finds as large a place in his counsels of perfection as in those of a modern High Church Retreat. He did, not, too, confine this rule to his preachers. A letter to an Irish correspondent, dated London, October 23, 1796, as Mr. Tyerman (*Wesley's Life*, iii. 630) puts it, shows that “the Methodist sin of neglecting fasting is not of recent growth,” for there he writes: “Exhort all our brethren steadily to wait upon God in the appointed means of fasting and prayer, the former of which has been almost universally neglected by the Methodists both in England and Ireland. But it is a true remark of Kempis, *The more thou denicst thyself, the more thou wilt grow in grace.*”

The most striking point of contact, however, between Wesley and the Tractarian movement remains to be mentioned. They both held, contrary to all Protestant prejudice, the use of prayers for the dead, according to Primitive Church doctrine. Every person knows that the early Tractarians, amid a howl of opposition, first recalled the public mind to the fact that the Church of England has never included this practice in the list of abuses by her repudiated. Tract No. 72 is devoted to this subject, and will even yet repay perusal, as practically nothing has been added to it by later discussions.* Even in this dogma, which I suppose his modern followers—at least those who call themselves by his name—would most heartily repudiate; even in this, Wesley agreed, and furnished the principles developed eighty years later. My proof is easy enough, for I find that Bishop Lavington in 1750 reproached him for holding what he calls the Popish doctrine of prayers for the dead, to which Wesley vigorously replies in words which prove the profound reverence this great evangelist ever manifested towards primitive antiquity:

“Your fourth argument is, that in a collection of prayers I cite the words of an ancient liturgy ‘for the faithful departed.’ Sir, whenever I use those words in the Burial Service I pray to the same effect, ‘that we, with all those

* Knox did not write much on the Intermediate State. We find, however, an extremely interesting and acute letter on that subject, dated March 24, 1825, in his “Remains,” iv. 417, wherein he maintains that the blessed dead intercede in Paradise for the living, and are acquainted with terrestrial matters. From another letter, dated 1802 (same volume, p. 108), he seems to have entertained ideas tending towards Final Restoration. It is an interesting passage, as exhibiting Knox's relations towards Wesley at that period: “Still, however, though holding the substance of Methodism, I believe I differ from most Methodists in some of my views. My notions of what constitutes the reality of religion and of God's mercy to human beings are probably less confined than those of the generality of that denomination. Yet I meet several of the Wesleyans who think much as I do; for instance, one charming Methodist that I rode with this day (Dr. A. Clarke?). I was this morning telling him of some of my charitable views, and he received them with delight. I mean that even in Christian countries there are numbers who, in the Divine view, rank as heathens and as Jews, and will be reckoned with accordingly.”

who are departed in Thy faith and fear, may have our perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul;’ yea, and whenever I say, ‘Thy kingdom come,’ for I mean both the kingdom of grace and glory. In this kind of general prayer for the faithful departed I conceive myself to be clearly justified, both by the earliest antiquity, by the Church of England, and by the Lord’s Prayer; although the Papists have corrupted this Scriptural practice into praying for those who die in their sins.”*

I have now shown that a great many of the leading features of the modern High Church revival were due to Wesley’s teaching, derived through Knox. There are just two points which are to be referred to Knox alone. Wesley attached great weight, as just now remarked, to Christian antiquity, and always sought a justification therein for his own peculiar usages. Knox formally elaborated this view, and pushed it in the course of his studies much farther. Knox was a far profounder thinker than Wesley, and much as Knox loved Wesley, yet he saw that his action had only intensified the Babel of spiritual confusion then existing, when every person claimed a right to develop any doctrines he pleased out of the Scriptures, without any guidance or test whatsoever. This led Knox to inquire into Christian antiquity for some test whereby the Christian thinker could rule his mind amid the shifting sands of theological controversy, where he found the famous rule of Vincent of Lerins: “Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est.” The origin of this rule commended it to Knox. Vincentius was a semi-Pelagian—in the language of Knox’s time, an Arminian, and a fierce antagonist of St. Augustine and his high predestinarian doctrine. About the year 434 he wrote a treatise with the design of applying a principle to St. Augustine’s teaching, which that great doctor recognized—namely, that the subjective theories of a Church teacher, however holy and highly gifted, availed nothing in opposition to the ancient and universally accepted doctrine of the Church, and that such theories would remain nothing but mere private opinions, unless they bore the marks of antiquity, universality, and general consent. This struck Knox’s fancy. The rampant Calvinism of his day was just as obnoxious and hostile to Knox as ever it was to Wesley, or, earlier still, to Vincentius. We have no idea in 1887 what this controversy meant about the year 1800, when Knox himself was solemnly consigned to eternal torments for heretical teaching by one of its leading apostles. Knox eagerly grasped, therefore, at this Vincentian rule, which disposed of his foes as mere innovators upon true Christianity; he taught his discovery to his friend Jebb, subsequently Bishop of Limerick, and one of the few modern divines who figure in almost every catena of authorities published by the early Tractarians. Jebb was an elegant scholar, a learned divine, but a man devoid of any mental force or vigorous character. He was one of those secondary person-

* “Works,” ed. 1872, t. ix. p. 55.

ages who play a very useful part in history, forming conduits or pipes conveying to the public, and rendering popular, ideas which profounder minds evolve. Just as St. Luke stood towards St. Paul, and St. Mark towards St. Peter, so Jebb stood towards Knox, who was the real author of those high views of doctrine and discipline of which Jebb was regarded as the special apostle sixty or seventy years ago.* The thirty years' correspondence between Knox and Jebb has not been hitherto much noticed, and yet it forms a very important link in our historical argument. Just as an Alpine traveller crossing the Grimsel will meet at its highest summit, near the Todtensee, a tiny streamlet, which he crosses without wetting his feet, and yet can trace that same stream along by his path till a few miles lower it becomes the raging and foaming Aar; so in this correspondence the philosophic reader will trace about the year 1805 the first rise of this Vincentian idea, destined a quarter of a century later to change the face of the Church of England. I have already said that Knox had no longing towards Rome—nay, rather, he was intensely opposed to that Church, which he regarded as a species of Christianized Judaism—"a renewed yoke of rites and ceremonies for a semi-barbarous Christian public." He thought, too, that in the Vincentian rule he had discovered the strongest barrier against the Papal pretensions. In the early part of this century the celebrated J. K. L., or Bishop Doyle, the Roman Catholic controversialist, put forward a plan for the union of the Anglican and Roman Churches. Mr. Knox wrote a letter ("Remains," iii. 314) on the impossibility of any such union, where his principal point is this: That the Anglicans adopt the Vincentian rule and appeal to antiquity against the aberrations of the living Church, while Rome maintains that such an appeal is treason, and leads to heresy. Jebb adopted his views *en bloc* from Knox. In fact, Jebb was simply an echo of Knox's opinions on every question. Jebb embodied Knox's theory about the Vincentian rule in an appendix to a volume of sermons which he published in 1816. These sermons at once aroused the wrath of the Evangelicals, represented by the *Christian Observer*, which attacked Jebb's sermons and Knox's opinions, and especially the Vincentian rule as stated in Jebb's Appendix, with just as much bitterness as, twenty years later, it assailed Tract No. 78, which set forth exactly the same idea. In fact, the *Christian Observer* of 1836-7, when discussing the correspondence of Jebb and Knox, just then published, expressly states the view which this article has been advocating, and recognizes Knox as the real father of the Tractarian movement.

* Jebb indirectly also contributed to the rise of the Tractarian movement by his influence on Sir William Palmer, one of the last surviving leaders thereof, who died in 1886. Hore, in his "History of the Church of England from William III. to Victoria," ii. p. 272, tells us that Palmer first imbibed the idea of his "Origines Liturgicæ," published in 1832, from his study of Bishop Jebb's ordination course.

There was another point in which Knox recognized a deficiency in the Church system of his time, and wonderfully predicted the course of future development. The weakest side of the Established Church of his day was its public worship. We can all remember abundant survivals of the square boxes, the three-decker pulpits, and the parson and clerk duet, which rendered public worship one of the dreariest exercises imaginable. Here again Knox received from Wesley an impulse which set his mind thinking, and worked out unexpected results. Wesley was in many respects before his age, and in none more than in his idea of public worship. He loved singing, delighted in choral services, enjoyed music at the Holy Communion, and thought the chanting of the "Gloria in Excelsis" at Exeter like heaven. He had many modern notions: he approved of short services, and thought an hour ought to be their limit. His hymns, with their lively tunes—for it was his avowed principle not to leave all the good music to the devil—helped on the revolution, which was after all but a slow one. The adoption of hymns and hymn-singing by Wesley rather prejudiced high-and-dry Churchmen against them, and it is not so many years since some of the old Tractarians were arguing against their use, and pleading for the exclusive rights of Tate and Brady as being the only authorized choral expression of devotion. In Knox's time, however, public worship all over the kingdom was in a most lamentable state—without interest or life for either rich or poor. In fact, Knox thought just then that for the poor the services of the Wesleyans were the only ones which could gain their hearts or fix their attention. Nay, he went farther, for, though professing himself a Churchman of the school of Jeremy Taylor, Knox, and Herbert, he tells us in 1802* that when in Liverpool he attended the Wesleyan services because "I despair of getting an atom of heart instruction from any other quarter. The dry details of meagre morality which are pronounced from most parochial pulpits have no more aptitude to mend hearts than the most fraudulent quack medicines have to avert mortality." Knox saw that the preaching of the Established Church must be reformed, and he saw, too, that the whole tone and conception of public worship must be raised, altered, and brought practically into line with the fundamental ideas of the Prayer-book. In his correspondence with Bishop Jebb there are three passages in letters dated 1816, 1817, and 1820,† where he urges the utter hopelessness of bringing home religious principles and truth to the mass of the people by preaching alone, or by the distribution of Bibles, which was then the popular panacea for all spiritual ignorance. Knox was a great admirer of Bishop Butler, and of none of his writings more than of his famous charge

* Letter to the Rev. Dr. Alcock: "Remains," iv. 102.

† "Correspondence," ii. 284, 341, 457.

on the Necessity and Advantages of External Religion. The following passage seems a prediction by Knox of that revival and reform of public worship which the Oxford movement most certainly originated, and which has now affected every party, or sect within or without the Anglican Establishment. In letter No. 131 he writes to Jebb :

"I believe our Church is now what it now ought to be; its defects I deem to be strictly providential. But hereafter, in some way or other, religion must be brought more broadly, impressively, and attractively into general, and especially into juvenile, view. Bishop Butler's desideratum in his charge must somehow or other be provided for. The want of this has left the English population in the dismal alternative of brute, perhaps scornful, impiety, or indefinite sectarianism."

Religion, he insists in the same letter, must be made attractive. Simplicity in the service of God had been in his opinion cried up in a false direction, adding the (for him) very caustic reflection, "they who have been most zealous on this point would not have liked for themselves what they allotted to religion:" a passage which might be used to cover the extremest forms of ritualism, and which most certainly has found a complete justification in the popularity and attractiveness of a more ornate worship with the people of this generation. A weekly Review very wittily once remarked that the Church of England had never learned the vast power of tea, leaving it all to the Dissenters; but gave it credit for having discovered the power of Christmas decorations, which had touched the popular heart with a new sense of the value and use of Christmas and the other Christian festivals which would have amply satisfied even Alexander Knox's aspirations.

I have now concluded the task I set before myself, and have shown the subtle, secret link which connects the great Wesleyan revival of the last century with the Oxford movement of the present time. It has been rather a heavy task, involving long and frequent quotations—and necessarily so. Knox himself anticipated, in one of his letters to Hannah More,* that the task of tracing Wesley's influence would be a difficult one, for he says: .

"My persuasion is, that John Wesley's destination related eminently to the Established Church; probably, however, not in a way of direct impulsion, but of remote influence. If the former was intended, it evidently failed; whatever increase of piety the Establishment has derived from Methodism coming rather from Mr. Whitefield than from Mr. Wesley."

I have now shown what was the remote influence of Wesley upon the Church of England, derived through the Irish recluse who spent the most part of a contemplative and retired life in

* "Remains," iii. 175.

46 Dawson Street, Dublin ; * and as we look back upon it we derive two reflections: one is purely speculative, and it is this—if the great revivalist preacher in the last century produced the High Church movement of the present one, what startling and apparently contradictory developments may our descendants of 1987 be tracing back to the controversies of the present day ! The other reflection is more practical. The survey of Wesley's life, influence, and teaching, speaks volumes for the superiority of spiritual work over mere political movements. Politics may be more entrancing for shallow minds, and certainly offer far more tempting present rewards. But movements that are spiritual and intellectual reach down to the depths of man's nature, and last when the faintest echoes of political strife and action have ceased to sound. Who knows the names of the greatest part of the statesmen of the last century ? Who could enumerate the Lord Chancellors of George the Second or George the Third. The grandest achievements of a Pitt and a Castlereagh have passed away, or, as in the case of the Union, have received a terrific shock ; but the influence of the spiritual revival with which Wesley's name has been associated continues to grow and flourish, as if endowed with perpetual youth. It has liberalized theology ; it has revolutionized public worship ; it has developed art, architecture, and poetry ; it has radically altered the Anglican Communion ; it has materially affected every other Christian Communion speaking the English tongue ; and is destined to form a most important link in the development of the Divine purposes as regards the future of the Christian Church.

GEORGE T. STOKES.

* Mr. Knox died in 1831. A monument to him was erected some time after his death, in St. Anne's Church, Dublin, where he used to worship. A stained-glass window was erected in the same church, some twenty-five years ago, to commemorate his memory, through the exertions of the vicar, the Very Rev. H. H. Dickinson, D.D., supported by the survivors of the old High Church party, who remembered their obligations to Knox. Philosophy also owes something to him, as he anticipated Coleridge's famous distinction between the Reason and the Understanding, though I do not think he ever read a word of German Philosophy, which was not then in vogue.

PAINTING "THE SCAPEGOAT."

(SECOND ARTICLE)

III.

SOLEIMAN uttered a solemn *Alandillilah* when the Deeshman had got well along the plain. He told me they belonged to a place and tribe two days away in the Arabah. As I went home that night I danced more from prudential motives than from lightness of heart. At the stopping-point beneath the castle Solciman detected strange voices mixed with those of our party. His covert advance and my check over the donkey were therefore more studied than ever, until it turned out that a friendly company of Arabs going by, had determined to make ours their resting-place also, and we thus appeared to be a merry company, although without wine, and, alas ! even much food.

By the morning I had formed my plans. I assumed that the white space on my *paper*, where the goat was to be painted, represented to all the Arabs, including Solciman, an amount of work which would consume much time. My friends of yesterday would submit their solution of my motive to some wise man, and he would agree that if the whole were not covered, the *writing* would be of no use either to me or to them ; that they must not therefore return too soon. My *brother* was evidently anxious about them, and he pressed me urgently to shorten my stay. There was indeed nothing essential for me to do now but the drift-wood at the right foreground, and this was completed in the day ;* when sunset had gone, I announced to Soleiman that all was done. Collecting salt and one or two other relics for use in the holy city, we returned to the tent, prepared to depart the next day ; but we cautioned secrecy towards strangers, should any come.

* The outline of the camel carefully drawn, I could finish from a model in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

It was not without many backward glances that I led my horse up the difficult slope, only consoling myself with the promise that I would return again soon and paint the castle; and then my thanksgiving, at having so far been enabled to achieve my object in coming, found voice. To get on the broad uplands again was like release from prison, and the sweet breezes seemed to bring me fresh life. One care, however, was for the poor goat. These animals are seen browsing and flourishing all over the country, where nothing but dry plants and stalks, and these in great scantiness on rock sides, appear. In our *wady* there was such poor fare to be got by an enterprising animal, and I think he had found enough, but when we had advanced a little on the journey he was poorly. I had him lifted to the top of the picture-case and carried. The sun here distressed him. We took him down to find an easier means of carriage, but it was useless—the ominous vultures appeared. He was sinking, and while I was drawing him he died, to my serious regret. The incident had interrupted Soleiman's appeals to me to send Nicola home alone; but as we got nearer to his encampment, and I wanted to revel in the wonders of the scene, he manifested impatience to be told what I was intending to give each of the party in *backsheesh*, dwelling much on his own superior claims, so that I was obliged to exhibit impatience. When we arrived at the tents matters grew no better; we got fresh provisions, however, and so reduced our hunger; but it did not make us less sensible of the cold in the night, which was so intense to our heated frames that all the coverings we had did not silence loud discontent at inability to sleep. The winter indeed was nigh at hand.

In the morning I would not specify before starting, as requested by all again, the amount of *backsheesh* each should receive at Jerusalem. The sheik put in his claim, but I would not satisfy him; and when after travelling an hour or two I was still pestered by all the party in turn, it was with no affectation that I declared myself offended, and forbade any of them to speak again to me. I rode quite ahead to mark this determination, and in the variety of the scenes, with the sweetness of the odours of Araby which arose from each step of my horse in the aromatic herbage, I was enjoying the very act of living, chanting lowly in words of delight, and then speculating on the news that I should gain after what seemed so long an absence from civilized life, when at first with doubt, and then with certainty, I heard the distant firing of rifles. I was familiar with it, as a feature which the people of a city—Jerusalem, to wit—introduce in a State fête; and I guessed that news from the Crimea had arrived of a kind acceptable to the Turks, and that the people of Hebron were holding *fantasia* around the town on the hills. As I advanced, this idea seemed confirmed, for undoubtedly the reports proved that the people were assembled

close between me and the town, and soon even the shouting could be heard. I dawdled now for my whole party to come up, and then we ascended the road between two hills, the guns so near that it became a matter of wonder that I could not see the shooters. Looking to the height on my left, where I could hear speaking, suddenly a figure appeared, followed by others full of excitement; then, with arm pointing in my direction, I heard the sheik cry, "Now go; seize them." And fifty men ran fast down the slope. Behind were others, part of a crowd hidden over the brow. On the height to my left, as I looked, a group appeared who began to descend, but were called back. For a second I thought it was a game; but not when the descending party turned on our rear, and some took hold of our men and animals, while others ran along to me. I muttered aspirations to the Unseen, and immediately I saw, plain as the *dæmon* of Socrates taught him, that I must not resist, and I was as reconciled as though there had been no danger of any kind to us.

Three men seized my horse by the bridle, and others less nimble increased their number, putting their hands on my right arm. They were livid in colour, blackened with powder, and in many cases with bloodshot eyes, worn with long watching, and the strife and hatred of Cain. My scrutiny offended some, the clamour arose that there should be no delay, and one close by shouted, "Dismount." I had my leg half over the horse when a new arrival with evident authority said, "No; stop!" I reseated myself, and there was a babel of protracted explanation and debate. Many conflicting voices were heard; finally, the decision was expressed clearly, "Lead him on, and send him forward," and my horse was conducted some hundred yards, and left with the command that 'I should go straight forward; but the screamings with the hinder party about my men, the glittering of swords, and the pushing and swaying about made me think that poor Nicola and the muleteers were being killed. I obeyed a sudden impulse to turn my horse, at which my captors were furious; but at the moment I saw the back crowd open, and my companions emerge, being evidently directed to follow me. I halted for their arrival, the guard impatient to see the order for my advance obeyed. At the moment it seemed that nothing could be more desirable to do, yet Nicola ever turned to continue a torrent of apologies. Going on again, and looking ahead at every step to understand our position the better, we came to the opening of the hitherto screened road; and, with this descending into the valley before us, I could see the heights a quarter of a mile ahead, both to the left and to the right of the road, occupied by large forces; and the defences on the slopes proved that they were engaged in actual warfare, but which line divided the four forces I could not tell. I paused therefore for a few moments to make sure of my course before descending with the

mules, when suddenly I heard the keen tearing of bullets close by my ears, and I saw these ploughing up the ground on the banks beside us. They had come from the hill to the south. I got off my horse to lead him held as a screen till we reached the shelter of certain ridges in the descending road, and I made Nicola do the same, although he was too much absorbed in a fresh outburst of sobbings, and in a declaration that he knew I should be the death of him in the end, to do anything with alacrity. When behind the banks, I saw a party of horsemen ahead, about twenty in number, with thirty or forty men on foot, evidently intending to intercept our passage. Nicola thereupon, still rubbing his knuckles in his eyes the while, said, "That is Abderrachman, and he hates the English because the consul put him in prison once before. If he finds you are an Englishman, he will have no mercy. Pray, sir, say you are an American or a German, and he will let us go." This provoked my patience, and I thought it wise to caution him against forestalling me with his prudential policy, so I said, "If you dare say that I am anything but an Englishman, I will ask him as a particular favour to kill you first." The valley resounded with his howling as we got down to the lower part of the road. The party in possession had taken up their stand to the left. It was easy to distinguish the leader. I rode up to him and said, "I am an Englishman going back to Jerusalem. I have been for a fortnight at the Wady Zuara. The English consul knows where I am, and if you stop me he will hold you responsible;" at which his polite countenance beamed, and he said, "You are among friends now." "But," I said, "if so, why did your men try to kill us just now?" "Well, it was a mistake. At the distance we could not see you were a Frank, and having horsemen with you we thought you were coming to attack us." And then I asked, "Are you not Abderrachman?" "Oh no," he said; "Abderrachman is trying to take Hebron. It was his force you passed through just now. I am his brother, and am fighting against him." This amiable explanation deserved thanks, which I gave, with "Good evening," as I resumed the road. Nicola gurgled with joyful surprise as we passed on.

With anxiety thus relieved, I could now ask questions about our treasures. The canteen had been opened, and found empty. The case with the picture had been a matter of dispute, but, the fellaheen being convinced that it contained only a paper with a writing on it, that was also given up without injury.

In the road, just sheltered from shot, were children and women huddling up the cattle—sheep, goats, oxen, horses, and asses in little groups. There was a fire with a cauldron of hot water, and pots with coffee, and simple fare for the men engaged in defending the town, and there were biers to serve as litters at hand for carrying off the

wounded. The women occasionally were giving their cries of distress. I entered thus for the first time into the experience of a beleaguered town.

My return to civilized life was to be preluded by a visit to the Prussian doctor in charge of the quarantine building. It was originally erected as a protection against plague, but the plague had disappeared, and the doctor in charge of the place was thus cut off from professional usefulness as well as from the amenities of society. He was known to be somewhat morose, nevertheless it was said that he appreciated a visit as a kindness. I had called on him more than once before, and I intended this time again to give him the advantage of my company.

When I arrived, and was seated in his divan smoking a tchibouk, he expressed surprise, asking me how I had got into the town. In telling him that I had at first supposed the firing to be in fantasia from some Crimean victory, he shouted, "*Jamais, monsieur, jamais la misérable armée Anglaise ni celle de la France ne pourra gagner une victoire sur les Russes—les Russes sont plus fort que tous les deux.*" I shrugged my shoulders, not caring to dispute so prejudiced a proposition, for it was evident that he would not readily abandon it. Yet I managed to change the subject, and was assured by my host that no provisions could be bought in Hebron, but that if I liked to partake of his hospitality, instead of sleeping in the tent, I should be welcome, adding that I should probably have bullets come into my windows during the night; but that I should be likely to fare worse in the open air. He went on to caution me against too roseate a view of the open country before me, telling that a Turkish effendi, with a guard coming from Jerusalem, had that day been robbed of everything, including arms.

Having so far eased his conscience as host, the doctor returned to the expression of his views about the war, and repeating something offensive about the incapacity of the English army, which I said history disproved, he got up and very defiantly declaimed, "Do you know what I would do if any one said so much of the Prussian army? I would challenge him to fight a mortal duel." "Well," I said pacifyingly, "it does not seem necessary to find new quarrels here, and ours is a question which time will settle better than any private duel could. I should be very miserable at the idea of risking the killing of any one else, or at the greater danger of being killed myself on such a question; but if you will allow me, I will call my man to give him his instructions." While I was yet speaking his two porters, of the complexion of ancient parchment, rushed into the room, gasping, "Oh, hakim pasha, hakim pasha! Abderrachman's men from Doora have suddenly appeared on the heights, and are rushing down the hill into the town, and will

be here directly." Immediately the doctor shouted orders to shut the gates, and standing in a very martial posture with hand extended, he continued, "Et vous, Monsieur l'Anglais, que voulez vous?" "Well," I asked, "what are you about to do?" "Pour moi," he declaimed, "personne n'entrera ici sans passer au-dessus mon corps." "Very well," said I; "then as I am your guest at the moment, I here declare (and somehow the situation seemed amusing as I adopted the heroic strain) they shall have two dead bodies to pass over, but lend me an extracting ramrod and I will change one of my barrels, which now only has duck-shot."

In a minute more all was ready. On a gallery above the gateway there was a good stone parapet, made doubtless in anticipation of such needs, and I crouched down with my gun ready, as did the Prussian doctor and his servants. Nicola, again in noisy paroxysms of despair, kept within. I could hear him sobbing and stamping through all the din. The sun was still high enough to shine on the men rushing down hill, who were sparkling with steel and were glorious with rich colours as they appeared in and out of the fruit-trees. The leader was mounted on a fine white horse, and he was harking back a long gunshot away to mass the forces, which seemed to be about two hundred strong. One band was coming close to the front of the building; another was passing farther away straight on to the town. As these were far forward it seemed that they would enter without any effective opposition, for there were no more than a scanty sprinkling of men in the town. Few as they were, however, these defenders of the stuff won my admiration by collecting together, with flashing swords and guns meeting the invading party of six times the number. The cries and confusion, mixed with the firing of weapons, made the meeting one on which I could only look with bated breath. In a few minutes the new-comers carried all before them, and as they advanced further I looked to see what dead were left on the field, and was surprised at observing the ground unencumbered. While thus absorbed, with only side attention to nearer matters, the doctor recognized the horseman as an intimate friend, and the latter approached and explained that he, another brother, had just resolved to abandon Abderrachman and join the town. This explained the bloodlessness of the meeting just witnessed, and with this speech the actors in this second drama of the day retired from the stage.

I was able then to send one of our party into the bazaar to buy some necessaries for the canteen, but the doctor was fraternal enough to declare that sufficient rice was added to his supper to serve for me too, and I was the more at ease in accepting a place at table after having made common cause with him in peril. He had not been able to procure meat for a week. With pomegranates added to

our mess and a cup of coffee to follow, we fared better than many of the besieged did that night.

I suffered no personal remorse at quitting the hospitality of the doctor,* as I arranged to take my chance of the road on the morrow. There were no surprises in the night, and sleeping under a solid roof was no unwelcome change. As we made our preparations to start before sunrise, the Osmanli travellers of yesterday came amusing me by asking to go under our escort. As no one but myself was armed, I replied that I must look mainly to the safety of our own party, but that if they wished it I should be glad to have them accompanying us; and so I sallied out with no encouraging farewell from our host; Aboudaouk's men, who had disappeared yesterday, were, I heard, close at hand. Emerged from the town I peered, while still among the vineyards, at every opening to discover lurking enemies, but, except for distant firing far behind us, there were no signs of life. I had expected to find a force on this side of Hebron, but I had passed the ancient ruin and reached the open country without having seen a being.

Ascending a slope with many single cattle-tracks among brushwood, which formed the road, suddenly there appeared against the sky-line in front a small band of fellaheen on horse and foot. There were about seven or eight, the favourite number for a native expedition. The leader at once drew up and addressed his men, directing them to spread themselves out, and he himself turned to confront me. This he did in a marked manner. I determined to escape all appearance of wishing to evade him, so I directed my steps towards him, and when there might have been the excuse of passing more conveniently by keeping the path to the left of that he had entered, I chose his, and brought my horse's head in front of him. Using my left hand to hold my gun by the barrel, with a slight switch in the right I gently touched his animal on the nose, looking at him cheerfully the while, and saying at the moment, "Marhabba, welcome." His steed swerved, and I took his place and passed. He called out with a forced laugh to his followers, "Ah, ah, a friend!" "Yes," I remarked, "an English friend," and turned now with my gun ready and trigger cocked, for he was repeating orders to seize my mules. "Ibrahim, go and take that mule; ya Abdullah go to that," and two men walked forwards, one to the canteen, one to the picture. When they were nearly within reach, he added, "Take hold." I said, "Ya Ibrahim, don't touch my mules, ya Abdullah, beware!" and I brought the gun close upon the first. The leader then said, "Don't listen, ya Ibrahim, and Abdullah seize them." But when I added, "I will shoot the first moment your hand touches the halter," pasha hesitated at the critical point, while the mules quietly marched the horse. This poor gentleman, a few months later, committed suicide at Hebron.

along past them. My muleteers walked at their side. Ibrahim and Abdullah took up an altercation with their fellows as the animals passed me. I brought up the rear, looking behind, and as we crossed the brow of the hill, catching the eye of the leader, I bent in my affablest manner with "*Ma salame, ya sheik*" ("*Go in peace, O sheik*"), "*I am an English friend.*" And thus we parted, with better understanding than at meeting.

I had taken the right measure of these stragglers as a party ready to get plunder if it offered on easy terms, and not otherwise. I had not been sanguine enough, however, to imagine that with these passed I should find the road clear; but when I scanned the new landscape before me not any further company of Arabs presented themselves to view. Ordinarily this road had groups of *camelières*, and of Jews going to and from Hebron and Jerusalem; but on this occasion it was bare of these, as also of all freebooters. Occasionally we could see men on the heights moving, but our party, now rejoined by the Bedouin, looked formidable from afar, and the fellaheen kept to their villages, so that our anxiety slackened as we reached the Pools of Solomon, and watered our beasts. We passed Bethlehem still in close file; but at Mar Elias I took leave of my two mute Turkish friends, who ceremoniously bowed and beamed thanks, and I hastened on ahead to Jerusalem.

After I had reached home and changed some circular notes I was prepared for all my Bedouin when they came for gold in exchange for their paper, and I gave a *backsheesh* for each, which seemed to equal their highest expectations. Their disappearance when we were in peril from the fellaheen did not seem heroic, but their presence would perhaps, from some old blood vengeance, have provoked greater ill feeling, and they had not undertaken to guard me on this side of their encampment. We parted with promises from me of a speedy return, not before Soleiman had again urged that I would send Nicola back to London with the picture, ending with, "*Ya Wulluam, you will come back and dance to us.*" It was post day, and I hastened to scribble off some letters. While thus engaged the vigilant consul sent for me, asking whether the report about Hebron spread by my attendants was true, and he at once required me to write a report for his official superiors, which I had to do as best I could, in the short time allowed me.

The first need now was to finish the sky of my picture, which I had only sketched in. The roof of Dr. Sim's house furnished me with a studio for this purpose.

It was not without great difficulty that I again found a young white goat as model. I painted from him in my courtyard. Some chance visitors, who called (as they do on artists at Rome), afterwards published a denial of the statement that the scene was painted on

the spot, saying that they had seen me at work on it in my room at Jerusalem. More appreciative spectators it was my good fortune to find among some English travellers. Lord and Lady Napier and Ettrick, who had come from Constantinople on political business, cheered me by a serious interest in my work, which their genuine love of art made of living value to me, cut off as I was so completely from the counsel of sympathetic critics.

While finishing the picture of "The Scápegoat" I found that the interdict against the Jews helping me by sitting as models had been withdrawn through the influence of a Jewish friend; consequently, I was able to stay and progress with the Temple picture.

It had been a vexation to me during the progress of this picture in Jerusalem to have no opportunity of seeing the distant slope of the northern Olivet from the platform of Moriah, which came into the background. Since 1244, when the successors of Godfrey de Bouillon were chased by the Turks from Jerusalem, no Christian but in disguise, or by stratagem, in risk of very probable death, had entered its precincts. Montefiore had indeed quite recently been admitted, but with an Israelite the concession was not so shocking to the sons of Ishmael. His offence was rather to his nearer brethren. The Rabbis had pronounced against the part which their benevolent visitor had taken in availing himself of the opportunity, because, it not being now known which was the spot covered by the Holy of Holies, he, not being the High Priest, might have offended in treading on the proscribed ground. I had envied him and his followers, but still felt the possibility of getting in myself was as far off as ever. Quite late in the autumn of 1855, however, it was known that the Duke of Brabante was a visitor in Jerusalem, and that the very enlightened and francophile Pasha of the day was making great efforts to gratify his utmost expectations. He had come with a firman to enter the Mosque area, but it was probable that, as with many previous travellers coming from Constantinople, his highness had been told that it would be fatal to the lives of all who attempted to act on the Sultan's order, intended only as a formal compliment. Still, perhaps because gossip had so little to indulge in, it was said the Duke would be allowed to enter the haram, so I sought information at the fountain-head, and pleaded to be allowed to enter with the Prince's suite. Mr. Finn, our consul, promised to do his best for me, and let me know in good time if the opportunity offered.

Suddenly, at seven o'clock, a few mornings later, I received notice to go forthwith to the room of the Pasha's secretary; on arriving I was astonished to see a room full of people—visitors, missionary clergymen, doctors, Protestant converts, and, what was more remarkable, the wives of many of these, and certain unmarried ladies engaged in the city on charitable work. That all of these should

persuade themselves they cared enough about the Mosque to incur the risk of entering astonished me; but while we were waiting we were told it was not certain we should be admitted. An hour or two passed in tedious delay. During this time it transpired that the Pasha was intent upon the success of a summons issued to all the dervishes of the Mosque to assemble in a certain chamber of the haram to discuss a point of great moment, which had to be considered by the highest authorities. Thinking it was the question of admitting the Belgian prince which had to be debated, they thronged into the building to utter their loudest protests. Delays arose in making certain that all had arrived, and then the doors were locked, and a company of soldiers was posted there to turn the council-chamber into a prison for an hour or so.

It was a moment in life to make one's heart stir as the door was turned on its hinges, and the way into this long dreamed of and ever forbidden sanctum was declared to be open. On my first arrival in Jerusalem, wandering alone, by mistake I had entered the gates, but before I had realized my position I was set upon by one, by two, and threatened by an approaching crowd of wild and dark Indians and Africans, whom I happily escaped by a hasty retreat. This time I rejoiced that the place was empty, and I gazed with boundless delight on the beautiful combination of marble architecture, mellowed by the sun of ages, of mossy-like cypresses, and porcelain slabs bearing the hues of jewels; but at once we were told that no one must linger. At the foot of the steps we were ordered to remove our boots. Having come in Turkish shoes, for me there was no difficulty, but many were unprepared; and it was one of the grim mockeries of fate that at so solemn an epoch, with such sacred associations in mind, a body of ladies and gentlemen should intensify the hideous effect of European costumes by limping about in their stockings, soon lacerated, carrying Wellington and other boots and shoes in hand. Unfortunately the Prince, it was soon evident, cared nothing for the wonders about him; he sometimes turned his royal head to the right or the left as the guide referred to the different objects generally regarded with devotion, but never once did he pause from his march through the Mosque Assakhrah and that of Al Aksa, or at any of the intervening objects, nor did he turn aside to examine anything out of the direct line of his walk—an Arab in Westminster Abbey could not have been more supremely unaffected. Once Dr. Sim and I ran off to look at the interior of the Beautiful Gate, but we were quickly summoned back by a messenger, with a caution that, although the band of dervishes had been shut up, individuals might have escaped who would attack us. We represented that we were armed and would take the chance, but the Pasha still objected, and we had to abandon our hope. On

emerging from the gate to Via Dolorosa we saw a body of Moslems in the street, who glared with hatred, such as only religious rancour could inspire, but they left us to disperse in peace.

If in the breasts of all the Christian visitors to the Mosque that day the tenderness burned, which the sight of its reverent conservation had kindled in mine towards Mahommedans, and the sons of Hagar assembled at its doors had then been able to read the newly written inscription on our hearts; the feeling towards us would scarcely have been other than brotherly pride in according that hospitality which all the followers of the prophet of Mecca are enjoined to extend to strangers, and which on this occasion they would discern had not been abused. From the day when Salem was first spoken of as the city of Melchisedec, when Abram was blessed by the possessor of heaven and earth, this very spot had been the centre of inspiration to the three races—the Jewish, the Christian, and the Mahommedan—who worshipped the God of Abraham. Had the Jews still possessed it, there would have been signs of bloody sacrifice such as the modern world could not tolerate as part of the service of God. Had any sect of Christians held it, the place would have been desecrated either by tinselled dolls and tawdry pictures, or else by the staring ugliness and class vulgarity of the English and Prussian service. In the case of the Moslem there was not an unsightly, not a shocking object in the whole area, it was guarded, oh! so fearfully and lovingly; and it seemed a temple so purified from the pollution of perversity that involuntarily the text, “Here will I take my rest for ever,” rang in my ears. The past, so many pasts, stood about, and the immediate present was a pregnant wonder. The military forces of the greatest Powers were afar marshalled against each other, to settle the future domination of the city; our presence there indeed marked the moving of the index to a turning-point. The Ishmaelites’ sands were running fast away; but I could feel that the sons of Hagar had been appointed for the great purpose of keeping the place sacred until the sons of Sarah had by their long suffering and by their influence upon the outer world prepared the way for resuming their charge of it.

The visit had been a great delight to me, but I had not attained my object. I had not been able to make even the slightest scribble of the landscape for my picture. I had, however, gained distinct knowledge that the only point from which it could be obtained was the roof of the Mosque of the rock. Some of my acquaintances asked me whether I had succeeded in my object. Mr. James Graham, the secretary of the Mission, knew my anxiety, and in a visit shortly afterwards he spoke to the Pasha’s amanuensis of this, whereupon the latter undertook, if I made a portrait of him, to admit me to draw on the roof as well as to see the place further,

as far as time would allow in the one visit, an offer I at once closed with.

On the appointed morning I went by eight o'clock to the Pasha's office, and there, with ceremonies of coffee and tobacco, I was received cordially by the agent and his friends. I did my best to hasten these formalities, to get to work at the portrait. I knew that sketchiness would not be appreciated, so I drew with fine lines, and I took the opportunity to add a little colour by way of beautifying the likeness. All agreed that it was "wonderful," and the amanuensis, as I handed it over to him, admitted that I had performed my part of the bargain liberally and satisfactorily. For his part he sent away a messenger, and quickly the custodian of the Mosque came—a handsome, tall man of about forty-five. He was the descendant of the family appointed in perpetuity by the Caliph Omar to the office, as a short time before he had shown, when the Sultan had sent a place-man from Constantinople to take his post; and the official in authority proved that not even the present head of the faithful had power to oust him. Into his charge I was now given, and he alone led the way into the sacred enclosure.

It was a singular example of the Moslem's submissiveness to the inevitable, that so few days after the religious world of Islam were ready to die to defend the Mosque enclosure from intrusion, no steps were to be taken to guard me while I entered dressed, all but the feet, in English costume, and with a large sketch-book under my arm, following the unsupported custodian.

I could afford but little time for a general survey. Photographs and the great discussion as to the building of the dome have now made familiar to the world the startling unlikeness of the outside and inside of this Mosque. Remarking on this to the Rev. J. Nicolayson after my first visit, he had said, "I see you are a convert to Mr. Fergusson's theory." I had then never heard of this view which the architectural critic had formed from examination of exact drawings—made under the most extraordinary circumstances—by Mr. Catherwood and Mr. Bonomi. It was not my purpose to settle this question, but I hurried from point to point to examine some of the wonders of the whole court (many I could not even look for). When I turned to my guide, asking to be taken to the roof of the northern Mosque, he hesitated, for he had to get the key of the stairs. He made me go with him that I should not be left alone, and then we ascended to the leads. The dome gave me the protection from the sun which I wanted, and there, on tinted paper, I gained the forms of my backgrounds, the colours for which I could get from my own terrace. I regarded the feat as a triumph, while I completed the work on the canvas itself with the same hills before my eyes from my own roof.

My unbroken stay in Jerusalem for sixteen months after six spent in Egypt was now affecting my health, and the doctor advised me to seek change, so I set to work to complete all parts of my picture, which could be done best in the East. Before I left Jerusalem I had painted the heads of all the doctors save the one close to the arm of the Saviour. I had also finished the head of St. Joseph, that of the wine-carrier, and the figure of the youth holding a sistrum. For the principal two figures I had cautiously made separate studies to determine racial type, knowing that the discovery that my picture was more than an assemblage of Jewish Rabbis—which I truly explained it as being—would, in the temper then existing, prevent any other Israelites from sitting to me then or on future visits. In October or November 1855, I sent all my pictures and traps straight to Oxford. "The Scapegoat" had already gone, but it had arrived too late for that year's Exhibition. The design for its frame was made from a drawing sent home by me. I was then free to bring my residence in Jerusalem to a close.

I have already said that I came home by way of the north of Syria, the Archipelago, Constantinople, visiting the armies as they were encamped in the Crimea. Here I saw some little of naval life on board the flag-ship as the guest of Admiral Lyons, who afforded me every opportunity of witnessing the field of strife. I returned by France, and arrived in England in February, 1856, after an absence of two years.

The story of my work in Jerusalem in 1854-55 has already been referred to in previous articles on Pre-Raphaelitism, together with the reception of "The Scapegoat" in 1856. From this it will be understood that the new departure in my art (which the study of Orientalism for fuller insights into Biblical history had provoked), put me again in the position of a beginner in the eyes of the public, although I had already exhibited some eight years. The fashion is so strong for an artist to repeat himself continually, that my fresh productions were regarded for years with the greatest shyness. While the "Dead Sea" subject was with Mr. Combe, he did all he could to get it sold, but all those, who, after "The Light of the World" and "Claudio and Isabella" had won their way, had expressed themselves as anxious to possess some future work of mine, when they saw this new one, objected to the subject as not characteristic of me—the atmosphere, the colour, and the whole scene were perfectly incredible and unlike my previous pictures, moreover it should have been done by an animal painter, Anadell or Landseer, they said. On my private view day a great picture-dealer called to see my contributions for the Exhibition; he objected to the subject as unsuitable, and also as unknown and unintelligible. I argued that he must have heard of the scapegoat, if only in raillery,

but he declared it was perfectly unknown to him. I then accounted for this by the fact that he was a Frenchman, at which he proposed to test English intelligence by asking up his wife and another English lady. We left them to guess the subject, but they had no sort of idea what it could be. When the title was given, they were not one whit the wiser, for they also declared their ignorance of the fact that any goat had ever been chased away into the wilderness as part of an atonement ceremony; so the dealer went away triumphant in his verdict against the picture. The painting, I may repeat, was well placed at the Academy, and attracted great attention from high and low, of those well-guided beings who trusted to their deep and impartial instincts in questions of Art; well-guided by this alone, if without the training of perfect tuition, and unable to expose the littleness of that learning which consists mainly of the cant and slang of our study and the profession. Unfortunately, too many of the purchasers of pictures—as Canova said of English patrons—"see with their ears," and hence they fight shy of all work new in idea and novel in execution. In thirty-two years I may say that the world sanctions my innovating spirit, in this particular instance; for now the ingenious mouthpieces of tradition, who wish to insinuate the most damaging suggestions for the passing day, make capital out of "*The Scapegoat*," and other pictures of the time, acknowledging *their* excellence, declaring their merits to be absent in my later works; just as men used to say of Dickens' much greater inventions of later days, that he would never again write anything equal to "*Pickwick*."

I had spent £1,200 in the East in two years—"The Scapegoat" had taken more than one-third of the time; and, reserving the copyright, I asked 400 guineas for it; but the whole Exhibition went by without a purchaser, and then I had to give up the copyright to obtain my price.* My inability to regain sufficient means made a return to Syria impossible for many years.

It was not without interest to me that an artist, who had more than once been very actively generous in praising my works, met one of my companions at this time, saying, "Has your friend Hunt gone quite mad?" "Not that I know of," replied the other. "Why?" "Well I have been looking at his picture of '*The Scapegoat*,' and for background he has painted the plain and mountains of the Dead Sea. Now *my* conception of the Lake Asphalt is that it should be gloomy and terrible, full of clouds and darkness, with only lurid lights about it to make the blackness more impressive; but *he* has gone and painted the scene with all the colours of the rainbow, and with light spreading everywhere!"

How much more the actual facts of the spot were appropriate

* It was sold at Christie's a few weeks back for £1,400.

than this conception by a half-informed, albeit he was an imaginative man, I leave the reader of this story to determine.

The scene with the castle of Wady Zuara, which so entranced me, I have never been able to paint, neither the pictures of Engeddi nor Masada, which I wished to undertake, have I been able to execute. Life moves too swiftly when the taste of patrons needs so long to take the form of action.

• W. HOLMAN HUNT.

[Never again have I seen my son Soleiman, although at Jerusalem and Bethlehem I have sent messages to him and received his greeting in return. I was told that he had been wounded and was feeble in health, that the sheikship was held by another, but it was not certain that my informants were quite clear about his identity. Nicola had disappeared from Jerusalem when I returned; the last I saw of him was in 1854, when we met by chance on board the French Messagerie boat, *Tancred*, where his destiny to get into peril followed him. He was on his way to the Crimea to serve under the British flag in the Commissariat Service.]

SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF'S VIEWS ABOUT INDIA.

I.

I OFFER some observations on Sir Grant Duff's reply to Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., in this "REVIEW." I do so, not with the object of defending Mr. Smith. He is well able to take care of himself. But of the subjects with which Sir Grant Duff has dealt, there are some of the most vital importance to India, and I desire to discuss them.

I have never felt more disappointed and grieved with any writings by an Englishman than with the two articles by Sir Grant Duff—a gentleman who has occupied the high positions of Under-Secretary of State for India and Governor of Madras. Whether I look to the superficiality and levity of his treatment of questions of serious and melancholy importance to India, or to the literary smartness of offhand reply which he so often employs in the place of argument, or to the mere sensational assertions which he puts forward as proofs, I cannot but feel that both the manner and matter of the two articles are, in many parts, unworthy of a gentleman of Sir Grant Duff's position and expected knowledge. But what is particularly more regrettable is his attitude towards the educated classes, and the sneers he has levelled against higher education itself. If there is one thing more than another for which the Indian people are peculiarly and deeply grateful to the British nation, and which is one of the chief reasons of their attachment and loyalty to British rule, it is the blessing of education which Britain has bestowed on India. Britain has every reason to be proud of, and to be satisfied with, the results, for it is the educated classes who realize and appreciate most the beneficence and good intentions of the British nation; and by the increasing influence which they are now undoubtedly exercising over the people, they

are the powerful chain by which India is becoming more and more firmly linked with Britain. This education has produced its natural effects, in promoting civilization and independence of character—a result of which a true Briton should not be ashamed and should regard as his peculiar glory. But it would appear that this independence of character and the free criticism passed by the educated classes on Sir Grant Duff's acts have ruffled his composure. He has allowed his feelings to get the better of his judgment. I shall have to say a few words on this subject hereafter.

Sir Grant Duff asks the English tourists, who go to India “for the purpose of enlightening their countrymen when they come home”—“Is it too much to ask that these last should take the pains to arrive at an accurate knowledge of facts before they give their conclusions to the world?” May I ask the same question of Sir Grant Duff himself? Is it too much to ask him, who has occupied high and responsible positions, that he, as far more bound to do so, should take the pains to arrive at an accurate knowledge of facts before he gives his conclusions to the world? Careless or mistaken utterances of men of his position, by misleading the British public, do immeasurable harm, both to England and India.

Of the few matters which I intend to discuss there is one—the most important—upon which all other questions hinge. The correct solution of this fundamental problem will help all other Indian problems to settle themselves under the ordinary current discussions of every day. Before proceeding, however, with this fundamental question, it is necessary to make one or two preliminary remarks to clear away some misapprehensions which often confuse and complicate the discussion of Indian subjects.

There are three parties concerned—(1) The British nation, (2) those authorities to whom the Government of India is entrusted by the British nation, and (3) the natives of British India.

Now, I have no complaint whatever against the British nation or British rule. On the contrary, we have every reason to be thankful that of all the nations in the world it has been our good fortune to be placed under the British nation—a nation noble and great in its instincts; among the most advanced, if not the most advanced in civilization; foremost in the advancement of humanity in all its varied wants and circumstances; the source and fountain-head of true liberty and of political progress in the world; in short, a nation in which all that is just, generous, and truly free is most happily combined.

The British nation has done its part nobly, has laid down, and pledged itself before God and the world to, a policy of justice and generosity towards India, in which nothing is left to be desired. That policy is complete and worthy of its great and glorious past and present.

No, we Indians have no complaint against the British nation or British rule. We have everything from them to be grateful for. It is against its servants, to whom it has entrusted our destinies, that we have something of which to complain. Or rather, it is against the system which has been adopted by its servants, and which subverts the avowed and pledged policy of the British nation, that we complain, and against which I appeal to the British people.

Reverting to the few important matters which I desire to discuss, the first great question is—What is Britain's policy towards India? Sir Grant Duff says: "Of two things one: either we mean to stay in India and make the best of the country—directly for its own advantage, indirectly for that of ourselves and of mankind at large, or we do not." Again he says: "The problem is how best to manage for its interest, our own interest, and the interest of the world. . . ." Now, if anybody ought to know, Sir Grant Duff ought, that this very problem, exactly as he puts it and for the purposes he mentions, has been completely and exhaustively debated, decided upon, and the decision pledged in the most deliberate manner, in an Act of Parliament more than fifty years ago, and again most solemnly and sacredly pledged more than twenty-five years ago. Sir Grant Duff either forgets or ignores these great events. Let us see, then, what this policy is. At a time when the Indians were in their educational and political infancy, when they did not and could not understand what their political condition then was or was to be in the future, when they had not uttered, as far as I know, any complaints, nor demanded any rights or any definite policy towards themselves, the British nation of their own accord and pleasure, merely from their own sense of their duty towards the millions of India and to the world, deliberately declared before the world what their policy should be towards the people of India. Nor did the British people do this in any ignorance or want of forethought or without the consideration of all possible consequences of their action. Never was there a debate in both Houses of Parliament more complete and clear, more exhaustive, more deliberately looked at from all points of view, and more calculated for the development of statesmanlike policy and practical good sense. The most crucial point of view—that of political danger or of even the possible loss of India to Britain—was faced with true English manliness; and the British nation, through their Parliament, then settled, adopted, and proclaimed to the world what their policy was to be—viz., the policy of justice and of the advancement of humanity.

I can give here only a very few extracts from that famous debate of more than half a century ago—a debate reflecting the highest glory on the British name.

Sir Robert Peel said :—

“Sure I am at least that we must approach the consideration of it with a deep feeling, with a strong sense of the responsibility we shall incur, with a strong sense of the moral obligation which imposes it upon us as a duty to promote the improvement of the country and the welfare and well-being of its inhabitants, so far as we can consistently with the safety and security of our dominion and the obligations by which we may be bound”

The Marquis of Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, said :—

“But he should be taking a very narrow view of this question, and one utterly inadequate to the great importance of the subject, which involved in it the happiness or misery of one hundred millions of human beings, were he not to call the attention of their Lordships to the bearing which this question and to the influence which this arrangement must exercise upon the future destinies of that vast mass of people. He was sure that their Lordships would feel, as he indeed felt, that their only justification before God and Providence for the great and unprecedented dominion which they exercised in India was in the happiness which they communicated to the subjects under their rule, and in proving to the world at large, and to the inhabitants of Hindoostan, that the inheritance of Akbar (the wisest and most beneficent of Mahomedan princes) had not fallen into unworthy or degenerate hands” His Lordship, after announcing the policy intended to be adopted, concluded : “He was confident that the strength of the Government would be increased by the happiness of the people over whom it presided, and by the attachment of those nations to it.”

Lord Macaulay's speech is worthy of him, and of the great nation to which he belonged. I have every temptation to quote the whole of it, but space forbids. He calls the proposed policy “that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause,” and he adds :—

“I must say that, to the last day of my life, I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that clause. . . . Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear. ‘Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas’ is a despicable policy either in individuals or States. In the present case such a policy would be not only despicable, but absurd. . . . To the great trading nation, to the great manufacturing nation, no progress which any portion of the human race can make in knowledge, in taste for the conveniences of life, or in the wealth by which those conveniences are produced, can be matter of indifference. . . . To trade with civilized men is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages. That would indeed be a doting wisdom, which, in order that India might remain a dependency, would make it a useless and costly dependency—which would keep a hundred millions of men from being our customers, in order that they might continue to be our slaves. It was, as Bernier tells us, the practice of the miserable tyrants whom he found in India, when they dreaded the capacity and spirit of some distinguished subject, and yet could not venture to murder him, to administer to him a daily dose of the pousa, a preparation of opium, the effect of which was in a few months to destroy all the bodily and mental powers of the wretch who was drugged with it, and to turn him into a helpless idiot. That detestable artifice, more horrible than assassination itself, was worthy of those who employed it. It is no model for the English nation. We shall never consent to administer the pousa to a whole community, to stupefy and paralyze a great people whom God has committed to our charge, for the

wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control. . . . I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us; and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour. . . . To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of misery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens would indeed be a title to glory—all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverses. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our law."

Now what was it that was so deliberately decided upon—that which was to promote the welfare and well-being of the millions of India, involve their happiness or misery, and influence their future destiny; that which was to be the only justification before God and Providence for the dominion over India; that which was to increase the strength of the Government and secure the attachment of the nation to it; and that which was wise, benevolent and noble, most profitable to English trade and manufacture, the plain path of duty, wisdom, national prosperity, and national honour, and calculated to raise a people sunk in the lowest depths of misery and superstition, to prosperity and civilization? It was this "noble" clause in the Act of 1833, worthy of the British character for justice, generosity, and humanity: "That no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of his Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company."

I now ask the first question. Is this deliberately declared policy honestly promised, and is it intended by the British nation to be honestly and honourably fulfilled; or is it a lie and a delusion, meant only to deceive India and the world? This is the first clear issue.

It must be remembered, as I have already said, that this wise and noble pledge was given at a time when the Indians had not asked for it. It was of Britain's own will and accord, of her own sense of duty towards a great people whom Providence had entrusted to her care, that she deliberated and gave the pledge. The pledge was given with grace and unasked, and was therefore the more valuable and more to Britain's credit and renown. But the authorities to whom the performance of this pledge was entrusted by the British nation did not do their duty, and left the pledge a dead letter. Then came a time of trouble, and Britain triumphed over the Mutiny. But what did she do in that moment of triumph? Did she retract the old, great, and noble pledge? Did she say, "You have proved unworthy of it, and I withdraw it." No! True to her instincts of justice, she once more and still more emphatically and solemnly proclaimed to the world the same pledge, even in greater completeness and in every

form. By the mouth of our great Sovereign, did she once more give her pledge, calling God to witness and seal it and bestow his blessing thereon; and this did the gracious proclamation of 1858 proclaim to the world:

"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territory by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

"In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

Can pledges more sacred, more clear, and more binding before God and man be given?

I ask this second question. Are these pledges honest promises of the British Sovereign and nation, to be faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled, or are they only so many lies and delusions? I can and do expect but one reply: that these sacred promises were made honestly, and meant to be honestly and honourably fulfilled. The whole Indian problem hangs upon these great pledges, upon which the blessings and help of God are invoked. It would be an insult and an injustice to the British nation, quite unpardonable in me—with my personal knowledge of the British people for more than thirty years—if I for a moment entertained the shadow of a doubt with regard to the honesty of these pledges.

The third question is—Whether these pledges have been faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled? The whole position of India is this: If these solemn pledges be faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled, India will have nothing more to desire. Had these pledges been fulfilled, what a different tale of congratulation should we have had to tell to-day of the prosperity and advancement of India and of great benefits to and blessings upon England. But it is useless to mourn over the past. The future is still before us.

I appeal to the British nation that these sacred and solemn promises should be hereafter faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled. This will satisfy all our wants. This will realize all the various consequences, benefits, and blessings which the statesmen of 1833 have foretold, to England's eternal glory, and to the benefit of England, India, and the world. The non-fulfilment of these pledges has been tried for half a century, and poverty and degradation are still the lot of India. Let us have, I appeal, for half a century the conscientious fulfilment of these pledges, and no man

can hesitate to foretell, as the great statesmen of 1833 foretold, that India will rise in prosperity and civilization, that "the strength of the Government would be increased by the happiness of the people over whom it presided, and by the attachment of those nations to it." As long as fair trial is not given to these pledges it is idle, and adding insult to injury, to decide anything or to seek any excuses against us and against the fulfilment of the pledges.

If this appeal is granted, if the British nation says that its honest promises must be honestly fulfilled, every other Indian question will find its natural and easy solution. If, on the other hand, this appeal shall go in vain—which I can never believe will be the case—the present unnatural system of the non-fulfilment of the great policy of 1833 and 1858 will be an obstacle and a complete prevention of the right and just solution of any other Indian question whatever. From the seed of injustice no fruit of justice can ever be produced. Thistles will never yield grapes.

I now come to the second important question—the present material condition of India, as the natural result of the non-fulfilment of the great pledges. Mr. Samuel Smith had remarked that there was among the well-educated natives "a widespread belief that India is getting poorer and less happy," and he has subsequently expressed his own impressions: "The first and deepest impression made upon me by this second visit to India is a heightened sense of the poverty of the country." Now, to such a serious matter, what is Sir Grant Duff's reply? First, a sneer at the educated classes and at higher education itself. Next, he gives a long extract from an address of the local reception committee of the town of Bezwada, in which, says the address, by means of an anicut, "At one stroke the mouths of a hungry and dying people have been filled with bread, and the coffers of the Government with money." Now, can levity and unkindness go any further? This is the reply that a great functionary gives to Mr. Smith's serious charge about the poverty of India. What can the glowing, long extract from the address of the committee of Bezwada mean, if Sir Grant Duff did not thereby intend to lead the British public into the belief that, because the small town of Bezwada had acknowledged a good thing done for it, therefore in *all* India all was happy and prospering? However, Sir Grant Duff could not help reverting after a while, to the subject a little more seriously, and admitting that "there is in many parts of India frightful poverty." What, then, becomes of the glowing extract from the Bezwada address, and how was that a reply to Mr. Smith's charge? However, even after making the admission of the "frightful poverty in many parts of India," he disposes off-hand of the grave matter—remarking that other people in other countries are also poor, as if that were a justification of "the frightful poverty in many

parts of India," under a rule like that of the British, and conducted by a service the most highly praised and the most highly paid in the world? Sir Grant Duff, with a cruel levity, only asks two or three questions, without any proof of his assumptions and without any attention to the circumstances of the comparisons, and at once falls foul of the educated classes, as if thereby he gave a complete reply to the complaint about the poverty. Now, these are the three questions he puts:—"The question worth answering is: Do the Indian masses obtain, one year with another, a larger or smaller amount of material well-being than the peasantry of Western Europe?" And he answers himself: "Speaking of the huge province of Madras, which I, of course, know best—and I have visited every district in it—I think they do. . . ." They "do" what? Do they obtain a larger or smaller amount? His second question is: "but is there not the same, and even worse, in our own country?" And lastly, he brings down his clincher thus:—"As to our system 'draining the country of its wealth,' if that be the case, how is it visibly increasing in wealth?" And he gives no proof of that increased wealth. Thus, then, does Sir Grant Duff settle the most serious questions connected with India. First, a sneer at educated men and higher education, then the frivolous argument about the town of Bezwada, and afterwards three off-hand questions and assertions without any proof. In this way does a former Under-Secretary of State for India, and only lately a ruler of thirty millions of people, inform and instruct the British public on the most burning Indian questions. We may now, however, see what Sir Grant Duff's above three questions mean, and what they are worth, and how wrong and baseless his assertions are.

Fortunately, *Mr. Grant Duff* has already replied to *Sir Grant Duff*. We are treated by *Sir Grant Duff* to a long extract from his Budget speech of 1873. He might have as well favoured us, to better purpose, with an extract or two from some of his other speeches. In 1870 *Mr. Grant Duff* asks *Sir Wilfrid Lawson* a remarkable question during the debate on Opium. He asks: "Would it be tolerable that to enforce a view of morality which was not theirs, which had never indeed been accepted by any large portion of the human race, we should grind an already poor population to the very dust with new taxation?" Can a more complete reply be given to *Sir Grant's* present questions than this reply of *Mr. Grant Duff*: that the only margin that saves "an already poor population" from being ground to the very dust is the few millions that are obtained by poisoning a foreign country (China).

Again *Mr. Grant Duff* supplies another complete reply to *Sir Grant Duff's* questions. In his Budget speech of 1871, he thus depicts the poverty of India as compared with the condition of England—"one of the countries of Western Europe" and the "our

own country" of his questions. Just at that time I had, in a rough way, shown that the whole production or income of British India was about Rs. 20 (40s.) per head per annum. Of this Mr. Grant Duff made the following use in 1871. He said: "The position of the Indian financier is altogether different from that of the English one. Here you have a comparatively wealthy population. The income of the United Kingdom has, I believe, been guessed at £800,000,000 per annum. The income of British India has been guessed at £300,000,000 per annum. That gives well on to £30 per annum as the income of every person of the United Kingdom, and only £2 per annum as the income of every person in British India. Even our comparative wealth will be looked back upon by future ages as a state of semi-barbarism. But what are we to say of the state of India? How many generations must pass away before that country has arrived at even the comparative wealth of this?"

But now Sir Grant Duff ignores his own utterances as to how utterly different the cases of England and India are. Mr. Grant Duff's speech having been received in India, Lord Mayo thus commented upon it and confirmed it:—

"I admit the comparative poverty of this country, as compared with many other countries of the same magnitude and importance, and I am convinced of the impolicy and injustice of imposing burdens upon this people which may be called either crushing or oppressive. Mr. Grant Duff, in an able speech which he delivered the other day in the House of Commons, the report of which arrived by the last mail, stated with truth that the position of our finance was wholly different from that of England. 'In England,' he stated, 'you have comparatively a wealthy population. The income of the United Kingdom has, I believe, been guessed at £800,000,000 per annum; the income of British India has been guessed at £300,000,000 per annum: that goes well on to £30 per annum as the income of every person in the United Kingdom, and only £2 per annum as the income of every person in British India.' I believe that Mr. Grant Duff had good grounds for the statement he made, and I wish to say, with reference to it, that we are perfectly cognisant of the relative poverty of this country as compared with European States."

Here again is another answer to Sir Grant Duff's questions, by the late Finance Minister of India. Major (Sir) E. Baring, in proof of his assertion of "the extreme poverty of the mass of the people" of British India, makes a comparison not only with "the Western countries of Europe" but with "the poorest country in Europe." After stating that the income of India was not more than Rs. 27 per head, he said, in his Budget speech of 1882: "In England, the average income per head of population was £33 per head; in France, it was £23; in Turkey, which was the poorest country in Europe, it was £4 per head."

It will be seen, then, that Mr. Grant Duff and a higher authority than Sir Grant Duff have already fully answered Sir Grant Duff's questions. The only thing now remaining is whether Sir Grant Duff

will undertake to prove that the income of British India has now become equal to that of the Western countries of Europe; and if so, let him give us his facts and figures to prove such a statement—not mere allusions to the prosperity of some small towns like Bezwada, or even to that of the Presidency towns, but a complete estimate of the income of *all* British India, so as to compare it with that of England, France, or “Western countries of Europe.”

I may say here a word or two about “the huge province of Madras, which,” says Sir Grant, “I, of course, know best, and I have visited every district in it.” We may see now whether he has visited with his eyes open or shut. I shall be glad if Sir Grant Duff will give us figures to show that Madras to-day produces as much as the Western countries of Europe.

Sir George Campbell, in his paper on tenure of land in India, says, from an official Report of 1869, about the Madras Presidency, that “the bulk of the people are paupers.” I have just received an extract from a friend in India. Mr. W. R. Robertson, Agricultural Reporter to the Government of Madras, says of the agricultural labourer:—

“His condition is a disgrace to any country calling itself civilized. In the best seasons the gross income of himself and his family does not exceed 3s. per day throughout the year, and in a bad season their circumstances are most deplorable. . . . I have seen something of Ireland, in which the condition of affairs bears some resemblance to those of this country, but the condition of the agricultural population of Ireland is vastly superior to the condition of the similar classes in this country.”

There cannot be any doubt about the correctness of these views; for, as a matter of fact, as I have worked out the figures in my paper on “The Poverty of India,” the income of the Madras Presidency in 1868–69 was only about Rs. 18 per head per annum.

Such is the Madras Presidency, which Sir Grant Duff has visited with his eyes apparently shut.

I shall now give a few statements about the “extreme poverty” of British India, by persons whose authority would be admitted by Sir Grant Duff as far superior to his own. In 1864 Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, then Viceroy, said: “India is on the whole a very poor country; the mass of the population enjoy only a scanty subsistence.” And again, in 1873, he repeated his opinion before the Finance Committee, that the mass of the people were so miserably poor that they had barely the means of subsistence. It was as much as a man could do to feed his family, or half-feed them, let alone spending money on what might be called luxuries or conveniences. In 1881 Dr. (Sir W.) Hunter, the best official defender of the British Indian Administration, told the British public that 40,000,000 of the people of British India “go through life on insufficient food.” This is an

official admission, but I have no moral doubt that, if full inquiries were made, twice forty millions or more would be found "going through life on insufficient food," and what wonder that the very touch of famine should destroy hundreds of thousands or millions. Coming down at once to the latest times : Sir E. Baring said, in his finance speech in 1882 :—

"It has been calculated that the average income per head of population in India is not more than Rs. 2½ a year ; and, though I am not prepared to pledge myself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation of this sort, it is sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that the tax-paying community is *exceedingly poor*. To derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a population as this is obviously impossible, and if it were possible would be unjustifiable."

Again, in the course of the debate he repeated the statement about the income being Rs. 27 per head per annum, and said in connection with salt revenue : "But he thought it was quite sufficient to show the *extreme poverty of the mass of the people*." Then, after stating the income of some of the European countries, as I have stated them before, he proceeded : "He would ask honourable members to think what Rs. 27 per annum was to support a person, and then he would ask whether a few annas was nothing to such poor people." I asked Sir E. Baring to give me his calculations to check with mine, but he declined. But it does not matter much, as even "not more than Rs. 27" is *extreme poverty of the mass of the people*. Later still the present Finance Minister, in his speech on the Income Tax, in January 1886, described the mass of the people as "men whose income at the best is barely sufficient to afford them the sustenance necessary to support life, living, as they do, upon the barest necessities of life."

Now, what are we to think of an English gentleman who has occupied the high and important positions of an Under-Secretary of State for India and Governor of the thirty millions of Madras, and who professes to feel deep interest in the people of India, treating such grave matters as their "extreme poverty" and "scanty subsistence" with light-heartedness like this, and coolly telling them and the British public that the people of Bezwada were gloriously prosperous, and that there, "at one stroke, the mouths of a hungry and dying people have been filled with bread and the coffers of the Government with money !"

I shall now give a few facts and figures, in connection with the condition of India, and with some of the other questions dealt with by Sir Grant Duff. First, with regard to the poverty to which Mr. Samuel Smith referred. Sir Grant Duff may rest assured that I shall be only too thankful to him for any correction of my figures by him or for any better information. I have no other object than the truth.

In my paper on "The Poverty of India," I have worked out from official figures that the total income of British India is only Rs. 20 (40s., or, at present exchange, nearer 30s.) per head per annum. It must be remembered that the mass of the people cannot get this average of Rs. 20, as the upper classes have a larger share than the average; also that this Rs. 20 per head includes the income or produce of foreign planters or producers, in which the interest of the natives does not go further than being mostly common labourers at competitive wages. All the profits of such produce are enjoyed by, and carried away from the country by, the foreigners. Subsequently, in my correspondence with the Secretary of State for India in 1880, I placed before his lordship, in detailed calculations based upon official returns, the income of the most favoured province of the Punjab and the cost of absolute necessities of life there for a common agricultural labourer. The income is, at the outside, Rs. 20 per head per annum, and the cost of living Rs. 31. No wonder then that forty or eighty millions or more people of British India should "go through life on insufficient food." My calculations, both in "The Poverty of India" and "The Condition of India" (the correspondence with the Secretary of State), have not yet been shown by anybody to be wrong or requiring correction. I shall be glad and thankful if Sir Grant Duff would give us his calculations and show us that the income of British India is anything like that of the Western countries of Europe.

I give a statement of the income of the different countries from Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics":—

Countries.	Gross earnings per inhabitant.	Countries.	Gross earnings per inhabitant.
England	£41	Belgium	£22.1
Scotland	32	Holland	26
Ireland	16	Denmark	23.2
United Kingdom	35.2	Sweden and Norway	16.2
France	25.7	Switzerland	16
Germany	18.7	Greece	11.8
Russia	9.9	Europe	18
Austria	16.3	United States	27.2
Italy	12	Canada	26.9
Spain	13.8	Australia	43.4
Portugal	13.6		

The table is not official. In his "Progress of the World" (1880), Mulhall gives—Scandinavia, £17; South America, £6; India, £2. What is then poor India's whole income per head? Not even as much as the United Kingdom pays to its revenue only per head. The United Kingdom pays to revenue nearly 50s. per head, when wretched India's whole income is 40s. per head, or rather, at the present exchange, nearer 30s. than 40s. Is this a result for an Englishman to boast about or to be satisfied with, after a century of British administration? The income of British India only a third of that of

even the countries of South America! Every other part of the British Empire is flourishing except wretched India.

Sir Grant Duff knows well that any poverty in the countries of Western Europe is not from want of wealth or income, but from unequal distribution. But British India has her whole production or income itself most wretched. There is no wealth, and therefore the question of its right distribution, or of any comparison with the countries of Western Europe or with England, is very far off indeed. Certainly a gentleman like Sir Grant Duff ought to understand the immense difference between the character of the conditions of the poor masses of British India and of the poor of Western Europe; the one starving from scantiness, the other having plenty, but suffering from some defect in its distribution. Let the British Indian Administration fulfil its sacred pledges and allow plenty to be produced in British India, and then will be the proper time and occasion to compare the phenomena of the conditions of Western Europe and British India. The question at present is, why, under the management of the most highly paid services in the world, India cannot produce as much even as the worst governed countries of Europe. I do not mean to blame the individuals of the Indian services. It is the policy, the perversion of the pledges, that is at the bottom of our misfortunes. Let the Government of India only give us every year properly made up statistical tables of the whole production or the income of the country, and we shall then know truly how India fares year after year, and we shall then see how the present system of administration is an obstacle to any material advancement of India. Let us have actual facts about the real income of India, instead of careless opinions like those in Sir Grant Duff's two articles.

Instead of asking us to go so far as Western Europe, to compare conditions so utterly different from each other, Sir Grant Duff might have looked nearer home, and studied somewhat of the neighbouring native States, to institute some fair comparison under a certain similarity of circumstances. This point I shall have to refer to in the next article, when dealing with a cognate subject. Sir Grant Duff says: "I maintain that no country on the face of the earth is governed so cheaply in proportion to its size, to its population, and to the difficulties of government." Surely Sir Grant Duff knows better than this. Surely he knows that the pressure of a burden depends upon the capacity to bear it: that an elephant may carry tons with ease, while a child would be crushed by a hundredweight. Surely he knows the very first axiom of taxation—that it should be in proportion to the means of the taxpayer. Mulhall very properly says in his Dictionary: "The real incidence of all taxation is better shown by comparison with the people's earnings." Let us see facts.

Let us see whether the incidence in British India is not *heavier than that of England itself*. The gross revenue of the United Kingdom in 1886 is £89,581,301; the population in 1886 is given as 36,707,418. The revenue per head will be 48s. 9d. The gross revenue of British India in 1885 is (in £1 = ten rupees) £70,690,000, and population in 1881, 198,790,000—say roundly, in 1885, 200,000,000. The revenue of the United Kingdom does not include railway or irrigation earnings: I deduct, therefore, these from the British Indian revenue. Deducting from £70,690,000, railway earnings £11,898,000, and irrigation and navigation earnings £1,676,000, the balance of gross revenue is £57,116,000, which, taken for 200,000,000, gives 5s. 8½d.—say 5s. 8d.—per head. Now the United Kingdom pays 48s. 9d. per head from an income of £35·2 per head, which makes the incidence or pressure of 6·92 per cent. of the income. British India pays 5s. 8d. out of an income of 40s., which makes the incidence or pressure of 14·3 per cent. of the income. Thus, while the United Kingdom pays for its gross revenue only 6·92 per cent. out of its rich income of £35·2 per head, British India pays out of its scantiness and starvation a gross revenue of 14·3 per cent. of its income; so that, wretchedly weak and poor as British India is, the pressure upon it is more than doubly heavier than that on the enormously wealthy United Kingdom; and yet Sir Grant Duff says that no country on the face of the earth is governed so cheaply as British India, and misleads the British public about its true and deplorable condition. But what is worse, and what is British India's chief difficulty, is this: In England, all that is paid by the people for revenue returns back to them, is enjoyed by them, and fructifies in their own pockets; while in India, what the people pay as revenue does not all return to them, or is enjoyed by them, or fructifies in their pockets. A large portion is enjoyed by others, and carried away clean out of the country. This is what makes British India's economic position unnatural.

I give below the incidence of a few more countries:—Percentage of expenditure to income: Germany, 10·7; France, 13·23; Belgium, 9·5; Holland, 9·61; Russia, 10·1; Denmark, 5·17; United States, 3·9; Canada, 5·0; Australia, 16·2. But in all these cases, whatever is spent returns back to the people, whether the percentage is large or small.

The Budget Estimate of 1887–88 is nearly £77,500,000, so the percentage of incidence will increase still higher. Sir Grant Duff's object in this assertion is to justify the character and prove the success of the present British Indian policy. It will be hereafter seen that this very argument of his is one of the best proofs of the failure of this policy and of the administration based upon it. Sir

Grant Duff says : " Mr. Smith proceeds to admit that India has absorbed some £350,000,000 sterling of silver and gold in the last forty years, but makes the very odd remark that, although English writers consider this a great proof of wealth, it is not so regarded in India." To this, what is Sir Grant Duff's reply ? Of the same kind as usual : mere careless assertions, and a fling at and misrepresentation about the educated classes. He says :—

" It may suit A or B not to regard two and two as making four, but arithmetic is true, nevertheless ; and there is the bullion, though doubtless one of the greatest boons that could be conferred upon India would be to get the vast dormant hoards of gold and silver which are buried in the ground or worn on the person brought into circulation. Can that, however, be hoped for as long as the very people whom Mr. Smith treats as exponents of native opinion do their utmost to excite hostility against the British Government ? "

To avoid confusion I pass over for the present without notice the last assertion. It will be seen further on what different testimony even the highest Indian authorities give upon this subject. With regard to the other remarks, it is clear that Sir Grant Duff has not taken the pains to know what the natives say, and what the actual state of the matter is, with regard to these economic conditions. The best thing I can do to avoid useless controversy is to give in my second article a series of facts and official figures, instead of making bare assertions of opinion without any proofs, as Sir Grant Duff does. These economic questions are of far greater and more serious importance, both to England and India, than Sir Grant Duff and others of his views dream of. These facts and figures will show that British India has not received such amounts of gold and silver as is generally supposed, or as are more than barely adequate to its ordinary wants. The phenomenon of the import of bullion into British India is very much misapprehended, as will be shown in my second article ; and Sir Grant Duff's assertions are misleading, as such meagre, vague, and offhand assertions always are. By the present policy British India is prevented from acquiring any capital of its own, owing to the constant drain from its wretched income, and is on the verge of being ground down to dust. Such foreign capital as circulates in British India carries away its own profits out of British India, leaving the masses of its people as poor as ever and largely going through life on insufficient food.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

THE PROGRESS OF POPULAR MUSIC.

MUSIC fulfils its most attractive and beneficent mission when the masses of the people enjoy it as a recreation and a solace. It is a commonplace of the social reformer that men must have some diversion ; some occupation that shall stand between their daily toil on the one hand, and their eating and sleeping on the other. If a diversion which elevates and refines is not at hand, one which debases, which tires rather than refreshes, will be chosen. Merely to condemn amusements is useless ; we cannot lead men by negations. The point is, to occupy them healthily ; to drive out the base and carnal by quietly filling up their leisure with the lofty and the intellectual.

Music is pre-eminently the recreation of these later years of the nineteenth century. We have become a nation of dwellers in towns. At the beginning of the century half the population was engaged in agriculture, and lived amid rural surroundings. Now only one-seventh or one-eighth is so engaged ; the rest being occupied in industrial occupations, nearly all of which are carried on in towns, amid surroundings which are ugly, noisy, and often unhealthy. Thus Nature, which is man's best restorer, is out of the reach of a majority of our population. The subdivision of labour has made it more monotonous, and has increased the appetite for recreation when work is done. There are, of course, other recreations available for townspeople, such as painting and the study of science and literature. But for two reasons music is always likely to hold a chief place : first, it can be enjoyed by tired people—it restores the balance either to brain or limbs ; second, it is social—whether in listening or performing, people are brought together, and thus one of the strongest and most universal of human instincts is satisfied. It may be added that our

aggregation in towns, however much it has done to destroy the picturesqueness of life, has been distinctly favourable to musical culture, which thrives best in places where people can meet constantly and in large numbers.

In a review of the present musical position of the masses, one turns naturally in the first place to the elementary schools. These are the key to the position. Musical education is best begun early, and if our men and women are to be singers and players, to possess an intelligent appreciation for music, the foundations of taste and skill must be laid when they are boys and girls at school. Nor is music to be cultivated in schools only as a preparation for its use in adult life. As an element of school work it is invaluable. The studies which tax the memory and the reason are relieved by one which stirs the emotions and the sense of beauty, which tunes the ear and disciplines the rhythmical sense. Singing is not a "bread-and-butter subject," but in the balancing of character it is of the greatest value. Singing has always been a part of school work, but for many years the Government were satisfied if a few songs were learnt by ear, and they gave no extra grant for singing by note. For the past few years, however, the full grant has only been paid to those schools which pass a collective examination in notation, the singers by ear having to be content with half the grant. This change has already borne good fruit. The latest returns show that in England and Wales 39.9 per cent. of schools sing by note. Four years ago these figures stood at 16.6 per cent. It is apparent, moreover, from a second table in the returns, that it is the small (country) schools that sing by ear, and the large (town) schools that sing by note. For we find that the average attendance in the schools which teach singing by note is 1,730,827, while the average attendance in those which teach singing by ear is 1,720,358. A minority is thus converted this year into a majority, and it is satisfactory to be able to say that more than half of the school children in England and Wales now sing by note. It should be the effort of the friends of school music steadily to reduce the proportion of ear-singers. There are several ways in which the Government and school authorities can accomplish this: first by withdrawing altogether the grant for singing by ear, and requiring a few songs to be sung as a condition of the grant for discipline; second, by offering an extra grant for excellence in singing. Singing is a subject in which the teachers require help and advice far more than they do in the ordinary subjects of their school. The principal School Boards have adopted the plan of a music superintendent, who visits the schools, less to inspect than to advise and to give short specimen lessons when the teaching is weak. An extension of this plan to the country schools is desirable. Some propose that the subject should be taught by visiting professional

musicians, others would put it under the control* of a special staff of musical inspectors acting straight from the Education Department. Both these schemes may be dismissed as expensive and unnecessary. The teachers themselves must do the work, and the experience of the past few years has proved that the ordinary inspectors are competent to conduct the examination.

I have made a point of inspecting the music teaching in the elementary schools of the principal towns of France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Italy, and I can testify that in the best English schools singing is being more thoroughly taught than anywhere on the Continent. This is especially the case in regard to singing at sight. One often hears most refined school singing in Germany, but the parts are learned by ear. The system of imperial grants which obtains in this country has a powerful effect in bringing the schools up to a common level of attainment. Where schools depend entirely upon local funds such a subject as singing has a precarious existence. Thus in the United States,* of 310 cities, with 708,000 scholars on the roll, 93 report no instruction in music, urging in excuse the poverty of the town, want of skill in the teachers, preference for the three R's only, &c. Of these 93 no less than 45 teach singing by ear.

In the size and frequency of our children's concerts we are also unsurpassed. The choruses of children which assemble every spring and summer at Exeter Hall and the Crystal Palace represent hundreds of other choirs in the principal towns of England, Wales, and Scotland, doing the same work. Often these children submit to a public testing of their powers of singing at sight. Most of this work, both in the schools and in the concert-room, is done by the tonic sol-fa notation, which makes the acquirement of musical skill by children easy and interesting. In after-life they can continue to sing from it, or they can quickly transfer their knowledge to the staff notation.

A great point is to connect school music with the higher musical life of the country, and draft the children, as they grow up, into choral societies and orchestral bands. Birmingham has taken the lead in the latter direction. A scholars' band, under the charge of the music superintendent to the School Board, has made several public appearances with credit.

In the United Kingdom, State aid to music is practically confined, at the present time, to the elementary schools. On the Continent, as it is hardly necessary to remark, far more is done in this direction. Every town of importance has its music school, where young people can get instruction at low fees, or without any fee at all when striking talent is joined to poverty. It is an

* Paper read at the Music Teachers' Convention at New York, July 1885, by the Hon. John Eaton, Commissioner of Education.

interesting question how far our municipalities will in the future undertake this kind of work. The Guildhall School of Music, in spite of its size and enormous success, is not a case in point, because the funds which support it are not raised by direct taxation, and its formation is not the act of the inhabitants of London.

. At Cork, the Municipal School of Music, founded in 1878, has had a useful and prosperous career, and is the chief example of rate-aided music teaching to be met with in the kingdom.

It appears that in 1877, doubts having risen as to whether the term "art," which occurs in the Public Libraries Act, included music, a special Act, applicable to Ireland only, was passed, expressly sanctioning the teaching of music by municipal schools. Upon this Act the Cork School of Music was founded. For the first six years it received as its proportion of the local rate sums varying from £250 to £300 a year, but the Corporation have of late been spending so liberally on their science and drawing schools that they have been unable to hand over to the music department more than £100 a year. The school, which annually is inspected by an independent musician, has 180 students in its day and night classes, paying £700 a year in fees for their instruction. Thirty-three free scholarships are also available. The reduction in its income from the town has greatly crippled the school, and at the close of last year the Committee sent a memorial to the Government, asking them to establish a system of grants upon results in music teaching similar to those given for drawing and science. Pending the establishment of such a scheme, the Committee asked the Government to make them an annual grant equal in amount to whatever sum they are able to raise from the town rates and private subscriptions. The Government declined the proposal altogether, and said that they could not entertain the question of a grant from public money in aid of a local music school. It remains to be seen what will become of the Cork School.

At Watford in Hertfordshire there is a school of music which is nominally under the Free Libraries Act, but has something of a voluntary basis. The Free Library, where its teaching goes on, was built by public subscription, and handed over to the Local Board, whose property it is. In the early days of the school it paid no rent, which was equal to a subsidy of £50 a year. Now it pays the Free Library 10 per cent. on all fees. The income is derived from students' payments, and about £50 a year in voluntary subscriptions. There are now between 300 and 400 students, and several exhibitions are offered. The committee of the school is appointed by the Local Board. The Rev. Newton Price, the able and energetic chairman of the Council, meets my doubts as to whether the Watford school can really be described as a municipal institution by saying: "It would not be said that the Post-office is not a branch of the public service be-

cause it pays its way." It is clear, however, that the school is self-supporting, so that the ratepayers' generosity has never been tested, and the question whether music is a lawful subject of expenditure for corporations under the Free Libraries Act, elsewhere than in Ireland, has not been raised.

The chief way in which the Corporations of our large towns have taken up music is by providing organ recitals and performances by bands. Thus at Liverpool organ recitals have been held in St. George's Hall for many years. Mr. Best, organist to the Corporation, is the performer, and the public are charged sixpence for admission on Thursday evenings and Saturday afternoons, and a penny for admission on Saturday evenings. At Manchester organ recitals are given in the Town Hall every Saturday evening, at a charge of threepence for admission. The Corporation further subsidizes the police band to the extent of £50 a year, and engages other bands to play in the public parks. At Birmingham the Town Council lend the Town Hall freely for popular organ recitals, but the instrument which stands in the hall does not belong to them, but to the General Hospital, which promotes for its own benefit the well-known Triennial Musical Festival. The hospital leased the organ to the late Mr. Stimpson, who had the sole right to perform upon it. Recitals on Saturday afternoons have been given for many years at charges of 6d. and 3d., and they have been continued by local organists since Mr. Stimpson's death. Leeds has also its Corporation organist and recitals. In Glasgow the Corporation have taken an active part in music. For several years past they have given organ recitals in the City Hall on Saturday afternoons during the winter months. The hall, which holds 3,000 people, is generally filled. So long as the entertainment consisted entirely of organ music the admission was free; now that choirs, bands, solo singers, solo players, and elocutionists are engaged, a charge of a penny is made for admission to the body of the hall, and of threepence to the balcony. Each visitor receives gratuitously a programme, and as the margins of these leaflets are let out for advertisements, the cost of printing is met. In the summer months the Corporation engage military and volunteer bands to play in the four public parks and in two of the public squares. Last season 112 performances were given, attended by 505,400 persons. The year before there were 120 performances, attended by 815,000 persons. The total cost to the city of these performances in 1886 was £701 19s. This summer the Corporation has taken a new step by engaging choirs of children from the public schools to sing in the parks.

The work thus undertaken by Corporations has also been carried on in several places by voluntary agency. At the Bow and Bromley Institution, near London, Saturday evening organ recitals, interspersed with vocal music, have for many years been given at prices no higher

than those charged by the Corporations. The Birmingham Musical Association, founded in 1879, has for its object the supply of cheap concerts of high-class music for the benefit of the people. For seven years twenty or thirty concerts have been given in the Town Hall on Saturday afternoons during each winter. The prices of admission have been sixpence and threepence. No report has been printed since 1885, but this shows that the total number of persons attending that season's performances was 44,412, giving an average of 1,931 (1,209 at threepence and 722 at sixpence). The music has been drawn from the works of great masters, interpreted by the amateur band and amateur choral society, which the association supports, aided by soloists. The result, however, is only partially satisfactory. The audiences are too respectable. The sixpenny admissions increase, while the threepenny admissions decrease. Thus the income grows, and the numbers attending slightly fall off. The committee attribute the result to depression of trade, which deprives the working people of spare money. It is, however, probably due to the music being too good for the people. We must not flatter ourselves with the belief that at present a popular English audience can be held together year after year by classical music. A generation of work will be needed before that much-to-be-desired musical consummation can be reached.

But the oldest and largest scheme of cheap concerts conducted by voluntary effort is that of the Abstainers' Union at Glasgow. Thirty-four years ago this temperance society, with true foresight, saw that the way to fight the public-houses and music-halls was by starting a counter-attraction. The concerts were not long in winning their way to public favour, and they have had a long and remarkable success. Singers and players of the first rank in London, and indeed in Europe, have been engaged, and there has been a steady rise in the public taste, which now demands good music of every class. The St. Andrew's Hall, at the west end of the city, has been engaged by the Union for the past few years for a simultaneous series of concerts similar to those in the City Hall. Up to within the last year or so the expenses have always been met by the payments, which range from threepence to two shillings, and an infinite amount of enjoyment and culture must have been diffused. The Corporation entertainments, described above, are, however, now held in the same building on Saturday afternoons, and are seriously affecting the Abstainers' concerts. The competition is of course unequal, and the voluntary society will, it is feared, go to the wall. This result must occur in many places as municipal subsidies to concerts and music schools are extended. The Guildhall School of Music has seriously injured the private music teachers of London, and even large suburban music schools established by voluntary effort, like the South London Institute of Music at Camberwell, feel

the difficulty of competing with an institution that not only attracts by its size and its name, but offers music teaching at three-quarters of its real cost. I express no opinion on the extension of municipal or Government aid to music, but point out the hardships of the period of transition from voluntarism.

The admirable work done in London by the Popular Ballad Concert Committee and the People's Entertainment Society in providing music for the poor must also be mentioned. Night by night, during the winter, little companies of singers and players, organized by these societies, set out from their homes in Kensington and other fashionable suburbs, and make a descent upon the poverty-stricken districts of the east of London, where they delight their audiences by musical performances and readings.

So far, we have been concerned with the supply of music to the people in concert-halls and parks. The secret of musical growth depends, however, far more upon making the people sing and play to themselves and to each other in their homes and in village school-rooms and clubs. What report can be given in this direction? The love of music among our people is as keen as that of any nation. Every one who qualifies himself by observation of popular habits will admit this. The rustics claim first attention, and of these a well-informed writer says: "There are very few lads, be they farm labourers, shepherds, or the aristocracy of rural life, the carpenters or little shopkeepers' assistants, who do not aspire to play some instrument."

The writer goes on to say that formerly the concertina or melodion was the height of rural ambition, but that now a violin or a small harmonium may often be found in a cottage. She describes a brass band, formed a few years ago in a village in the south-west of England, in which the first cornet is a day labourer earning fourteen shillings a week. A shepherd beats the drum, and one or two of the other members are occupied in menial work in a paper-mill. One would like to see such examples multiplied. A Norfolk clergyman, writing to me, says that the labourers around him are decidedly musical, superior both for ear and voice to their brethren of Sussex and Berkshire. The concertina and accordeon are the cottage instruments.

In the towns and the large villages brass bands are the most popular musical occupation of the working men. A firm of brass-band music publishers inform me that they have the names of over 5,000 brass bands on their books; and that the *Brass Band News* reports not less than 200 competitions every year. In this department the south of England is singularly behind the north. The competitions excite the greatest interest. Dr. Spark informs me that, when adjudicating at these meetings in Yorkshire, he has

frequently been met on, his arrival by a policeman, who has taken him in charge, remained at his side all day, and prevented any of the competitors holding private intercourse with him, lest his judgment should be deflected by personal considerations.

It is much to be regretted that these brass bands do not tone down their blare by the addition of flutes, clarionets, oboes, &c., making a properly balanced military band. A good authority tells me that it is not the difficulty of learning the instruments of the wood band which stands in the way of this reform so much as the British love of noise. The people want plenty of tone, and the brass band gives it. As the popular taste rises this defect will be remedied.

Even the military band bids fair to be superseded in popular use at no distant time by the complete orchestra. The number of persons learning the violin has enormously increased during the last few years. The oblong cases that may be seen in nearly every street are witness to this. A leading firm of importers tell me that their sales of violins have tenfolded in the last ten years : a fact which suggests the additional question, why all these instruments should be made in Germany.

Striking evidence of the refinement of the popular taste for music is afforded by the improvement which street music has undergone during the last few years. Both as to quality and quantity the demand governs the supply, and if our street music is more often expressive and in tune than it used to be, this is simply because such music is found to sell better than the coarser article which used to be served.

It is probably the love of force and noise in music that, while it attracts the British workman to the brass band, prevents him taking to singing. We have nothing in England corresponding to the Orpheonist societies in France. I have often been present at performances by these French working men, and have remarked what genuine sons of toil they are. At a Sunday festival they are of course in broadcloth, but if you hunt them up at rehearsal in the working-class quarters of Paris or any other large town, you will find them singing away in their blouses. The Orpheonists include both brass bands and choral societies. Sometimes a party of men will compete as a band, and then drop their instruments and compete as a choir. In Belgium the order flourishes even more than in France. It will be a good thing when we can collect a choir in which the men shall be policemen, carters, butchers, and out-door workers of every kind. Just now there is a great opportunity for male-voice choirs at the political clubs which are multiplying so rapidly.

But though male-voice choirs of working men are not common, mixed choirs of boys and men, or of women and men, especially in

connection with churches and chapels, are a distinctive feature of English life. In this country men and women take their recreations together, and the result is good for music and good for the nation. On the Continent a mixed choir is collected with the utmost difficulty; here it is the commonest form of choral organization. Only a mixed choir can attack the masterpieces of the art; the *répertoire* of the male choir is limited and monotonous. Hence it is that, according to the testimony of such eminent authorities as M. Gounod and the late Ferdinand Hiller, England is at the present time the exemplar of choral music to the world. Our weak point is in our sectional cleavages. On the Continent choral societies are but rarely connected with any particular church. Neighbours unite in them without regard to differences of faith. Here, however, we are so terribly in earnest over our religion and our politics that the dividing line is felt in music—not of course in the large choruses of our cities, but in the smaller choirs of suburbs, of lesser towns, and of villages.

Wales stands, musically, by itself. The Welsh are artistic by birth, and congregated in populous towns and villages, with fairly settled employment at good wages, choral music flourishes greatly among them. Their voices, though often strained, are naturally very fine; and in their singing there is an emotional power which, while it is impossible to describe, is irresistibly felt by every hearer. There is no spectacle in Europe, or indeed in the world, similar to that which may be witnessed any year at the chief choral competition in the national Eisteddfod, when the ironworks, mines, and quarries of the district in which it is held are deserted, and the population pours to the rendezvous, sometimes as many as 11,000 paying for admission to the field where the Eisteddfod tent is put up. The musical culture of Wales is, however, less thorough than first appearances suggest. The great majority of the choralists sing by ear, and spend months in learning a competition chorus. In order to get the choirs to compete, the same chorus will be imposed at several successive Eisteddfodau, and a choir can thus make a single chorus go a long way, and bring in a good deal of prize-money. The interest of the Welsh in music is emotional rather than intellectual. They care little for theory, and have not patience to learn instruments. They prefer the voice, which is the most direct expression of feeling, and they sing chiefly oratorio choruses, which are the apotheosis of the devotional hymns that week by week feed their strong instincts of worship.

The English working-people, in London especially, find their chief musical recreation in the music-hall. A distinction must be drawn between the West-end music-halls, which, it is to be feared, are wholly bad, and those in the industrial quarters of East and South

London, which, bad as they are, are attended by a large number of honest working folk. Music in these places takes its turn with ventriloquism, gymnastics, and caricature of all kinds; even the singing is often little more than rhythmical talking. The sole object of the proprietors is to sell their beer and spirits, and the music is an enormous help. The Victoria Music Hall, in the New Cut, is a splendid attempt to provide music and fun without encouraging habits of drinking. The Corporation of New York lately passed a regulation that music must never be performed at licensed houses, or in buildings or gardens attached to them. The result was that the music-halls and beer-gardens were deserted. People did not care to come and drink when they could hear no music.

The use of churches for music, both on week-days and Sundays, is a sign of the advancing liberality of modern feeling. Two eminent Nonconformist ministers in London—Dr. Parker (Congregationalist) and Dr. Clifford (Baptist)—have for several winters opened their churches on week-days for ordinary concerts of sacred and secular music. "Whatever," says Dr. Clifford in justification of this, "can make life nobler and happier and brighter belongs to the cause of God." Others would open the churches, but have nothing in them but "sacred music." * The Rev. H. R. Haweis says boldly that "the people are not made holy by the place, but the place by the people," and he desires that the church should be spiritually co-extensive with human life. In the winter many churches and chapels are now opened on Sunday afternoons, when the organ is played and solos from the oratorios are sung, without any sermon or prayers. At Northampton the playing of hymn-tunes and oratorio choruses by a brass band in one of the principal halls, after service is over on Sunday evenings, has attracted large crowds, and the chair has been taken by clergymen and ministers of the town. In Yorkshire, during the summer months, bands often play and choirs sing sacred music on Sunday afternoons in a field. A large white sheet is spread on the ground at the entrance, and people toss their pence on to it as they enter, the proceeds going to the hospitals. At the close of the concert the people will join with band and chorus in some well-known hymns. We close this recital with a pleasing picture drawn recently in the *Church Times*: The grounds of a rural rectory are thrown open to the villagers on Sunday evenings in the summer, when they listen to hymns sung by a choir under the direction of the rector's daughter. "In the summer, people walked five or six miles to sit in the garden and listen to the choir. People in the village, who could not leave their houses, and little ones, sat in their doorways listening."

* This term, it may be remarked, is somewhat equivocal, if the Adagio from the Sonata Pathétique is to be called secular, and "Sowing the seed in the morning fair" sacred music.

Attention should be called to several local schemes for encouraging popular music which are doing quiet and effective work. Of these the most fruitful, in my opinion, is that supported at Paisley by Mr. W. B. Barbour, M.P. It is in substance a system of payment for results. Any teacher of music in the town, who likes to form a singing or a violin class, can each year claim a capitation grant on every pupil brought up to a certain level of attainment, tested by an individual examination. Beyond this there are public competitions, as in the Welsh Eisteddfod, in all branches of music. Every year there is a public distribution of prizes, and the scheme is found most powerfully to stimulate the musical life of the town. Next must be mentioned Mr. Henry Leslie's School of Music at Oswestry. This is an academy where music lessons are given at low rates by competent teachers. The students are examined every year, and a public competition is also held at which village choirs compete for one banner, town choirs for another, and young people from the countryside contend in song for prizes. Mr. Leslie has lately persuaded the Duke of Westminster to inaugurate a similar scheme on his estate near Chester. A professional man has been engaged, who spends his evenings in training choirs in six or seven villages around. Once a year a musical judge comes from London and pronounces upon the merits of the work done. At Stratford, near London, there has been carried on for five years a series of musical competitions on the model of the Welsh Eisteddfod. There are something like thirty classes, in which competitions take place, and large audiences assemble to hear the trials.

As a rule, the great musical festivals of our provincial towns have no direct influence upon the working classes. Working people, especially at Leeds, form a considerable part of the chorus, but the prices of the tickets prevent their listening to the concerts. A good plan has been adopted at Chatham for reaching the masses. When the Choral Society performs an oratorio with the costly accessories of an orchestra and professional singers of the first rank, the prices are necessarily high. But the concert is repeated on the following night, with competent but less known soloists, at prices within the reach of much smaller incomes. The only festival committee that undertakes any educational work is that at Bristol. Classes for singing and for the violin are held every winter in various quarters of the town by teachers engaged by the Festival Society. The cost of these classes is nearly met by the fees paid by the pupils, but if there is any deficiency the Festival Society makes it up, taking a wise and large view of its obligations in promoting the musical growth of the city. This is the more satisfactory, as it is the inevitable tendency of a Festival Society to kill all the smaller concert-giving societies of its town, because of its large resources and prestige.

The bearing of such national institutions as the Royal College of Music upon the masses is also indirect and slight. By turning out year by year a certain number of teachers, performers, and (we hope) composers of music, the Royal College will help to raise the standard of public concerts, and thus will educate the national taste. This work, it may be mentioned, has been done for many years by the Royal Academy of Music. But the special purpose of the Royal College, with its large number of free scholarships, should be to discover and train those who possess musical talent joined to narrow means. At present it has only a very few students of this sort. The plan of open competition for scholarships is adopted, and the award is made to the best, without any questions being asked as to means. The donors of scholarships can hardly have intended that their money should go to those well able to pay fees; yet this has happened, to my knowledge, in several cases. A year ago I acted as a local examiner for the Royal College in my own neighbourhood. A servant-maid, with an unusually fine though untrained contralto voice, was unanimously passed on by my colleagues and myself to the final examination. We added a rider to our report that as the girl was unable to pay the guinea demanded of all candidates at the final examination, we hoped that the College would remit it. The reply came that the College had no funds available for such a purpose. I believe the girl went no further in the matter. Thus the machinery for discovering "mute inglorious Miltons" breaks down at its very start. I cannot help feeling strongly on the matter, because I mix constantly in people's music; and, from time to time, in schools and mission-halls, especially in the services of the Salvation Army, I hear voices of rare sweetness and quality, which are lost to the country for want of means in their possessors. A Cambridge tutor, in a letter to me, confesses that this plan of giving scholarships without regard to means is that adopted by the universities, but he adds: "For myself, I feel sure that a sweeping reform is needed, and will some day be demanded by public opinion."

There can be no doubt that the institution of popular singing classes by Mr. Hullah many years ago gave the first impetus to the modern musical revival. Mr. Hullah's movement was closely followed by the Tonic Sol-fa movement, which has attained enormous dimensions, and has for thirty years past been spreading broadcast the elements of musical skill.

Here this rapid survey of a very large subject must close. The outlook for popular music in the United Kingdom is full of hope. The progress made during the last forty years has been great. Not only are the results now produced admirable, but they prepare the way for further advance in the future. Once establish a cult, and it is easily maintained. Mr. Francis Galton says that colour-blindness

is twice as common among Quakers as it is among the rest of the community, owing to their having dressed in drab for generations, and thus disused the colour sense. The converse of this is true: neglect a faculty, and it is weakened in our children; cultivate it, and it is strengthened. Musical culture depends less on climate and occupation than on untiring work. Choral music in Wales has been created during the last thirty years by the forcing power of the Eisteddfod. If we can organize our singers and players, there is no limit to the point of popular musical culture that may be reached by our people, with their deep love for the art, their vigorous public life, their social habits, and their good natural endowments.

J. SPENCER CURWEN.

COUNT LEO TOLSTOI.

THE record of that vicissitude of event and circumstance which makes up a nation's life is left not only on the page of history. It may be traced less plainly, but more indelibly inscribed on the tastes, the feelings, the predilections, of that nation's most ordinary sons and daughters. Even the literature which has no aim but amusement, proclaims, in no uncertain voice, the influence of a national past. Take up a German and an English novel of equal power, you miss at once in the foreign work—though, perhaps, you could not name the lack—the hurry, the compression, the organized literary effect which you find in the English one. A German novel is apt to make one doubt whether Germans turn to fiction with some wish quite different from the desire for amusement which animates the subscriber to the circulating library here. Let the reader who questions this take up Goethe's "*Wahlverwandtschaften*" and read the scene in which the hero and the two heroines lay the foundations of a summerhouse. He will surely agree with the present writer that nothing equally tedious could have been written by an Englishman or Frenchman of genius. The German language has yet to absorb the hurry of political life—in other words, it has yet to become literary. But Nature, as the sage says in "*Rasselas*," sets her gifts on the right hand and on the left, and if the political races be more literary we should expect the non-political to be more scientific. For the student of the physical world never permits himself to use the word "trivial." He knows no hierarchy of statements; for him all facts stand on one level. All German writing seems to us permeated with this canon of science—dare we add?—heresy of literature; English writing shows comparatively little of it, French of course is the typical example of its absence. Let us make the most of our

inalienable privileges. The Germans may rob us of our pre-eminence in trade, in empire, in national prestige; they never can rival us in a long national past.

Signs are not wanting, however, that if the fact is unchangeable, its influence on literature is somewhat less than it was. The ideal of the non-historic nations seems spreading; even in fiction plot goes for less than it did, verisimilitude of detail for far more. Men seek to know life as it is; much description and narrative that has no other merit is justified if it be a faithful transcript of experience. We must thus admit a chronological arrangement of fiction, which somewhat confuses that which we have suggested in our division of the historic and non-historic races. If the simplicity and distinctness of the Greek drama be naturally associated with the work of the sculptor; if the glow of Shakespeare, the tender colouring of Dante, give the painter his poetic reflex; the modern school of fiction, tinged as it is by an abhorrence of reserve, bred of modern science, and an equality of attention to every separate interest, bred of modern democracy, may be fitly compared with the new pictorial art which gives all within the field of vision in its exact proportion and its fulness of detail. There is no reason, it must be remembered, that photography should be inartistic. As a branch of art it seems to us as yet insufficiently developed, but the canvas of the painter reflects its influence already; if photography be still inartistic, art is already decidedly photographic. It is, to an extent it never was before, a copy of Nature. It aims at satisfying a love of detail; it ventures to challenge a comparison with its model, which in all former ages it would have scorned to contemplate as a possible test of its excellence. Travel even so short a distance into the past as from the canvas of Sir John Millais to that of Sir Joshua Reynolds and you perceive the difference distinctly; the elder painter never aimed at satisfying curiosity as to a hundred points on which his successor is as explicit as the camera itself. Reynolds tells us the mood and the character of high-bred men and women; Millais adds to that perennial aim of portraiture, an amount of information about their clothes and the furniture of their apartments, in which the photograph alone is his rival. We are not prepared for a nice adjustment of our historic framework to our comparison. We have compared Greek art to sculpture, but Homer is as pictorial as Shakespeare, while Dutch art anticipates the photograph. Still, on the whole, the three modes of representation do correspond to three phases of dramatic art, and the camera typifies the mood of an age no less than the chisel and the brush. It supplies with fitting associations a stage of literature in which literature has come under the influence of natural science, and catching something of that impartial view of Nature aiming at a mere record of *what is*, has necessarily lost that selective touch

which seeks, in the words of Bacon, "to give the soul some shadow of satisfaction in the things wherein it is more noble than the world."

Of this last division of literature we know no better specimen than the great Russian writer to whose works we invite the reader's attention to-day. He gives us the most trivial and the most momentous circumstances of life with scientific impartiality ; no other novelist describes such great things and such small things, as it would seem, with equal interest. He shows us the destiny of nations, the crash of armies ; he forces us to gaze into that black shadow which Hannibal, in his legendary dream, was warned to leave unseen by avoiding any reverted glance ; and then he takes us to the dressing-room where a young lady is hurrying off to a ball, and tells us, although the fact has no influence whatever on the story, that a tuck had to be run in her dress at the last moment ! The reader will be grateful to us for sparing him further illustration of the last half of our description. We will enable him to form his own judgment of the first. Something in the following account of the effect of the first sight of Moscow has recalled to us the raptures of Isaiah on the fall of Sennacherib ; we give it in the language which (although we have heard the English translation called the best) seems to us most suitable to replace the native tongue of a Russian :—

" Surpris de voir réalisé ce rêve si longtemps caressé et qui lui avait paru si difficile à atteindre, c'était dans ce sentiment qu'il admirait la beauté orientale couchée à ses pieds. Emu, terrifié presque par la certitude de la possession il portait ses yeux autour de lui, et étudiait le plan dont il comparait les détails avec ce qu'il voyait. 'La voilà donc, cette fière capitale,' se disait-il 'la voilà à ma merci ! Ou est donc Alexandre, et qu'en pense-t-il ? Je n'ai qu'à dire un mot, à faire un signe et la capitale des Tsars sera à jamais détruite. Mais ma clemence est toujours prompte à descendre sur les vaincus ! Aussi serai-je miséricordieux envers elle : je ferai inscrire sur ses antiques monuments de barbarie et de despotisme des paroles de justice et d'apaisement. Du haut de Kremlin, je dicterai des sages lois, je leur ferai comprendre ce qu'est la vraie civilisation, et les générations futures de boyards seront forcées de se rappeler avec amour le nom de leur conquérant. 'Boyards leur dirai je tout à l'heure, je ne veux pas profiter de mon triomphe pour humilier un souverain que j'estime, je vous proposerai des conditions de paix digne de vous de mes peuples. Ma présence les exaltera, car comme toujours je leur parlerai avec netteté et grandeur. Qu'on m'amène les boyards !' s'écria-t-il en se tournant vers sa suite, et un général s'en détacha aussitôt pour aller les chercher. Deux heures s'écoulèrent, Napoléon déjeuna et retourna, au même endroit pour y attendre la députation. Son discours était prêt, plein de dignité et de majesté, d'après lui du moins ! Entraîné par la générosité dont il voulait accabler la capitale son imagination lui représentait déjà une réunion dans le palais des Tsars, où les grands seigneurs Russes se rencontreraient avec les seigneurs de sa cour. Il nommait un préfet qui lui gagnerait le cœur des populations, il des tribuait des largesses aux établissement de bienfaisance, pensant que si en Afrique il avait cru devoir se draper d'un bournous et aller se recueillir dans une mosquée, ici à Moscow il devait se montrer genereux à l'exemple des Tsars. Pendant qu'il rêvait ainsi s'impatientant de ne pas voir venir les boyards, ses

généraux inquiets délibéraient entre eux à voix basse, car les envoyés partis à la recherche des députés étaient revenus annoncer, d'un air consterné que la ville était vide."

"La ville était vide!" Those four words sum up not only Tolstoi's picture of the path of a conqueror, but his view of life. They set forth his judgment on all cruelty, all lust, all worldly endeavour. Whatever these are beside, they are, in the literal and most emphatic sense of the word, *vanity*. They break through the enclosure of law to find a vacuum.

That deep-felt moral is only one of the reasons which suggest a comparison between "Peace and War" and an English novel taking the same subject, and treating it with something of the same feeling—Thackeray's "Vanity Fair." In both we see in the background the dust and smoke of the great army, the thunder of cannon reaches our ears, the figures of the *dramatis personæ* vanish into that cloud, and some reappear no more. The moral atmosphere of the two writers, moreover, is somewhat similar. "Which of us has his desire, or having it is satisfied?" the last sentence in "Vanity Fair," expresses something not unlike the feeling in the words we have quoted. But what does the reader remember of the elder novel? A great love, faithful through absence, through coldness, through disappointment, struggling on, through long years, to the satisfaction in which, after all, there lies hid a still greater disappointment. What does he remember of "Peace and War?" A crowd of figures, a tangle of emotions, a hurried complex of incidents. Tolstoi gives a slice of experience. He selects nothing but a certain area of vision, and leaves its contents recorded in the proportion of their actual dimensions. There is no concentration, no rapid sweep of the brush, no broad shadow, everywhere only a transcript of the bewildering variety of actual light and shade.

Is it permissible, in view of the new fatalism of democracy, for the critic to condemn a method he acknowledges to be characteristic of his day? When he translates his own distaste for literary photography into a formula of art, is he as ridiculous as Dr. Johnson criticising Shakespeare, Bentley emending Milton, or Voltaire improving upon Sophocles? We find it very difficult to rise to the elevation of impartial modesty required for that concession, and cannot express with any doubt our anticipation that the reader will agree with us in finding many pages of "Peace and War" insufferably tedious. They are at least interesting only to that taste for the representation of elaborate detail which finds satisfaction in mere accurate description of things not in themselves interesting, such a satisfaction as that which elderly people remember in their first sight of the daguerreotype. But it must be conceded that this is exactly the state of mind to which the author addresses himself, and that he

aims at a transcript of life which would be imperfect if it were never desultory and seemingly purposeless. Experience, for the most part, is undramatic. We often seem to be looking back on a series of beginnings; an acquaintance full of promise ends without ripening into friendship, or friendship fades into cold acquaintance without tragedy or pathos, abandoned pursuits leave our path cumbered with rubbish—everywhere we see the scaffolding side by side with the ruin. Tolstoi's irrelevant detail, his painful reproduction of what is fragmentary and disproportionate, belongs to that search after truth which is the deepest thing in him, and adds its influence to make his page reflect as it does the mood of our own time: its hurry, its candour, its want of reticence, and then again its bewilderment, its questioning of all that its forerunners assumed, and its new assertion of whatever is saved from the wreck with the emphasis of individual conviction and fresh experience.

But the characteristics which fit him to express the life of the present seem to us somewhat to disqualify him to describe the life of the past. His work is everywhere redolent of the problems of the hour in which he writes, and his picture of "sixty years since" lacks the mellowness of history. Thackeray's picture is not only characterized by a method more suitable, we think, to historic treatment, but it much more nearly belongs to the period which it undertakes to describe. It recalls a set of feelings which are unknown to our generation. When the men of our time assert what he assumed, it is as a matter of individual conviction formed in face of denial; his quiet reference to a background of assumptions hallowed by the adherence of a nation is now impossible. He belongs, in a peculiar, but very real sense, to the world of Christian tradition. He was a Christian as he was an Englishman. He accepted his country's creed in the same spirit as he accepted its laws. That this ceased to be possible about the same time that photography became common, is, of course, a mere chance. But it is not a chance that at the time of this change literature altered its tone and lost its reserve. As long as a country accepts some corporate expression of faith in the unseen, the ultimate problems of life do not invade the world of literature. We do not mean that there ever was a time when these problems were not discussed. But there was a time when they had to be discussed in face of certain definite answers which formed objects of attack to all opponents, and which might then be said to give a framework to all thought. It was not only that anti-theological writing was different as long as theology was national, the influence of these theological assumptions extended beyond the utmost verge of their logical scope, they gave a training in reticence which influenced not only all expression but all thought. Men see

what they look for, and when the ultimate questions of life are problems awaiting solution, the whole of life is pervaded by that spirit of research which finds everywhere the petty and the trivial side by side with the colossal and the momentous, and leaves no large impression undisturbed by parenthesis and exception.

Yet here we must not be supposed to condemn when we merely define. Perhaps when the subject is War, we do better to contemplate the work of the photographer rather than the painter. Open "*Vanity Fair*," and read the summons to the field of Waterloo; note how the heartless disloyal coxcomb at that trumpet call suddenly becomes a man, and realizing for the few hours allotted to him of his worthless life—so the brief mention with which he is dismissed allows us to suppose—the description of Wordsworth's Happy Warrior, "turns his necessity to glorious gain." Or turn back from a great dramatic artist to the great dramatic artist, read in "*Henry V.*" the night before Agincourt. Shakespeare intensifies the lesson of Thackeray. He shows us War as a source of the glow that comes over a man when he feels himself to be the member of a nation. "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers!" That is how war looks to the artist. But it is not thus that it should be regarded by the statesman. Let him who has power to involve his country in war learn from the photographer what it is to be

"Forced to go in company with Pain,
And Fear and Blood,
A miserable train!"

Let him, with Tolstoi, look upon war as a scene of horror and torture, of sudden terror, of selfish fear; and then again of bewildering confusion of futile design, of wasted effort and planless sequence of event. Tolstoi, embodying, perchance, the actual recollections of his father who served in the campaign he describes, and his own memories of the Crimean war, drags us to the surgeon's tent and turns his camera on the operating table, forces us to hear the shrieks of brave men, to see blood, torn and quivering flesh, to assist at the last convulsions of the dying. We feel the very opposite from all that noble emotion with which Shakespeare thrills us; we are made to sympathize with selfish cowardice, with an engrossing care for one's own skin. It is not that this is the true picture and the other the false one. Although Tolstoi is, and Shakespeare was not, a soldier, it is just as true that war makes a man feel himself to be the member of a nation as that it makes him feel pain. But the truth of the artist, though it is also the truth of the historian, may be left to take care of itself; what he should remember who has to make history is the truth of the photographer.

And we have reached a stage in the world's development in which this kind of truth has taken a new importance. Each of the great national epochs which we have typified respectively by the art of the

sculptor, the painter, and the photographer, corresponds to a certain phase of national evolution. Greek art expresses, though it does not record, the life of the City. For mere individual wealth and taste the sculptor has little to supply. Sculpture demands a public position, a group of spectators united by common traditions, common faith, and, above all, the State as its patron. It undertakes to tell no story to a curious and ignorant spectator; its effect is conditional on a background of common tradition and a strong framework of corporate life, while it yet supplies in its majestic permanence a compensating influence to all the dangers of that life. The sculptures of the Parthenon remain as an eternal monument to the simplicity, the distinctness, the completeness of the glory of the city. The pictorial art of mediæval Europe speaks less distinctly of the life of the nation, because everything about it is less distinct, but only for that reason. Its richer variety corresponds to a more complex organism; its fuller harmonies express its larger relations; its wealth of portraiture corresponds to the development of private life; while its greatest works commemorate that age inaugurated by Dante's sigh for a united Italy, closed by Shakespeare's triumph in a victorious England. And what group may we associate with the art that aims, above all things, at verisimilitude? It is as much less simple than pictorial art as pictorial art is than sculpture, and our answer is proportionally hesitating and confused. The photograph aptly renders the desultoriness of life in an epoch of disintegration; a political era in which, although the nation is still the starting-point of political action, a hundred signs bear witness that it is no longer that broad, simple unity which is the needed background for popular art. That vague movement which, under the title of Socialism, unites much of what is best and worst in our day, also bears witness that the nation holds its position by no uncontested sway; we hear much of "nationalities," we no longer regard a nation as the ultimate unity of our thought. We have modified the word, and the nuance of change, slight as it is, expresses a whole chapter of development.

Of this new phase of life, as of the corresponding new phase of art, Count Tolstoi is naturally fitted to be a typical exponent. One of the "*Tartari Gallizati*," as Alfieri called the Russians, is qualified both by what he has, and what he lacks, to express the extra-national life but now struggling into existence, and soon perhaps to be called by some name as yet unknown to us. All that a Russian noble can know of national inheritance must be the possession of one who, like Tolstoi, is the descendant of a friend of Peter the Great; but he seems to the English reader almost as much a Frenchman as a Russian. He is at home in Paris, he is at home in the wilds of his native land; but no Russian city seems his home. He seems the member of a nation "born out of due time," borrowing

its civilization from the past, hurried into a premature participation in the comity of nations, and craving a fresh start, a new principle of association, and a new respect for individuality. He is thus, in some ways, specially fitted to express the questioning of a time when the cleavage of sympathy has taken new lines, and classes are as much more important than they were as nations are less. The writer who painted pictures of the polished, frivolous, profligate society of high-bred Russia, bearing the stamp of intimate experience in every line, has, it is said, copied the Great Renunciation of Sakya Muni, deserted his class, and, abdicating the privileges of wealth and rank, lives with and for the poor. This noble sacrifice of Tolstoi's—noble it surely is, whatever be thought of its wisdom—is but the climax of tendencies everywhere active among us. The care for the poor has become a religion with all that borderland of conventional respect that belonged formerly to Christianity; those catch its dialect and its gestures who have no real sympathy with its spirit. And the country whose monarch gave freedom to three million serfs, and afterwards fell a victim to the plots of those who would destroy all civil order, is one where this extra-national tendency—this new grouping of human beings, this craving for undiscovered centres—must be at its height. Nihilism speaks not merely of human wickedness; it is the utterance of something that assuredly is a religion to those ready to lay down their lives in its cause—a religion as ready for persecution as the Roman Catholic Church, and also just as ready for martyrdom.

When a new religion arises, national life must grow dim. Or if we invert the metaphor, it is only in the twilight of national life that a new religion can shine upon the world. When Christianity appeared, national life (except in Judæa) did not exist, and much that is supposed characteristic of Christianity, both by its enemies and by those who, like Tolstoi, seek to re-discover its original meaning, seems to us the result of its birth into the world at a time of political slumber. What we find most interesting in his mind is his profound sense of individuality, the deep personal feeling that breaks through all the external portraiture of a conqueror; that through the din of war makes us feel the strange solitude of a human spirit, its own impregnable environment of hope and fear, its mighty influence, its vast responsibility, and then again its strange helplessness, and the paradox of character and fate. He is never tired of returning to the irony of history, the confusion which everywhere meets the eye when it seeks to group and explain the persons and movements before it. His countrymen, he sees, are befooled by the *picturesque*, even in the invader that brought upon them the horrors of 1812, while the brave and unselfish Russian who resisted Napoleon is a colourless being in the eyes of Russians. Let him photograph both!

We would gladly have found room for a striking scene in the last volume of "Peace and War," to which we can but refer the reader, describing the reception by Napoleon of the portrait of his infant son, sent him from Marie Louise at Paris on the eve of Borodino; that son who, dying in early youth, left for his epitaph the condensed autobiography "*Ci-git le fils de Napoléon, né Roi de Rome, mort Colonel Autrichien.*" That strange pathetic epigram—though Tolstoi does not quote it—with its far-reaching satiric glance on the futility of human endeavour and the irony latent in all human achievement, seems to gather up the lesson that he would teach in every page. This, he seems to say, is the meaning of human fame; it bequeaths that sense of futility, of vain effort, of dwindling possession, of the arms extended to grasp what in possession is lost in the closed hand, which we feel in contemplating the sons of great conquerors—the forgotten heirs of Alexander and Napoleon; types of some history hidden in the soul of every man, of some comparison of human aspiration and achievement, well recorded by the bitter jest left for a forgotten tomb.

Most persons have felt probably, in some form or other, the strange relief growing out of an intensified bewilderment. A question which has haunted us oppressively from time to time as it crossed our thoughts with cobweb persistence, becomes a solid barrier, to be over-leapt or broken down, and we discover that it is all we need. If we have understood the strange and deeply interesting book* in which Count Tolstoi sets forth his religious experience, the problems of life were intolerable to him till they became overwhelming, as he saw them to be insoluble, and supplied their own answer. He pondered over this strange scene of confusion, of pettiness, of indistinct disaster, seeking for a plan; he sought in vain, and the vain search answered itself. Just as the critic blames his desultoriness and heterogeneity till he sees that it is the very object of his art, so he rebelled with bitter protest against the meaninglessness of life, until

* The truth of this description will be felt by those, and by those only, to whom the editor offers it—those who are "more in search of truth than of style." The rich and pregnant character of our material forbids such a transcript of the biographic sketch in this volume as we would gladly have attempted. We must content ourselves with extracting these few dates and facts, helpful to the student of Tolstoi's work, and with asking the modest editor, whose part we would gladly have seen made more ambitious, what is the meaning of a statement on p. vi., by which Tolstoi is made a contributor to this REVIEW fourteen years before it existed.

Nicolas Tolstoi, an officer in the Russian army	1812
Leo Tolstoi born	1829
" " discards all religion	1845
" " a volunteer in the Caucasus	1851
" " begins to write	1852
" " commands a battery at Sebastopol	1855
" " a country magistrate	1861
" " marries	1862
" " is converted	1879
" " writes "What I believe"	1884

he traced here also the intention of the Supreme Artist. With that discernment all becomes clear. This edifice of civil society, erected by the toil and energy of countless generations, is in very truth a crumbling ruin; let the Christian cease to wonder at its flaws, ponder no more over a crack here, a yawning fissure there, but once for all turn his eyes to his true home, and leave the hut of the campaigner to tumble into ignoble ruin. We are not translating Count Tolstoi's belief into any rhetorical distortion. If "Resist not evil" mean, as he interprets the words, "Let every wrongdoer go his way," there is no such thing as a Christian State. The world would be thus divided between a band of martyrs, suffering at the hands, not only of the civil authorities, but of any ruffians who chose to pillage and illtreat unresisting victims, and, on the other hand, a set of average men and women, including many of the best and worst specimens of both, who openly repudiated all adherence to Christianity. But those who found themselves members of the Church of Christ, Tolstoi thinks, would trouble themselves very little about aught beside; and he speaks with authority, for he believes himself to have found truth, and to discern its antagonism to all that this world has to give, which certainly it has given him.

And yet no one has ever painted more vividly than he the struggle of those instincts in man which recognize the State—those relations which shape the life of the secular world—with another set of instincts and relations which make up what we may call the church, and centre in man's relation to God. Tolstoi does not shrink from testing the problem in its most difficult aspect; he forces his reader, in "*Anna Karénina*" (a novel which, for the reason we have given, we incline to think a better work of art than "*Peace and War*"), to ask the questions: "Is there any unity but that of the soul and God? Is the family to be considered as a whole any more than the nation? Is there to be any sanction on its oneness? any punishment for the faithless wife and the adulterer?" If we have rightly connected the tendencies apparent in the novel with the religious belief set forth in the later work, Tolstoi intends us to reply in the negative.* The injured man would not even refuse permission to the guilty mother to feast her eyes on the child she has deserted (so we understand the implied lesson), if he were ready to exercise the forgiveness due from a Christian. Tolstoi depicts with wonderful power the effort of an injured husband to follow what he conceives the law of Christ; he fearlessly confronts that law with all the most potent influences which rise up against its fulfilment; he does not shrink from hinting that the strongest of those influences is

* The translator of "*Christ's Christianity*" tells us that Tolstoi's views underwent a radical change after writing this novel. It appears to the present writer that though the situation described above is given as a mere problem, the answer was already latent in Tolstoi's mind.

the consciousness that the command is, in a certain sense, easy to the coward. The husband who dares not kill the adulterer, is forced, as he strives to forgive him, to recognize the strange complex difficulty of a base ally on the Christian side. The picture of the relation between the two men is very revolting to an English reader. Count Tolstoi, perhaps, would say that, for this very reason, the case is fitted to test the Christian's obedience to the command of a Lord who can less consent to share a divided allegiance than the husband a divided fidelity. True; but let us face also the fact—for here lies the very kernel of the problem—that, if we understand the duty of non-resistance to evil in this sense, we give up the unity of the family. Man and woman *cannot* be one flesh, if either may experiment at will in foreign relation, and then return to the oneness they have temporarily abandoned. If it can never be forfeited, neither can it ever be gained. And let no one suppose that he can avoid the problem by ignoring Christianity. Ours is, in the deepest and widest sense of the word, the age of unreserve; all that our forefathers held sacred is brought forward to be flung into the crucible of research, and the relation of the sexes is no exception. The art which depicts the whole of life corresponds to a theory which sanctions the whole of impulse. The disintegrating tendencies of our age come from opposite quarters; and the question suggested to the reader of Tolstoi by the spectacle of an injured husband who strives to obey Christ, will be echoed by the study of many a writer to whom all but the name of Christ is almost unknown.

Perhaps one of the strongest points of interest in Tolstoi's account of his religious experience, for an English reader, is its illustration of the influence exercised by the fact that the writer belongs to a non-historic race. He has not inherited, from scores of his ancestors, the conviction, gradually strengthening through all, and reaching the last with the accumulated force of the whole descent, that nothing can be good which impairs the unity of the nation. He is quite ready to listen to evidence in this direction, but he requires evidence. An Englishman can hardly begin to inquire whether national life be a desirable result of social evolution. History is too strong for him. We by no means make the comparison in the interest of our own nation. A Russian is, we concede, or rather we earnestly urge, better prepared than an Englishman to consider the scope of those commands of Christ which seem to ignore, almost to deny, the supremacy of the State. He does not start from the assumption that they must be explained away. He sees on every side men who are ready to lay down their lives if they may destroy every symbol of national unity; it can be no difficulty to him to conceive that for far other motives than theirs an unseen Lord should demand a like surrender. Many a Nihilist surely must feel it harder to take life than to lay it

down. Can it be hard to do that for Christ, which so many are ready to do for a hope they are utterly unable to justify on any rational ground? The problem is more urgent for a Russian, but the time presses it upon us all. We, standing in the full noon of our modern European civilization, must sometimes be tempted to ask, surely—What is it all worth? For an Englishman with a University education, it may be an actual element in satisfied consciousness

"That Chatham's language is his mother tongue,
And Wolfe's great name compatriot with his own."

But what of those who form, after all, the bulk of the people? What of some inhabitant of the East-end who has never known a moment's solitude except in the streets, or an hour's physical comfort except in the ginshop? Is it a tangible advantage to such as these to feel themselves the members of a nation? And if not to them, must we not confess that our civil order has failed, and may as well make way for something different?

These pages are written by one who believes quite as firmly as Count Tolstoi does that if any one, with his eyes opened to the meaning of eternal realities, had to choose between the incalculable advantage of being the member of a nation on the one hand, and on the other of obeying the commands of Christ, he would not hesitate for a moment to fling aside all that vast inheritance of political life to sacrifice which for any other reason were a grievous crime. The further concession to the view of Count Tolstoi—that the words of Christ do, at first sight, appear hostile to the life of the State—may be made without any personal limitation. The very words so often cited as a concession to civil claim form the strongest evidence on the side of one who would exhibit this hostility. "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" was a clear renunciation, on the part of the Jew, of that protest against the claim of the Cæsar which the national instinct demanded; and the Pharisee who had asked that question must have felt in hearing the answer that the dangerous prophet was discredited in the eyes of the Jew who would throw off the yoke of Rome. The Sermon on the Mount is read by Count Tolstoi as a protest against civil life, and he is nearer the truth in so reading it, we firmly believe, than are those who take it for the utterance of a string of truisms. The commands of Christ mean not less but more than the commands of other men. Perhaps it will be discovered, by one who sets himself to obey them, that these commands, far from being mere suggestions for a saintly perfection which the average man may admire at a distance, or mere rhetorical exaggerations of elastic rules of kindness and moderation, are just as absolute, and, in the mere natural order of things, just as impossible as they seem.

The prudent critic, perhaps, would take leave of Count Tolstoi with two remarks, not likely to be controverted by any reader. One is

that any one does Christians an inestimable service, who forces them to ask what the commands of Christ really mean ; the other is that the same cause which hurts Tolstoi's power as an artist, interferes with his power of interpreting the message of his Lord. An imprudent critic ventures on an expansion of this last criticism so as to include suggestions for a fuller answer. In poring over the command, " Resist not him that is evil," Tolstoi seems to us to lose sight of the promise, " I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." He takes the Sermon on the Mount as the legacy of one whose voice can reach us no more ; we would read it as the first word of a leader ready to command his army as long as it exists. The first word of a leader gives the key-note of his generalship. If any one be not ready for that sacrifice which the Sermon on the Mount demands, let him not call himself a Christian. There is a part of the nature to which it is always addressed. So far as man is alone with God, so far he must, if he would follow Christ, turn the cheek to the smiter, give the coat to him who has taken the cloak, and go the last weary mile, when he has gone far before. If any one thinks the command, thus understood, to be easy, he has never tried to obey it. Each one of us constantly refuses to acknowledge the moral domain where he is alone with God ; he will not consent to that arduous isolation. Else all unkindness, all grudge, all that spoils the sweetness of life, would vanish utterly. Who would clutch at this piece of worldly gain ? who would refuse that measure of toil ? who would resent this injury, if he felt that it were for him *alone* to gain or to endure ? Pain is always pain, and we perhaps speak of it too lightly ; but it is not the refusal to endure what poor human nature can hardly contemplate that comes between man and man in the ordinary commerce of life, it is the intrusion of the *self* into that region of claim which belongs only to the group ; it is the " I " in each one of us which takes the place of the " we." But we are not therefore at liberty to invert this process and abdicate our post in the region of claim. Each one is a member of a larger unity, and has to resist whatever impairs the organic unity of the group, be it the family or the nation, which he has the power to guard. The husband is not a mere atom, to be injured only in his own person. He is the guardian of the family. He may not endure any injury to that which he is bound to guard ; to him the command of Christ is that, never noticed by Tolstoi, "*If he repent forgive him.*" How can he, it may be asked, guard the unity of that which the faithless wife has already broken ? He can keep unhurt the protest of a withheld forgiveness which must only be granted to repentance. In England, it may be thought, there is little danger that he should ever do otherwise. Those who think thus are destined, we believe, to be rudely undeceived before many years are past, but the danger,

as it is illustrated by the creed of Tolstoi, is not so much that men should cease to follow those instincts by which family and civil life are guarded, as that they should identify Christianity with the spirit which opposes those instincts, and insists on a mere individualism annihilating claim. If all Christians manifested steadfast purity and love in their own lives, even if they refused to enforce it on their own children, they would, perhaps, be better men and women than they are now; but the bulk of mankind, forced to choose between Christianity and a principle of civil and family life, will not choose Christianity. Count Tolstoi's creed will leave on the mind of the ordinary man an impression that Christianity is a religion partly for saints and partly for fools. That Christian teacher has surely erred who hides from the ordinary man that Christianity is the religion for him, although the error, when it is accompanied by such a model of aspiration as we have in "Christ's Christianity," may be called a sublime one. It is the prompting of God's spirit, as it speaks through all the noblest instincts of our time, which has taught Count Tolstoi that "the true life is the common life of all;"* but "the common life" will, on the lips of less earnest men, become an unreal phrase, unless it is accepted in that gradation of outward grouping which is God's work and not man's; unless the sacredness of the Family and the Nation be upheld by a sternness of purity that can inflict as well as endure suffering, and enforce as well as renounce claim.

JULIA WEDGWOOD.

* "Christ's Christianity," p. 344. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

EXPERIENCES OF AN IRISH LANDOWNER.

THE widespread belief that Irish poverty and turbulence originate in the baneful influences of creed and race is very generally held as an unquestionable truth in North-east Ulster, where I lived. It is also there an accepted fact that of these two evils "Popery" is the worst. A faith that was described last year by a member for Belfast as "a system of sensualism, superstition, and sin" is naturally the parent of crime and misery. It is not in the nature of things that a "Papist" can prosper; for industry, so essential to success in life, is fatally undermined through habits of idleness fostered by the observance of Church holidays. Besides, the want of intelligence evidenced by a pertinacious rejection of Gospel truths makes it quite reasonable to infer that the farmer who believes in the doctrine of absolution, transubstantiation, and the mediation of saints is not likely to hold sound views in regard to the rotation of crops or the management of stock.

Disabilities incident to an erroneous creed are aggravated by disabilities incident to race. Inherited savage instincts derived from a long line of lawless ancestors require to be repressed by force. It is impracticable to win the Celtic Papist to appreciate the blessings of civilized life. He enjoys his mud hovel; he luxuriates in dirt. Kindly efforts made to raise him out of the degrading conditions in which he lives are repaid by hate and ingratitude. A born conspirator, his obedience to the laws must be enforced by fear.

Such is an epitome of the gloomy political creed of Orange Ulster; and possibly, if I had not inherited a very different belief from one who, year after year, vainly tried to arouse the attention of the Legislature to the crime-provoking injustice of the laws to which the tenant-farmer was subject, I might not have so stoutly maintained

that arguments based on the influence of creed or race were absolutely destitute of value. And when, from personal knowledge, I could affirm that indefatigable industry combined with agricultural skill characterized the Roman Catholic cultivators of the soil in France, Italy, and more especially in Belgium, I was clearly justified in my assertion that the poverty of the Irish peasant was not the outcome of his creed.

The arguments based on race were evidently of an equally fallacious character, for history proved that "the modern Irishman is of no race; so blended now is the blood of Celt and Dane, Saxon, Norman, Scot, and Frenchman."* The cruelties perpetrated on man and beast by the Roman Catholic Whiteboys of the South did not exceed in brutality the outrages committed in the last century by the Ulster Protestant Peep of Day Boys, Oak Boys, and Hearts of Steel. And since the secret societies in the North had originated in wholesale evictions on the great Donegal and Upton estates, it was reasonable to infer that similar wholesale evictions in the South had given rise to Whiteboys, Ribbonmen, and kindred lawless bands. With a burning hatred of English rule, as intense as that now felt by the Irish Roman Catholic emigrant to the States, thousands of evicted Protestant farmers crossed the Atlantic, and to the valour of these exiled Ulstermen the Americans mainly owed the first successes they obtained in their war with England. Similar results, I urged, ever ensue from similar evils. Injustice still remains injustice, though it assumes the name of law, and enforced injustice is ever a prolific source of violence and crime. Respect for law can alone be felt for laws worthy of respect, and tenant-farmers could not possibly respect a law that gave landlords the right to seize on all the profits that might accrue from years of persevering industry, and to evict them penniless from homes built by their own hands, on farms created not unfrequently from bog or rock-strewn waste through long-continued patient labour. To make the Roman Catholic tenant-farmer a law-respecting man, the law must cease to be to him a synonym for tyranny and wrong, and he might well offer up the American clergyman's prayer: "O God, grant that we may not despise our rulers, and grant that they may not act so that we cannot help it."

I thought my arguments were sound, but I had nearly a monopoly of that opinion. I was told that the experience of many a kind and generous landlord disproved the correctness of my views. If plausible in theory, their fallacy was shown in practice. As I was not in a position to confute by personal experience the justice of such assertions, I at length resolved to test their value through a purchase in the Dublin Land Court. The announcement of my intention gave rise to comments that very unequivocally impeached

* Froude, "The English in Ireland."

the wisdom of my purpose. The objections urged certainly derived some weight from the fact that Tipperary, now a quiescent agrarian volcano, was then in full eruption. I was told that, if by a happy chance I did not lose my life, I should certainly lose the money invested in the purchase. But these lugubrious prophecies did not deter me from my purpose, and I commenced to study the advertisements of desirable lands for sale which daily appeared in the Irish papers.

But as many of these "desirable lands" proved most undesirable on inspection, and as my devotion to an idea was not so absolute as to render me indifferent to the circumstances in which my land-owning experiences were to be carried out, an increase of geographical knowledge was the only benefit that for a considerable time I derived from the various journeys I made in quest of my intended purchase. Outside the fire-grate, peat has decidedly a depressing influence on the mind, and the large extent of treeless wastes of bog and mountain I visited in the South and West made me feel very forcibly that Erin is only lovely when she bathes her face in river, lake, or sea. The "desirable lands" I visited in Mayo were more especially only desirable by those who were endowed with a Mark Tapley frame of mind. Journeys here and there, from Donegal to Kerry, made me feel at times as if I were in quest of the Holy Grail. But imbued with the spirit of our family motto, "Patience conquers difficulties," I persevered, and at length in the spring of 1869 my experiences as a land-owner began.

But, as I was not destitute of prudential considerations in carrying out my purpose, I limited my purchase to a very small extent of land. Only some dozen tenants were subject to my sway, for I was their sovereign in the true meaning of the term. The power of the Queen within my liliputian kingdom was insignificant compared with mine. I could seize at pleasure on the value created by the tenants' industry. The homes they had built were not theirs, but mine; and from the farms that some had carved with patient toil out of furze- and heather-covered, thin, poor, hill-side soil I could evict them penniless, or grind them down to pauperism, through the exaction of an extortionate rent. What I might do had been done by many of my co-purchasers under the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849, for King Stork proprietors had not unfrequently been installed by the Dublin Land Court in the place of the King Log proprietors who had allowed their unjust proprietorial rights to remain unused. On a visit to a property in Donegal for sale, a tenant-farmer on the land forcibly expressed the feelings of his class in reference to the extortionate demands of the new proprietors, to whom the term "land shark" was often aptly applied.

"God help me," he exclaimed; "I have toiled long years to make

the place what it is now. No landlord has ever spent a penny upon the house and land, and if I am to be trated as the new landlord has trated his tenants close by, it will be well for me and mine to go under the sod at wanst."

It was evident that the Donegal farmer's views of right and wrong differed widely from those entertained by the Legislature, since, after it was emphatically proved by the Report of the Devon Commission of 1845 that buildings, fences and all that essentially constitutes a farm was the tenant's work, the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 decreed that the value created by his labour should be knocked down in a court of law by public auction to the highest bidder. A Donegal peasant who possibly did not know how to read and write, and certainly had never studied any treatise on political economy, may be excused if he failed to see the justice of that Act, or if he looked on it as a legislative declaration of the fact that landlord and slave-owner in Ireland were convertible terms.

My tenants showed by acts, if not in words, that, like the Donegal farmer, they equally failed to appreciate the sound economical doctrine of free contract in their relations to the proprietor of the soil. By offerings of chickens, eggs, and butter, they sought to propitiate the good-will of the possibly malignantly disposed arbiter of their fate. Nor even did they seem to take comfort from the fact that their offerings were civilly declined, for they afterwards urged their acceptance on my servant, with a view, doubtless, to secure her influence in their favour. Nor, indeed, could my sex give any definite grounds of hope that I was exempt from land-shark propensities, for it was evident that a Protestant lady who could do such an unaccountable act as to purchase land in a Roman Catholic district of country, where she was utterly unknown, and amongst a people who familiarly spoke a language she could not understand, was a being to whom no ordinary rules of reasoning would apply. From this point of view, it was quite logical to believe that I might develop land-sharking tendencies of the extremest kind. Under these circumstances, the hill tenants might especially fear an increase of rent, as, since the time that it was fixed, their reclamations of waste land had added considerably to the value of their farms. As the salary of the agent of the Court of Chancery to whom for some time they had paid their rents was not dependent, like that of an ordinary land agent, on the amount received, they owed most probably to their late landlord's bankruptcy immunity from the common fate of Irish tenants—to be heavily taxed on their improvements. I subsequently heard that the indulgent consideration of the receiver had been secured through judicious presents of sacks of potatoes.

The awe I inspired on my arrival was not only marked by offerings of farm produce, but in some instances by a mode of address to which

I was quite unfamiliar. A tenant's wife, to obtain some trifling favour, has knelt before me and kissed my hand. I called myself a Sovereign, and the term assuredly was practically justified. And throughout the South and West of Ireland, where the landlord's power was not limited by the custom of tenant-right that prevailed in Ulster, every landlord was a virtual despot, on whose personal character it alone depended whether or not his tenant-farmers should enjoy the benefits resulting from his industry and toil. Through a death, a sale, a change of agent, a prosperous tenant might be legally fleeced and reduced to beggary—possibly impelled by desperation to avenge his wrongs by some criminal deed. Such was the abject position of the Irish tenant-farmer before the Land Act of 1870 checked, if it did not effectually end, the oppression of which for centuries he had been the victim.

My awe-inspiring attributes were not, however, of long duration, for I soon conclusively proved my immunity from land-shark tendencies by a written guarantee that no increase of rent should deprive the tenant of the enjoyment of the value created by his improvements, and that, in accordance with the Ulster custom, he should have the right to sell the goodwill of his farm. Also, my speedily announced intention to build two cottages, to replace the dilapidated and almost ruinous one-roomed hovels in which two farm labourers lived, could not fail to exercise an entirely tranquillizing influence on the tenants' minds.

But though my hill tenants' houses were not dilapidated or ruinous, they were truly but sorry specimens of cottage architecture. The few rays of light that could enter through a tiny pane would have left the kitchen steeped in gloom had it not been for the open door, which in summer-time did double duty as door and window; and as the bedroom was generally lit by an immovable small square of glass, which effectually precluded all direct communication with the outside air, it could not, on sanitary principles, be commended. But, as the roofs were sound and the rubble walls uncracked, I resolved to see if under favourable circumstances the tenants would be impelled by a desire to make much-needed improvements in their homes. Judged, indeed, by the low standard of comfort that exists in the South and West, my tenants were not badly housed, for, owing to the neglect of landlords to provide their tenants with decent homes, that numerous class whose tenure was only from year to year naturally limited their architectural aims to the construction of a simple shelter. And from this state of things has arisen the lamentable and disgraceful fact that in no country of the civilized world is the rural population so miserably housed as in Ireland.

But even from an Irish point of view the absence in some instances of any outhouse to serve as barn was a defect that could not be denied.

When I saw in autumn that grain was threshed in uncertain weather on the kitchen floor, I urged the advantage to be derived from making some special provision for carrying on that work. As the hearty assent given to my remarks was followed up by the adoption of my advice during the ensuing winter, I have little doubt that the dread, for years entertained, of a sale that might subject them to the rule of a grasping landlord had deterred the tenants from making any substantial building improvements on their farms.

Nor were my hill tenants' improvements during the winter months limited to the erection of outhouses that would serve for barns; for, on my return the ensuing summer to Timoleague, I found that two of those tenants' farms had been enlarged through the reclamation of some bits of the waste land that formed a portion of their holdings, and the piles of stones, that lay beside the plots in which the uprooted furze and heather had given place to tiny ridges of turnips or potatoes, proved most unequivocally the hard and patient toil through which the reclamation had been effected.

The result of my expenditure on a portion of some acres of adjoining waste land I owned is an evidence of the ungracious nature of the soil reclaimed, for, whilst many of the trees I planted pined and died, those which survived are sickly, stunted specimens of their species.

But I felt no grudge to my unprofitable bit of waste, as I owed it more than it owed me. In summer and autumn, when the abundant furze or heather was in full bloom, I loved to sit in my wild garden and look up from the bright-coloured flowers at my feet to mountains steeped in a soft blue haze, or to the not far distant flashing sea. Nor were furze and heather the only flowers my wild garden grew, for in early summer it was studded here and there with orchises of varied hue, and in autumn large white water-lilies covered the surface of one of its deep ponds. Neither was the floral wealth of the land I owned limited to this spot, for, whilst the wild rose and honeysuckle garlanded many a hedge, ox-eyed daisies starred roadside banks.

Praiseworthy as was the industry of my hill tenants in connection with the scraps of land they had reclaimed, still higher praise is due to old Jack Flanagan for his most remarkable display of a quality which I have been so often told Irishmen rarely possess. Jack was eighty years of age, and occupied a small hill farm at the time I bought the land, on which he lived. Besides the disability for work incident to his patriarchal years, his ability to labour was still more impaired by the chronic rheumatism that rendered him unable even to stand without the assistance of two sticks. But, despite his crippled state, Jack never failed until his death to take an active part in harvest work. It was truly a touching sight to see old Jack with hook in hand shuffling along on cloth-baudaged knees to help his

son-in-law to cut down the grain. As Jack's knowledge of English was limited to "good morning," I could only give him through an interpreter the praise he so well deserved. But whenever I am told that the Irish are an idle race, I think of old Jack Flanagan in the harvest-field shuffling along on his rheumatic knees.

Ted Murphy, an adjoining hill-side tenant, was also a very industrious man. From the heaps of stones that were visible near his house, it was evident that great labour had been undergone by himself and sons in the conversion of barren heath into tillage land; and Pat, who succeeded at his father's death to the occupation of the small farm, carried on the work of reclamation with such zeal that, on my return one summer to Timoleague, I heard with great regret that he had died from an illness brought on by overwork in "rooting out" the stones. Like old Jack Flanagan, Pat Murphy's knowledge of English was limited to a few words.

But of all my tenants, Phil Tiernan was in every respect the best, and he solely owes the prosperity he now enjoys to years of hard and unremitting toil on an (originally) eight-acre farm adjoining my wild garden. At the time when, through his father-in-law's death, he entered on the occupation of the farm, his three boys were in their early childhood, and even when they had arrived at an age to give some small help in agricultural work, Phil kept them at school, being resolved that they should have the advantages he had never enjoyed—for Phil did not know how to read and write, and had only a very imperfect knowledge of English. With his tidy, industrious, Irish-speaking wife I could not interchange a word. As time went on, and the boys became his zealous helpers in field-work, Phil's prosperity visibly increased. Extending from year to year the boundaries of his tiny farm by continuous reclamation, Phil points with well-justified pride to great mounds of stones that strikingly attest the severity of the toil by which the reclamation has been effected. Phil's ever ready rent was always paid with a look of satisfaction, and, when I happened not to have any small change at hand to balance the account, he invariably said, in reference to my deficient pence, "Sáir, it don't matter." Only by chance one day, soon after Phil had paid his rent, I came to know that he had lost his cow, and, as he had not sufficient money to replace his loss, I lent him a few pounds, to be repaid in small instalments from year to year. Several times, when I had quite forgotten that an instalment of this debt was due, Phil, after he had paid his rent, reminded me that he had something more to pay, and would hand me a half-sovereign in part repayment of the loan.

Nor were Phil's improvements limited to his land, for, after he had built substantial offices for his horse and cow, he pulled down a considerable portion of the bulging walls of his own house, and, with

the aid of a "handy man," converted it into a snug comfortable cottage. Phil's last architectural achievement was the erection of a building for his fowls and pigs. Through the many hanks of wool spun by the old widow to whom Phil so kindly gave a home, and converted by a country weaver into flannel and frieze, Phil and his sons are always well and substantially clothed. Phil has brought up his boys to be as industrious as himself, and when one day I remarked that his clock was always an hour in advance of the true time, the widow said: "Sure, that just comes of Phil's cunning. He wants to chate the boys into getting up betimes by making them think it later than it is. Sure, there never was a man that had such a heart for work as Phil, good honest man that he is."

But for all Phil's goodness, honesty, and industry, if he had had the crushing rents to pay exacted from the lately evicted tenants of Bodyke, he could not have prospered, and no doubt he owed his success in a large degree to the vicinity of the sea-shore, which furnished him with an abundant supply of seaweed after every gale. On a summer night when the tide was low, Phil has been seen utilizing the light of a full moon in carting the sea-weed home.

But if I had an exceptionally good tenant in Phil Tiernan, I had an exceptionally unsatisfactory tenant in the occupier of a comparatively large farm of seventy acres. He, however, did not belong to the working class, for his father had been the owner of a small property in land. As he had not sufficient capital to stock or properly work the farm, his arrears of rent, that increased in amount from year to year, would have entailed on me considerable loss had not his brother in England made good the deficiency. When at length my ever impecunious tenant had exhausted fraternal generosity by yearly appeals for aid, he complied with my request that he should sell the tenant-right of his farm. We parted on good terms, and in his place I obtained a solvent tenant, who, after the full payment of his predecessor's arrears, commenced to thorough-drain several acres of the wet low-lying portion of his farm. From that time forth the rent was ever ready at my call.

Beside Phil Tiernan's reminders of the loan instalment due, several incidents occurred which clearly proved that honesty was a general characteristic of the inhabitants of Timoleague. Standing one day before the door of the village post-office when a tenant who had been the manager of a flour-mill close by received a letter, which he read with evident satisfaction, he said, in reply to my congratulations on the good tidings it contained: "I am pleased indeed to find that old Martha Halloran is the honest woman I thought her. When she left for America two years ago, she promised to send the monecy due for some bags of flour, and she has kept her word."

Then the respect for the rights of property shown by the juvenile

population of Timoleague is eminently deserving of remark. Where fruit or any special dainty is concerned, honesty cannot be considered an attribute of boys; and when one of my tenants, a labourer's widow, rented an unwall'd orchard at some distance from her house, I doubted, but wrongly doubted, the correctness of the assurance I received: "An'sure there isn't a boy about that would be so mane as to stale the poor widdy's apples." From the swarm of children that for several years used to rush in autumn to the widow's cottage when they saw me enter, for the "ha'porth" of apples that each would get, I saw how heroically they resisted an immense temptation.

As it is a generally accepted truth that the Irish priesthood is hostile to the spread of education, I can state some facts that serve to show the error of this opinion. For the boys and girls of Timoleague are indebted to the energetic action of the parish priest for the National schools built through his agency by the contributions of his congregation in money and labour. And but for the excellent school of the Christian Brothers, in a neighbouring country town, the bulk of the Roman Catholic population would have remained untaught; for the free education given there to the children of the labouring class alone enables many a poor boy to learn how to read and write, and through this school also he can obtain a supply of interesting and instructive books to read at home after his school-days are ended. The example set in this respect might well be followed in all the National schools in Ireland. To create a love for reading, and to make no provision for satisfying the desire created, is a grievous error. The stock of books I annually brought to Timoleague was warmly welcomed, and I was sorry that I had so often to say, in answer to the request "Plaze give me a book," that I had no more books to give. At the present time the reading of the inhabitants of Timoleague and neighbourhood is nearly limited to the contents of weekly papers, whose coloured cartoons often decorate their walls.

But these cartoons are not the sole decoration of cottage walls at Timoleague, for they are invariably intermixed with oleographs of saints, the most prized of all the pictorial embellishments at command. And as a gilt-framed Madonna or saint can be purchased in the market town for a penny, or even less, poverty is no bar to the satisfaction of the artistic taste—evidenced in one instance most strikingly by the interior of a one-roomed cottage, just outside my land, in which the decorator, a labourer's wife, has covered walls and rafters with intermingled scraps of bright-coloured wall-papers, trade and newspaper illustrations, oleographs of saints, with here a little cup or plate, and there a toy mirror. And none of my tenants has exhibited such a love of wall decoration as the labourer's wife who left the crazy one-roomed hovel, where she passed her youth, to enter the substantial three-roomed house which subsequently to my

purchase became her home. Oleographs of the Madonnas and saints of the old masters are ever a warmly welcomed gift, and I have seen them sometimes greeted with a kiss of reverent admiration. One may well wonder that such tastes could be developed in the Irish population under the poverty-stricken conditions of existence in which the masses live.

But in respect to the art of agriculture, the inhabitants of Timoleague evidenced a woful absence of any due appreciation of the essential principles on which that art can be successfully carried on. I was grieved to see how their industry was handicapped, by adherence to ancestral practices in reference to the culture of the soil; practices, no doubt the outcome of the law which for centuries gave the landlord the right to appropriate value solely created by his tenants' labour. The slovenly mode of culture that prevails at Timoleague prevails also through the whole South and West of Ireland in a most lamentable degree. Rank crops of weeds absorb the elements of fertility in the soil; every ditch or fence is a nursery of noxious vegetation. Though my track from farm to farm could be traced by uprooted ragweeds and decapitated thistles, precept enforced by practice failed to make converts to my views. Waste of valuable farm-yard manure was a no less serious evil, and the same man who grudged no labour to secure and cart seaweed and sand from the somewhat distant strand allowed still more valuable elements of fertility to go to waste or poison the air outside his door. As that which has to be done can only be effectually learned by doing it, there is an urgent need that practical elementary instruction in agriculture should be made a part of the curriculum of country National schools. The time now passed by labourers' and small farmers' sons in acquiring a knowledge of the Greek and Latin roots of words might be more profitably employed in the acquirement of an intimate acquaintance with roots of a more substantial kind. Outside the efficient tuition given in the Munster and Glasnevin Dairy and Agricultural schools, the system of agricultural instruction devised by the Commissioners of the Board of Education fifty years ago has been an absolute failure through defective organization and deficient power of control. A large portion of Ireland must soon become an uninhabited waste unless the Irish farmer is taught that system of tillage which enables the Flemish farmer to wrest abundant crops from the most barren soil.

Since skilled agriculturists declare that the value of produce raised on Irish land could be more than doubled through an improved system of culture, the cry of want that every recurring ungenial season brings emphasizes the necessity of teaching the masses of the Irish people the essential principles of that industry by which they live. Compelled to bear the brunt of competition with the teeming

produce of warm climates and rich unexhausted soils, the Irish farmer's want of skill eminently aggravates the difficulties of his position. The statement made by the President of the Queen's College in Cork, that the system of farming pursued in Ireland "is the most barbarous in Europe," embodies in forcible terms the woful record, in Professor Baldwin's work on Practical Farming, of the defects of Irish agriculture. The annual loss in every department of Irish agricultural industry from want of skill is computed to amount to several millions. Extensive tracts in Ireland now in an unproductive state could be made to yield heavy crops of roots, grain, and grass. Holland can teach a lesson it would be well our Government should heed, for the richest dairy lands in that country once were bogs, and a recent writer* states that "fair meadows, fertile gardens, waving corn-fields, and blooming potato-beds" are seen where only a short time ago was a trackless waste.

The doctrine of self-help is good, but its application must be ever limited by circumstances. With a dwindling population and an ever diminishing area of cultivation, the need is great to bring that knowledge which is truly power within the reach of the masses of the Irish population; through local agricultural schools, to supplement the valuable elementary instruction that might readily be given on small plots of land attached to country National schools. Our Government should not lag behind the Governments of France and Germany in affording the means of sound instruction in an industry on whose successful prosecution the well-being of the whole community depends. Neglected valuable Reports evidence the most deplorable legislative apathy to what is, for Ireland more especially, a matter of vital importance. And if the bogs and wastes of Holland have been profitably converted into fertile land, why should not Irish bogs and wastes be also profitably reclaimed through the labour of the thousands who now annually leave their native land simply because they have got no work to do? Ireland is not over- but under-peopled, if the undeveloped resources of the country were duly turned to account.

As the charge of intolerance is often brought against the clergy and the members of the Irish Roman Catholic Church, it may be well to state that, as far as my experience goes, the charge is unfounded, for during the eighteen years in which I have been brought into direct communication with a Roman Catholic population I have never heard the utterance of an unkindly word in reference to Protestants. Probably in any district where organized mission work was carried on such might not have been the case; but, happily, Timoleague and neighbourhood were free from this disturbing agency, as well as from that caused by the pressure often brought to bear on Roman Catholic parents to send their children to essentially Protestant

* Herbert Mills.

schools. A tenant-farmer expressed to me one day feelings shared very widely by the class to which he belonged in reference to the fear entertained by Protestants that they should be unfairly treated under the system of Home Rule.

"They might trust us, indeed they might," he said, "just as we trust them. Don't we send them to Parliament to fight for us there? And aren't we glad to get them, and make much of them, when they stand our friends? And why shouldn't we continue to do the same as we have done in bygone times? If we take a Protestant for our leader, signs on it we won't do the Protestants any harm. And if a priest told me I wasn't to vote for a Protestant, I wouldn't heed his words. No, not a bit. It is my duty to mind what he says in matters of religion; but as to politics, it is a matter in which I have got to think and to act for myself."

The friendly relations that during the late troubled times have subsisted uninterruptedly between myself and tenants is especially noteworthy from the fact that they were ardent Nationalists and warm supporters of the Land and National Leagues; but, as far as personal experience is concerned, I should not have known of the existence of either of these associations. On my return each year to Timoleague, my rents were paid without the least reserve, and the tenant whose outside car I used, from time to time, seemed well pleased to give public evidence of the good understanding that existed between himself and landlord. The warm Irish greeting I so often heard, "*Ge naidian tholet agus ge me fa de wahe too*,"* (God bless you, and long life to you), was uttered with a heartiness which showed that it was a genuine expression of friendliness and good-will. Told frequently of the exceptional good fortune I enjoyed, I deny the correctness of the term employed, for I hold that my exceptional experience was not the result of a happy chance, but the natural consequence of a generally neglected truth, that trust wins trust, and justice begets confidence and love. And this truth holds good in every sphere of action. The Government that is not based on this sure foundation cannot properly fulfil the functions for which it is designed. Failure and disaster are the inevitable results of a breach of the organic laws to which the moral as well as the material world is subject, and wrongful legislation as surely breeds turbulence and crime as the polluted well or the neglected drain gives rise to epidemic disease. Even as the electric fluid is subject to conditions that render it under varying circumstances a deadly foe or a trusty friend, so that spirit which now leads to deeds of violence and crime might, under changed conditions, be transmuted into a vital energy that would repress disorder, further industry, stimulate enterprise, and become an active agent in the promotion of the national weal.

MABEL SHARMAN CRAWFORD.

* Written phonetically.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF TRADE.

A STUDY OF ITS ECONOMIC CAUSES.

I.

WHEN the historian of the future writes the history of the nineteenth century he will doubtless assign to the period embraced by the life of the generation terminating in 1885 a place of importance, considered in its relations to the interests of humanity, second to but very few, and perhaps to none, of the many similar epochs of time in any of the centuries that have preceded it; inasmuch as all economists who have specially studied this matter are substantially agreed that within the period named man in general has attained to such a greater control over the forces of Nature, and has so compassed their use, that he has been able to do far more work in a given time, produce far more product "measured by quantity in ratio to a given amount of labour," and reduce the effort necessary to insure a comfortable subsistence in a far greater measure, than it was possible for him to accomplish twenty or thirty years anterior to the time of the present writing. In the absence of sufficiently complete data, it is not easy, and perhaps not possible, to estimate accurately and state specifically the average saving in time and labour in the world's work of production and distribution that has been thus achieved. In a few departments of industrial effort the saving in both of these factors has certainly amounted to seventy or eighty per cent.; in not a few to more than fifty per cent.* Mr. Edward Atkinson, who has

* According to the United States Bureau of Labour (Report for 1886), the gain in the power of production in some of the leading industries of the United States "during the past fifteen or twenty years," as measured by the "displacement of the muscular labour" formerly employed to effect a given result (i.e., amount of product), has been as follows: In the manufacture of agricultural implements, from 50 to 70 per cent.; in the manufacture of shoes, 80 per cent.; in the manufacture of carriages, 65 per cent.; in the manufacture of machines and machinery, 40 per cent.; in the silk manufacture, 50 per cent.; and so on.

made this matter a special study, considers one-third as the minimum average that can be accepted for the period above specified.* Other authorities are inclined to assign a considerably higher average. The deductions of Mr. William Fowler, Fellow of University College, London, are to the effect that the saving of labour since 1850 in the production of any given article amounts to 40 per cent.; † and the British Royal Commission (Minerity Report, 1886) characterizes the amount of labour required to accomplish a given amount of production and transport at the present time as “*incomparably less*” than was requisite forty years ago, and as “*being constantly reduced.*”

But be this as it may, out of such results as are definitely known and accepted have come tremendous industrial and social disturbances, the extent and effect of which—and more especially of the disturbances which have culminated, as it were, in later years—it is not easy to appreciate without the presentation and consideration of certain typical and specific examples. To a selection of such examples, out of a large number that are available, attention is accordingly invited.

Let us go back, in the first instance, to the year 1869, when an event occurred which was probably productive of more *immediate* and serious economic—industrial, commercial, and financial—changes than any other event of this century, a period of extensive war excepted. That was the opening of the Suez Canal. Before that time, and since the discovery by Vasco da Gama, in 1498, of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, all the trade of the Western hemisphere with the Indies and the East toiled slowly and uncertainly around the Cape, at an expenditure in time of from six to eight months for the round voyage. The contingencies attendant upon such lengthened voyages and service, as the possible interruption of commerce by war, or failure of crops in remote countries, which could not easily be anticipated, required that vast stores of Indian and Chinese products

* In a print-cloth factory in New England, in which the conditions of production were analyzed by Mr. Atkinson, the product per hand was found by him to have advanced from 26,531 yards, representing 3,352 hours' work, in 1871, to 32,391 yards, representing 2,695 hours' work, in 1884—an increase of 22 per cent. in product, and a decrease of 20 per cent. in hours of labour. Converted into cloth of their own product, the wages of the operatives in this same mill would have yielded them 6,205 yards in 1871, as compared with 9,737 yards in 1884—an increase of 56·92 per cent. During the same period the prices of beef, pork, flour, oats, butter, lard, cheese, and wool in the United States declined more than 25 per cent.

A like investigation by the same authority of an iron furnace in Pennsylvania showed that, comparing the results of the five years from 1860 to 1864 with the five years from 1875 to 1879, the product per hand advanced from 776 tons to 1219 tons; that the gross value of the product remained about the same; that the number of hands was reduced from 76 to 71; and that consumers gained a benefit of reduction in price from \$27·95 per ton to \$19·08.

† “Wages have greatly increased, but the cost of doing a given amount of work has greatly decreased, so that five men can now do the work which would have demanded the labour of eight men in 1850. If this be correct, the saving of labour is 40 per cent. in producing any given article.” (“Appreciation of Gold,” by William Fowler, Fellow of University College, London. 1886.)

should be always kept on hand at the one spot in Europe where the consumers of such commodities could speedily supply themselves with any article they required; and that spot, by reason of geographical position and commercial advantage, was England. Out of this condition of affairs came naturally a vast system of warehousing, in and distribution from England, and of British banking and exchange. Then came the opening of the canal. What were the results? The old transportation had been performed by ships, mainly sailing-vessels, fitted to go round the Cape, and as such ships were not adapted to the Suez Canal, an amount of tonnage, estimated by some authorities at as much as two million tons, and representing an immense amount of wealth, was virtually destroyed.* The voyage, in place of occupying from six to eight months, has been so greatly reduced that steamers adapted to the canal now make the voyage from London to Calcutta, or *vice versa*, in less than thirty days. The notable destruction or great impairment in the value of ships consequent upon the construction of the canal did not, furthermore, terminate with its immediate opening and use; for improvements in marine engines, diminishing the consumption of coal, and so enabling vessels not only to be sailed at less cost, but to carry also more cargo, were, in consequence of demand for quick and cheap service, so rapidly effected, that the numerous and expensive steamer constructions of 1870-73, being unable to compete with the constructions of the next two years, were nearly all displaced in 1875-76, and sold for half, or less than half, of their original cost. And within another decade these same improved steamers of 1875-76 have, in turn, been discarded and sold at small prices as unfit for the service of lines having an established trade, and replaced with vessels fitted with the triple-expansion engines, and saving from eighteen to twenty-five per cent. in the consumption of fuel. To which may be added that an iron cargo-steamer of 2,000 tons, which even as late as 1883 cost £24,000 in Great Britain to build, can now (1887) be built with all the modern improvements for about £14,000. In all commercial history, probably, no more striking illustration can be found of the economic principle that nothing more clearly marks the rate of material progress than the rapidity with which that which is old and has been considered wealth is destroyed by the results of new inventions and discoveries.

Again, with telegraphic communication between India and China and the markets of the Western world permitting the dealers and consumers of the latter to adjust to a nicety their supplies of commodities to varying demands, and with the reduction of the time of the voyage

* "The canal may therefore be said to have given a death-blow to sailing-vessels, except for a few special purposes." (From a paper by Mr. Charles Magnac, described by the *Economist* as a merchant of eminence and experience, entitled to speak with authority, read before the Indian Section of the London Society of Arts, February, 1886.)

to thirty days or less, there was no longer any necessity of laying up great stores of Eastern commodities in Europe; and with the termination of this necessity the India warehouse and distribution system of England, with all the labour and all the capital and banking incident to it, substantially passed away. Europe, and to some extent the United States, ceased to go to England for its supplies. If Austria wanted anything of Indian product, it arrived *en route*, by the Suez Canal, at Trieste; if Italy, at Venice or Genoa; if France, at Marseilles; if Spain, at Cadiz. As a rule, also, stocks of Indian produce are now kept, not only in the countries, but at the very localities of their production, and are there drawn upon as they are wanted for immediate consumption, with a greatly reduced employment of the former numerous and expensive intermediate agencies.* Thus, a Calcutta merchant or commission agent at any of the world's great centres of commerce, contracts through a clerk and the telegraph with a manufacturer in any country—it may be half round the globe in distance—to sell him jute, cotton, hides, spices, cutch, linseed, or other like India produce.† An inevitable steamer is sure to be in an Eastern port, ready to sail upon short notice; the merchandise wanted is bought by telegraph, hurried on board the ship, and the agent draws for the price agreed upon through some bank with the shipping documents. In four weeks, in the case of England, and a lesser time for countries intermediate, the shipment arrives; the manufacturer pays the bill, either with his own money or his bankers'; and before another week is out the cotton and the jute are going through the factory, the linseed has been converted into oil, and

* In illustration of this curious point, attention is asked to the following extract from a review of the trade of British India, for the year 1886, from the *Times of India*, published at Bombay: "What the mercantile community [*i.e.*, of Bombay] has suffered and is suffering from, is the very narrow margin which now exists between the producer and consumer. Twenty years ago the large importing houses held stocks, but nowadays nearly everything is sold to arrive, or bought in execution of native orders, and the bazaar dealers, instead of the European importers, have become the holders of stocks. The cable and canal have to answer for the transformation; while the ease with which funds can be secured at home by individuals absolutely destitute of all knowledge of the trade, and minus the capital to work it, has resulted in the diminution of profits both to importers and to bazaar dealers."

† Familiar as are the public generally with the operations of the telegraph and the changes in trade and commerce consequent upon its submarine extension, the following incident of personal experience may present certain features with which they are not acquainted: In the winter of 1884 the writer journeyed from New York to Washington with an eminent Boston merchant engaged in the Calcutta trade. Calling upon the merchant the same evening after arrival at Washington, he said: "Here is something, Mr. —, that may interest you. Just before leaving State Street, in Boston, yesterday forenoon, I telegraphed to my agent in Calcutta, 'If you can buy hides and gunny-bags at — price, and find a vessel ready to charter, buy and ship.' When I arrived here (Washington, this afternoon (4 P.M.)), I found awaiting me this telegram from my partner in Boston, covering another from Calcutta, received in answer to my dispatch of the previous day, which read as follows: '*Hides and gunny-bags purchased, vessel chartered, and loading begun.*'"

Here, then, as an every-day occurrence, was the record of a transaction on the other side of the globe, the correspondence in relation to which travelled a distance equivalent to the entire circumference of the globe, all completed in a space of little more than twenty-four hours!

the hides in the tannery are being transformed into leather. What has happened in the case of East Indian produce seems also likely to happen in the case of the great product of Australia—namely, wool—which for many years has been shipped mainly to London for sale and distribution; for, with the increased facilities and reduction in the cost of travel and transportation by the Suez Canal route, the tendency in recent years has been to transfer the market for this wool to the country of its growth; as European, Continental, and to some extent American, manufacturers are finding out that by this new arrangement they can have their raw material delivered to them within two or three months from the time of purchase, instead of three or four from the date of shipment to London, and at the same time avoid, to a considerable extent, the “profits” and the “corners” of middle-men and speculators. Under these circumstances the day is probably not far distant when the whole wool crop of Australia, like the cotton crop of the United States, will be sold before shipment; and another long established “course” of trade, which has brought buyers from all the world to London, will be broken up, to the temporary injury and loss of some, but to the greater advantage of the many. And in anticipation of this change, the largest warehouses in the world, some covering an area of five acres, have recently been erected in Melbourne, Sydney, and other Australian cities.

Importations of East Indian produce are also no longer confined in England and other countries to a special class of merchants; and so generally has this formerly large and special department of trade been broken up and dispersed, that extensive retail grocers in the larger cities of Europe and the United States are now reported as drawing their supplies direct from native dealers in both China and India.

Another curious and recent result of the Suez Canal construction, operating in a quarter and upon an industry that could not well have been anticipated, has been its effect on an important department of Italian agriculture—namely, the culture of rice. This cereal has for many years been a staple crop of Italy, and a leading article of Italian export—the total export for the year 1881 having amounted to 83,598 tons, or 167,196,000 pounds. Since the year 1878, however, rice grown in Burmah, and other parts of the far East, has been imported into Italy and other countries of Southern Europe in such enormous and continually increasing quantities, and at such rates, as to excite great apprehensions among the growers of Italian rice, and to largely diminish its exportation—the imports of Eastern rice into Italy alone having increased from 11,957 tons in 1878 to nearly 70,000 tons in 1883.

That the same causes are also exerting a like influence upon the

marketing of the cereal crops of the United States is shown by the circumstance that the freight rates on the transport of grain from Bombay to England, by way of the Suez Canal, have declined from 32·5 cents per bushel in 1880, to 16·2 cents in 1885; and to the extent of this decline has the ability of the Indian ryot to compete with the American grain-grower in the markets of Europe been increased.

How great was the disturbance occasioned in the general prices of the commodities that enter into Eastern commerce by the opening of the Suez Canal, and how quickly prices respond to the introduction of improvements in distribution, is illustrated by the following experience:—The value of the total trade of India with foreign countries, exclusive of its coasting trade, was estimated at the time of the opening of the canal in 1869 at £105,500,000. In 1874, however, the value was estimated at only £95,500,000, a reduction of ten per cent.; and the inference might naturally have been that such a large reduction as ten millions sterling in five years, with a concurrent increase in the world's population, could only indicate a reduction of quantities. But that such was not the case was shown by the fact that 250,000 tons more shipping (mainly steam, and therefore equivalent to at least 500,000 more tons of sail) were employed in transporting commodities between India and foreign countries in 1874 than in 1869; so that while the value of the trade, through a reduction of prices, had notably declined during this period, the quantities entering into trade had so greatly increased during the same time that 250,000 tons more shipping were required to convey it. In short, the construction of the Suez Canal completely revolutionized one of the greatest departments of the world's commerce and business; absolutely destroying an immense amount of what had previously been wealth, and displacing or changing the employment of millions of capital and thousands of men; or, as the *Economist* has expressed it, "so altered and so twisted many of the existing modes and channels of business as to create mischief and confusion" to an extent sufficient to constitute one great general cause for a universal commercial and industrial depression and disturbance.

The deductions to be drawn from the most recent tonnage statistics of Great Britain come properly next in order for consideration. During the ten years from 1870 to 1880 inclusive, the British mercantile marine increased its activity, in the matter of foreign entries and clearances alone, to the extent of twenty-two million tons; or, to put it more simply, the British mercantile marine exclusively engaged in foreign trade did so much more work within the period named; and yet the number of men who were employed in effecting this great increase had decreased in 1880, as compared with 1870, to the extent of about

three thousand (2,990 exactly). What was the cause of this? The introduction of steam-hoisting machines and grain elevators upon the wharves and docks, and the employment of steam-power upon the vessels for steering, raising the sails and anchors, pumping, and discharging the cargo; or, in other words, the ability, through the increased use of steam and improved machinery, to carry larger cargoes in a shorter time, with no increase—or, rather, with an actual decrease—of the number of men employed in sailing or managing the vessels.

Statistical investigations of a later date furnish even more striking illustrations to the same effect from this industrial department. Thus, in 1870 the number of men actually employed for every 1,000 tons capacity, entered or cleared, of the British steam mercantile marine, is reported to have been 47, but in 1884 it was only 28; showing that seventy per cent. more manual labour was required in 1870 than in 1884 to do the same work. In sailing vessels the change, owing to a lesser degree of improvement in the details of navigation, has been naturally smaller, but nevertheless it has been considerable; 28 hands being required in 1884 as against 33 in 1870 for the same tonnage entered or cleared; to which it may be added that if in these comparisons the tonnage of freight actually transported had been taken, in place of tonnage entered and cleared, whether light, partially or fully loaded, the difference in the labour required for maritime transport in favour of 1884 would undoubtedly have been even greater. Another fact of interest is, that the recent increase in the proportion of large vessels constructed has so greatly increased the efficiency of shipping, and so cheapened the cost of sea-carriage, to the advantage of both producers and consumers, that much business that was before impossible has become quite possible. Of the total British tonnage constructed in 1870, only six per cent. was of vessels in excess of 2,000 tons burden; but in 1884 fully seventeen per cent. was of vessels of that size, or larger. Meanwhile, the cost of new iron ships has been reduced, in Great Britain, from £18 per ton in 1872-74 to £13 in 1877, £11 10s. in 1880, and less than £10 in 1885-86. Prior to about the year 1875 ocean steamships had not been formidable as freight-carriers. The marine engine was too heavy, occupied too much space, consumed too much coal. For transportation of passengers, and of freight having large value in small space, they were satisfactory; but for performing a general carrying trade of the heavy and bulky articles of commerce they were not satisfactory. A steamer of the old kind, capable of carrying 3,000 tons, might sail on a voyage so long that she would be compelled to carry 2,200 tons of coal, leaving room for only 800 tons of freight; whereas at the present time a steamer with the compound engines, and all other modern improvements, can make the same voyage and practically reverse the figures—

that is, carry 2,200 tons of freight with a consumption of only 800 tons of coal. How under such circumstances the charge for sea-freights on articles of comparatively high value has been reduced is shown by the fact that the ocean transport of fresh meat from New York to Liverpool does not exceed a halfpenny per pound; and including commissions, insurance, and all other items of charge, does not exceed one penny per pound. Boxed meats have also been carried from Chicago to London as a regular business for 2s. per 100 pounds. In 1860, 6d. per bushel was about the lowest rate charged for any length of time for the transport of bulk grain from New York to Liverpool, and for a part of that year the rate ran up as high as 13½d. per bushel. But for the year 1886 the average rate for the same service was 2½d. per bushel. In like manner, the cost of the ocean transport of tea from China and Japan, or sugar from Cuba, or coffee from Brazil, has been greatly reduced by the same causes.

The above are examples on a large scale of the disturbing influence of the recent application of steam to maritime industries. The following is an example drawn from comparatively one of the smallest of the world's industries, prosecuted in one of the most out-of-the-way places:—The seal-fishery is a most important industrial occupation and source of subsistence to the poor and scanty population of Newfoundland. Originally it was prosecuted in small sailing-vessels, and upwards of a hundred of such craft, employing a large number of men, annually left the port of St. John's for the seal-hunt. Now few or no sailing-vessels engage in the business; steamers have been substituted, and the same number of seals are taken with half the number of men that were formerly needed. The consequence is, a diminished opportunity for a population of few resources; and to obtain "a berth on the ice," as it is termed, is now considered a favour.

Is it, therefore, to be wondered at that the sailing-vessel is fast disappearing from the ocean; that good authorities estimated in 1886 that the tonnage then afloat was about twenty-five per cent. in excess of all that was needed to do the then carrying trade of the world; and that shipowners everywhere have been unanimously of the opinion that the depression of industry is universal?

Great, however, as has been the revolution in respect to economy and efficiency in the carrying trade upon the ocean, the revolution in the carrying trade upon land during the same period has been even greater and more remarkable. Taking the American railroads in general as representative of the railroad system of the world, the average charge for moving one ton of freight per mile has been reduced from about 2·5 cents (1½d.) in 1869 to 1·05 in 1885; or, taking the results on one of the standard lines of the United States (the

New York Central), from 1·95 in 1869 to 0·68 in 1885. To grasp fully the meaning and significance of these figures, their method of presentation may be varied by saying that two thousand pounds of coal, iron, wheat, cotton, or other commodities, can now be carried on the best managed railways, for a distance of one mile, for a sum so small that outside of China it would be difficult to find a coin of equivalent value to give to a boy as a reward for carrying an ounce package across a street, even if a man or boy could be found in Europe or the United States willing to give or accept so small a compensation for such a service.

The following ingenious method of illustrating the same results has been also suggested:—The number of miles of railroad in operation in various parts of the world in 1885 was probably about 300,000. Reckoning their capacity for transportation at a rate not greater than the results actually achieved in that same year in the United States, it would appear that the aggregate railroad system of the world could easily have performed work in 1885 equivalent to transporting 120,000,000,000 tons one mile. “But if it is next considered that it is a fair day’s work for an ordinary horse to haul a ton 6·7 miles, year in and year out, it further appears that the railways have added to the power of the human race for the satisfaction of its desires by the cheapening of products, a force somewhat greater than that of a horse working twelve days yearly for every inhabitant of the globe.” Less than half a century ago the railroad was practically unknown.* It is therefore within that short period that this enormous power has been placed at the disposal of every inhabitant of the globe for the cheapening of transportation to him of the products of other people and countries, and for enabling him to market or exchange to better advantage the results of his own labour or services. As the extension of the railway system has, however, not been equal in all parts of the world—less than 25,000 miles existing, at the close of 1884, in Asia, Africa, and Australia combined—its accruing benefits have not, of course, been equal. And while all the inhabitants of the globe have undoubtedly been benefited in a degree, by far the greater part of the enormous additions that have been made to the world’s working force through railways since 1840 have accrued to the benefit of the people of the United States, and of Europe (exclusive of Russia, Turkey, and the former Turkish provinces of south-eastern Europe), a number not much exceeding two hundred millions, or not a quarter part of the entire population of the globe. The result of this economic change has therefore been to

* As late as 1840 there were in operation only about 2,860 miles of railway in America, and 2,130 in Europe, or a total of 4,990 miles. For practical purposes it may therefore be said that the world’s railway system did not then exist; while its organization and correspondence for doing full and efficient work must be referred to a much later period.

broaden and deepen rather than diminish the line of separation, between the civilized and the semi-civilized and barbarous nations.

Now, while a multiplicity of inventions and of experiences have contributed to the attainment of such results under this railway system of transportation, the discovery of a method of making steel cheap was the one thing which was absolutely essential to make them finally possible; inasmuch as the cost of frequently replacing rails of iron would have entailed such a burden of expenditure as to have rendered the present cheapness of railway transportation utterly unattainable. And it is most interesting to note how rapidly improvements in processes have followed the discovery of Bessemer, until, on the score of relative first cost alone, it has become economical to substitute steel for iron in railway construction.* In 1873 Bessemer steel in England, where its price has not been enhanced by protective duties, commanded £16 per ton; in 1886 it was profitably manufactured and sold in the same country for less than £4 per ton! Within the same time the annual producing capacity of a Bessemer converter has been increased fourfold, with no increase, but rather a diminution, of the involved labour; and by the Gilchrist-Thomas process, four men can now make a given product of steel in the same time and with less cost of material than it took ten men ten years ago to accomplish. A ton of steel rails can now also be made with 5,000 pounds of coal, as compared with 10,000 pounds in 1868.

One of the most momentous and what may be called humanitarian results of the recent great extension and cheapening of the world's railway system and service is, that there is now no longer any occasion for the people of any country indulging in either excessive hopes or fears as to the results of any particular harvest, inasmuch as the failure of crops in any one country is no longer, as it was no later than twenty years ago, identical with high prices of grain; the prices of cereals being at present regulated, not within any particular country, but by the combined production and consumption of all countries made mutually accessible by railways and steamships. Hence it is that, since 1870, years of locally bad crops in Europe have generally witnessed considerably lower prices than years when the local crops were good, and there was a local surplus for export.

In short, one marked effect of the present railway and steamship system of transportation has been to compel a uniformity of prices for all commodities that are essential to life, and to put an end for ever to what, less than half a century ago, was a constant feature of commerce—namely, the existence of local markets with widely divergent

* The average price of iron rails in Great Britain for the year 1883 was £5 per ton; steel rails in the same market sold in 1886 for £4 5s. per ton. Since the beginning of 1883 the manufacture of iron rails in the United States has been almost entirely discontinued, and during the years from 1883 to 1887 there were virtually no market quotations for them. The last recorded average price for iron rails was \$45½ per ton in 1882. The yearly average price of steel rails at the works in Pennsylvania for 1886 was \$28½.

prices for such commodities. How much of misery and starvation a locally deficient harvest entailed under the old system upon the poorer classes, through the absence of opportunity of supplying the deficiency through importations, is shown by the circumstance that in the English debates upon the corn laws, about the year 1840, it was estimated, upon data furnished by Mr. Tooke, in his "History of Prices," that a deficiency of one-sixth in the English harvest resulted in a rise of at least 100 per cent. in the price of grain; and another estimate by Davenant and King, for the close of the seventeenth century, corroborates this apparently excessive statement. The estimate of these latter authorities was as follows:—For a deficit equal to one-tenth there will be a rise in price of 3·10 per cent.; two-tenths, 8·10 per cent.; three-tenths, 16·10 per cent.; four-tenths, 28·10 per cent.; and five-tenths, 45·10 per cent. As late as 1817 the difference in France between the highest and the lowest prices of grain in different parts of the country was 45 francs per hectolitre; in 1847 the average difference was 26 francs. Since 1870 the greatest difference at any time has not been in excess of 3·55 francs. The following table, given on German authority, and representing the price (in silver gulden per hectolitre) of grain for various periods, exhibits a like progress of price equalization between nations:

PERIOD.	England.	France.	Belgium.	Prussia.
1821–30 . . .	10·25	7·35	6·44	5·65
1831–40 . . .	9·60	7·61	7·31	5·27
1841–50 . . .	9·15	7·89	7·99	6·41
1851–60 . . .	9·40	7·84	9·65	8·07
1861–70 . . .	8·80	8·59	9·24	7·79

For grain henceforth, therefore, the railway and the steamship have decided that there shall be but one market—the world; and that the margin for speculation in this commodity, so essential to the well-being of humanity, shall be restricted to very narrow limits.

The world's total product of pig-iron increased slowly and regularly from 1870 to 1879, at the rate of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum; but after 1879 production increased enormously, "until in 1893 the advance among all nations reached 182·2 per cent. on the make of 1870; that of the United Kingdom being 143·0, and of other countries 239·1 per cent.)*" Such an increase, justified perhaps at the moment, was far in excess of the ratio of increase in the world's population, and for a term of years greatly disproportionate to any increase in the world's consumption, and finally resulted in an extreme depression

* Testimony of Sir Lowthian Bell, British Commission, 1886.

in the business, and a remarkable fall of prices. One experience from this condition of affairs in the United States is worthy of being placed on record. For a long time the effect of prevailing high prices for pig-iron, coupled with the influence of high protective duties imposed on the imports of foreign iron, was to maintain a large number of inferior furnaces in operation; but after 1882-83 the most intelligent American iron-producers were compelled, as it were, to meet the stagnation and absence of profit in their business by effecting improvements in the quality of their furnaces, and undoubtedly also in their management; and with such effect that the average weekly capacity of the "anthracite" furnaces of the United States has been increased since 1883 from 220 to 26½ tons, and of "bituminous" from 346 tons to 507, or to the extent of 46 per cent.

In the department of textile manufactures investigation shows that, owing to the greater effectiveness of cotton machinery, the manufacture of cotton goods during recent years has also increased in a greater ratio than the increase of population, and that this increase has been going on at the rate of doubling the production in about twenty years. In the United States the doubling period of population is now about thirty-three years; in Europe, about seventy-five years; and, while in Oriental countries the doubling period is not definitely known, it is unquestionably longer than that of the United States. It would therefore seem certain that not only is this present product of manufactured cottons in excess of the world's present exchanging capacity, but also that, without a decrease in machinery product, the world's population must speedily increase their annual *per capita* consumption if this state of things is not to continue. The report of the factory inspectors of the textile industries of Great Britain for 1885 shows the following curious changes, consequent on improvements in machinery, to have taken place in the cotton manufacture of Great Britain since 1874:—A decrease of twenty in the whole number of cotton factories; an increase of (throwing) spindles of 2,604,679, or 0·7 per cent. (a result doubtless owing to the great improvement in the producing capacity of the spindle); an increase of 6·1 per cent. in the number of persons employed, and an increase in the number of looms of 97,000, or 21 per cent. Taking all the textile industries of Great Britain into consideration, the number of hands employed in 1884, as compared with 1874, has not decreased, although the increase (2·8 per cent.) has been small in proportion to the increase in production. The number of children employed in 1884 was 34,000 less than 1874, while the number of male and female adults employed increased about 65,000; a change that implies an improvement in the social condition of the country, as well as an increased production.

The displacement of muscular labour in some of the cotton-mills of the United States, within the last ten years, by improved machinery,

has been from 33 to 50 per cent.; and the average work of one operative working one year, in the best mills of the United States, will now, according to Mr. Atkinson, supply the annual wants of 1,600 fully clothed Chinese, or 3,000 partially clothed East-Indians. In 1840 an operative in the cotton-mills of Rhode Island, working thirteen to fourteen hours a day, turned off 9,600 yards of standard sheeting in a year; in 1886 an operative in the same mill made about 30,000 yards, working ten hours a day. In 1840 the wages were \$176 a year; in 1886 the wages were \$285 a year.

The United States census returns for 1880 report a very large increase in the amount of coal and copper produced during the ten previous years, with a very large comparative diminution in the number of hands employed in these two great mining industries; in anthracite coal the increase in the number of hands employed having been 33·2 per cent., as compared with an increase of product of 82·7; while in the case of copper the ratios were 15·8 and 70·8 respectively. For such results the use of cheaper and more powerful blasting agents (dynamite), and of the steam-drill, furnish an explanation. And in the way of further illustration it may be stated that a car-load of coal, in the principal mining districts of the United States, can now (1887) be mined, hoisted, screened, cleaned, and loaded in one-half the time that it required ten years previously.

The Report of the United States Commissioner of Labour for 1886 furnishes the following additional illustrations:—

“In the manufacture of agricultural implements specific evidence is submitted, showing that six hundred men now do the work that, fifteen or twenty years ago, would have required 2,145 men; a displacement of 1,545.

“The manufacture of boots and shoes offers some very wonderful facts in this connection. In one large and long-established manufactory the proprietors testify that it would require five hundred persons, working by hand processes, to make as many women's boots and shoes as a hundred persons now make with the aid of machinery; a displacement of 80 per cent.

“Another firm, engaged in the manufacture of children's shoes, states that the introduction of new machinery within the past thirty years has displaced about six times the amount of hand-labour required, and that the cost of the product has been reduced one-half.

“On another grade of goods the facts collected by the agents of the Bureau show that one man can now do the work which twenty years ago required five men.

“In the manufacture of flour there has been a displacement of nearly three-fourths of the manual labour necessary to produce the same product. In the manufacture of furniture, from one-half to three-fourths only of the old number of persons is now required. In the manufacture of wall-paper the best evidence puts the displacement in the proportion of one hundred to one. In the manufacture of metals and metallic goods long-established firms testify that machinery has decreased manual labour 33½ per cent.”

The following are other notable results in what may be termed the minor industries:—

In the manufacture of jewellery, one skilled workman, paid at the rate of two and a half to three dollars a day, and working accord-

ing to ante-machine methods in use a few years ago, could make up three dozen pairs of sleeve-buttons per day. Now, one boy, paid five dollars per week, and working on the most modern machinery, can make up nine thousand pairs in a day. In gold (or imitation gold) chain-making the United States now exports the cheapest grade of such jewellery produced by machinery to Germany, where cottage hand-labour, in the same avocation, can be had for a pittance, and finds a ready sale for it as against German manufacturers.

Nothing has had a greater influence in making possible the rapidity with which certain branches of retail business are now conducted, as compared with ten years ago—more especially the sale of groceries—than the cheap and rapid production of paper bags. At the outset, these bags were all made by hand-labour, but now machinery has crowded out the hand-workers, and factories are in existence in the United States which produce millions of paper bags per week, and not unfrequently file single orders for three millions. With machinery have also come many improvements: square bags that stand up of themselves, and need only, when filled from a measure, to have the top edges turned over to make the package at once ready for delivery. A purchaser can now also take his butter or lard in paper trays that are brine and grease proof; his vinegar in paper jars that are warranted not to soak for one hour; a bottle of wine wrapped in a corrugated case that would not break if he dropped it on the pavement; and his oysters in paper pails that will hold water overnight. A few years ago, to have furnished gratuitously these packages would have been deemed extravagance; but now it is found to pay as a matter of business.

The *sobriquet* of an apothecary was formerly that of a pill-maker; but the modern apothecary no longer makes pills except upon special prescriptions, inasmuch as scores of large manufactories now produce pills by machinery according to the standard or other formulas, and every apothecary keeps and sells them, because they are cheaper, better, and more attractive than any that he can make himself.

Certain (though doubtless) branches of occupation, formerly of considerable importance, the influence of recent improvements seem to be passing out of the em-
 Previous to 1872 nearly all the calicoes of the
 were dyed or printed with a colouring principle extracted from the root known as "madder," the cultivation and preparation of which involved the use of thousands of acres of land in Holland, Belgium, Eastern France, Italy, and the Levant, and the employment of many hundreds of men, women, and children, and of large amounts of capital; the importation of madder into England for the year 1872 having been 28,731,600 pounds, and into the United States for the same year 7,786,000 pounds. To-day, two or three chemical establishments in Germany and England, employing but few men and a comparatively small capital, manufacture from coal-tar, at a

greatly reduced price, the same colouring principle; and the former great business of growing and preparing madder—with the land, labour, and capital involved—is gradually becoming extinct; the importations into Great Britain for the year 1885 having declined to 2,472,000 pounds, and into the United States to 1,458,313 pounds.

The old-time art of making millstones—entitled to rank among the very first of labour-saving inventions at the very dawn of civilization—is rapidly passing into oblivion, because millstones are no longer necessary or economical for grinding the cereals. The steel roller produces more and better flour in the same time at less cost, and as an inevitable consequence is rapidly taking the place of the millstone in all countries that know how to use machinery. And as the art of skilfully grooving the surface of a hard, flinty rock for its conversion into a millstone is so laborious, so difficult of accomplishment (four or five years of service being required in France from an apprentice before he is allowed to touch a valuable stone), and to a certain extent so dangerous from the flying particles of steel and stone, humanity, apart from all economic considerations, may well rejoice at its desuetude.

With the substitution of steamers for sailing vessels upon the broad ocean, the former extensive business of sail-making, and the demand upon factories for heavy cloth as material for sails, experienced a notable depression, which in later years has continued and increased, because commerce along coast-lines also now no longer moves exclusively by sail, but largely in barges dragged or propelled by steam. For the four years next previous to 1886 the demand for sails in the United States is estimated to have decreased to the extent of about 25 per cent., although the carrying trade of the country by ocean, coast, and inland waters, has during the same time increased very considerably.

Cotton-seed oil—an article a few years ago absolutely unknown in commerce, and prepared from what was formerly regarded almost in the light of a waste product—is now manufactured in the United States, and has come into such extensive use as a substitute for lard, olive and other oils, for culinary and manufacturing purposes, that its present annual production and sale are estimated to be equivalent to about 70,000,000 pounds of lard; and has contributed not only to notably reduce the price and the place of that important hog-product in the world's markets, but also to impair the production and depress the price of almost all other vegetable oils, the product of the industries of other countries.

But in respect to no other single article has change in the conditions of production and distribution been productive of such momentous consequences as in the case of wheat. On the great wheat-fields of the territory of Dakota, where machinery is applied to agriculture to such an extent that the requirement for manual labour has been

reduced to a minimum, the annual product of one man's labour, working to the best advantage, is understood to be now equivalent to the production of 5,500 bushels of wheat. In the great mills of Minnesota, the labour of another one man for a year, under similar conditions as regards machinery, is in like manner equivalent to the conversion of this unit of 5,500 bushels of wheat into a thousand barrels of flour, leaving 500 bushels for seed purposes; and although the conditions for analysis of the next step in the way of results are more difficult, it is reasonably certain that the year's labour of one and a half men more—or at the most two men—employed in railway transportation, is equivalent to putting this thousand barrels of flour on a dock in New York ready for exportation, where the addition of a fraction of a cent a pound to the price will further transport and deliver it at almost any port of Europe.*

Here, then, we have the labour of three men for one year, working with machinery, resulting in producing all the flour that a thousand other men ordinarily eat in a year, allowing one barrel of flour for the average consumption of each adult. Before such a result the question of wages paid in the different branches of flour production and transportation becomes an insignificant factor in determining a market; and accordingly American flour grown in Dakota and ground in Minneapolis, from a thousand to fifteen hundred miles from the nearest seaboard and under the auspices of men paid from a dollar and a half to two dollars and a half per day for their labour, is sold in European markets at rates which are determinative of the prices which Russian peasants, Egyptian "fellahs," and Indian "ryots" can obtain in the same markets for similar grain grown by them on equally good soil, and with from fifteen to twenty cents per day wages for their labour.

A great number of other similar and equally remarkable experiences, derived from almost every department of industry except the handicrafts, might be presented; but it would seem that enough evidence has been offered to prove abundantly that, in the increased control which mankind has acquired over the forces of Nature, and in the increased utilization of such control—mainly through machinery—for the work of production and distribution, is to be found a cause amply sufficient to account for the economic disturbance which, since the year 1873, has been certainly universal in its influence over the

* When the wheat reaches New York city, and comes into the possession of a great baker, who has established the manufacture of bread on a large scale, and who sells the best of bread to the working people of New York at the lowest possible price, we find that one thousand barrels of flour can be converted into bread and sold over the counter by the work of three persons for one year. Let us add to the six and a half men already named the work of another man six months, or half a man one year, to keep the machinery in repair, and our modern miracle is, that seven men suffice to give one thousand persons all the bread they customarily consume in one year. If to these we add three for the work of providing fuel and other materials to the railway and the baker, our final result is, that ten men working one year serve bread to one thousand." ("Distribution of Products," by Edward Atkinson.)

domain of civilization, abnormal to the extent of justifying the claim of having been unprecedented in character, and which bids fair in a greater or less degree to infinitely continue. Other causes may and doubtless have contributed to such a condition of affairs, but in this one cause alone (if the influences referred to can be properly considered as a unity) there has been sufficient of potentiality to account not only for all the economic phenomena that are under discussion, but to occasion a feeling of wonder that the world has accommodated itself so readily to the extent that it has to its new conditions, and that the disturbances have not been very much greater and more disastrous.

A question which these conclusions will naturally suggest may at once be anticipated: Have not these same influences, it may be asked, been exerted during the whole of the present century, and in fact ever since the inception of civilization; and are there any reasons for supposing that this influence has been different during recent years in kind and degree from what has been heretofore experienced? The answer is, Certainly in kind, but not in degree. The world has never seen anything comparable to the results of the recent system of transportation by land and water, never experienced in so short a time such an expansion of all that pertains to what is called business, and has never before, as was premised at the outset of this argument, been able to accomplish so much in the way of production with a given amount of labour in a given time. Thus it is claimed in respect to the German Empire, where the statistics of production and distribution have doubtless been more carefully studied by experts than elsewhere, that during the period from 1872 to 1885 there was an expansion in the railway traffic of the empire of ninety per cent.; in maritime tonnage of about a hundred and twenty per cent.; in the general mercantile or commercial business, of sixty-seven per cent.; in postal matter carried, of a hundred and eight per cent.; in telegraphic dispatches, of sixty-one per cent.; and in bank discounts, of two hundred and forty per cent. During the same period population increased about eleven and a half per cent., and from such data there has been a general deduction that, "if one unit of trade was the ratio to one unit of population in Germany in 1872, the proportion in 1885 was more than ten units of trade to one of population." But, be this as it may, it cannot be doubted that, whatever has been the industrial expansion of Germany in recent years, it has been at least equalled by England, approximated to by France, and certainly surpassed by the United States.

There is very much that contributes to the support of the idea which has been suggested by M. Laveleye, editor of the *Moniteur des Intérêts Matériels* at Brussels, that the industrial activity of the greater part of this century has been devoted to fully equipping civilized countries of the world with economic tools, and that the

work of the future, in this same sphere, must be necessarily that of repair and replacements, rather than of new constructions. But a more important inference from this same idea, and one that fully harmonizes with and rationally explains the phenomena of the existing situation, is, that the equipment having at last been made ready, the work of using it for production has in turn begun, and has been prosecuted so efficiently, that the world has within recent years, and for the first time, become saturated, as it were, under existing conditions for use and consumption, with the results of these modern improvements. Again, although the great natural labour-saving agencies had been recognized and brought into use many years prior to 1870, their powers were long kept, as it were, in abeyance; because it required time for the instrumentalities or methods by which the world's work of production and distribution was carried on to adjust themselves to new conditions, and until this was accomplished an almost infinite number and variety of inventions, which genius had produced for facilitating and accelerating industrial evolution, were matters of promise rather than of consummation. But with the extension of popular education and the rapid diffusion of intelligence, all new achievements in science and art have been brought in recent years so much more rapidly "within the sphere of the every-day activity of the people"—as the noted German inventor, Dr. Werner Siemens, has expressed it—"that stages of development, which ages ago required centuries for their consummation, and which at the beginning of our times required decades, now complete themselves in years, and not infrequently present themselves at once in a state of completeness."

An influence which has been more potent in recent years than ever before in stimulating the invention and use of labour-saving machinery, and one which should not be overlooked in reasoning upon this subject, has been undoubtedly the increasing frequency of strikes and industrial revolts on the part of the large proportion of the population of all civilized countries engaged in the so-called mechanical occupations, which conduct in turn on the part of such classes has been certainly largely prompted by the changes in the conditions of production resulting from prior labour-saving inventions and discoveries. As has been pointed out by the *Engineer*, the remedy that at once suggests itself to every employer of labour on the occasion of such trouble with his employés is "to use a tool wherever it is possible, instead of a man." And one significant illustration of the quickness with which employers carry out this suggestion is afforded by the well-authenticated fact, that a strike among the boot and shoe factories of one county, in the State of Massachusetts, resulted in the capacity for producing by the same factories, during the succeeding year, a fully equal product, with a reduction of at least fifteen hundred operatives; one machine improvement for

effecting an operation called "lasting" having been introduced, which is capable of doing the former work of from two hundred to two hundred and fifty men with a force not exceeding fifty men.

Another fact confirmatory of the above conclusions is that all investigators seem to be agreed that the depression of industry in recent years has been experienced with the greatest severity in those countries where machinery has been most largely adopted, and least, or almost not at all, in those countries and in those occupations where hand-labour and hand-labour products have not been materially interfered with or supplanted. There is no evidence that the mass of the people of any country removed from the great lines of the world's commerce, as in China, India, Turkey, Mexico, and the States of Northern Africa, had experienced any economic disturbance prior to 1883, except from variations in crops or civil commotions; and if the experience of a few of such countries has been different since 1883, the causes may undoubtedly be referred to the final influence of long-delayed extraneous disturbances, as has been the case in Mexico in respect to the universal depreciation of silver,* and in Japan from an apparent culmination of a long series of changes in the civilization and economy of that country. There have, moreover, been no displacements of labours or reduction in the cost of labour or production in all these industries in civilized countries where machinery has not been increased; as, for example, in domestic service, in such departments of agriculture as the raising and care of stock, the growing of cotton, of flax, hemp, and of tropical fibres of like character, or in such mechanical occupations as masonry, painting, upholstering, plastering, and cigar-making, or those of engineers, firemen, teamsters, watchmen, and the like.

Finally, it is of the first importance to note how all the other causes which have been popularly regarded as having directly occasioned or essentially contributed to the recent depression of trade and industry—with the exception of such as are in the nature of natural phenomena, as bad seasons and harvests, diseases of plants and animals, disappearance of fish, and the like, and such as are due to excessive taxation consequent on war expenditure, all of which are local, and the first temporary in character—naturally group themselves about the one great cause that has been suggested, as sequences or derivatives, and as secondary rather than primary in their influence; and to the facts and deductions that are confirmatory of this conclusion attention will be next invited.

DAVID A. WELLS.

* The average rate of exchange in Mexico on London fell from 46 to 41 per dollar in the early months of 1885 to 38 to 36 in the spring of 1886.

CONTEMPORARY RECORD.

MENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

IF the last nine months cannot be said to have produced any book that is likely to put its mark upon the year, they show great activity in most departments, and a large amount of useful and high-class work. This activity is observable in the pages of *Mind* quite as much as in any of the separate treatises produced. No student of psychology will neglect, for example, the interesting and instructive controversy (if it may be so called) carried on in that journal during the past twelve months between Mr. F. H. Bradley, Mr. James Ward, and Professor Bain, on the nature of attention as an activity of thought, the scope and meaning of association, and kindred topics, which affect the very basis of psychological science. And the same may be said of the valuable series of articles on "The Perception of Space," contributed to this year's numbers of *Mind* by Professor James of Harvard. But America is no longer going to be content with *Mind* as an outlet for its psychological work: we are soon to have the *American Journal of Psychology*, edited by Prof. Stanley Hall, of the Johns Hopkins University. Indeed, the devotion with which the Americans have thrown themselves into scientific psychology is one of the noticeable facts of the present time. It is to be hoped that, while maintaining its scientific character, the new journal will not deliver itself, bound hand and foot, into the hands of the psycho-physicists, to whose experiments and measurements it is the fashion at present to attribute an undue importance. Professor Dewey's "Psychology,"* following so closely upon Professor Clark Murray's "Handbook," noticed in a former Record, and the "Elements of Physiological Psychology,"† just issued by Professor Ladd of Yale, are additional evidences of the activity referred to. Professor Ladd has also completed the work of translating Lotze's "Dictate," or lecture paragraphs. These succinct Outlines,‡ embracing "Metaphysic," "Philosophy of Religion," "Practical Philosophy," "Psychology," "Æsthetics," and "Logic," handsomely got up, and obtainable in this country from Trübner & Co., cannot fail to be of real service to English students. From America comes also the first volume of an undertaking which will be welcomed by a large circle of philosophic readers—a translation of Kuno Fischer's comprehensive "History of Modern Philosophy." Fischer is always lucid and vigorous—popular, as the editor says, in the best sense of that term—and his biographical and historical matter cannot be too highly praised. The first volume, on "Descartes and his School,"§ excellently translated and got up, embraces 160 pp. of general

* "Psychology." By John Dewey, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy in Michigan University. New York: Harper & Brothers.

† "Elements of Physiological Psychology." By George T. Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

‡ Boston: Ginn & Co. 1886-7.

§ "History of Modern Philosophy." By Kuno Fischer. "Descartes and his School." Translated from the third and revised German edition by J. P. Gordy, Ph.D., Professor of Pedagogy in Ohio University. Edited by Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1887.

introduction or historical review, 140 pp. of biographical and literary matter on Descartes, 200 pp. devoted to his doctrine, and nearly 100 pp. more devoted to the development of Cartesianism by the Occasionalists and Malebranche. This will give those unacquainted with the original some idea of the scale of the work. The present volume is to be followed by a second, dealing with Spinoza; and it is to be hoped that the financial success of the enterprise will be such as to encourage the publisher to proceed with Leibnitz, and the remaining volumes of the original history. A translation of the Leibnitz in particular would be a great boon to the English student of philosophy. Before leaving American contributions, mention must be made of Dr. McCosh's "Philosophic Series" of tracts for the times, shortly noticed in previous Records, and now republished in two volumes,* without addition or comment, as a defence of "Realistic Philosophy." The first volume embraces the four "Expository," and the second the four "Historical and Critical" pamphlets, the latter dealing with "Locke," "Hume and Huxley," "The Critical Philosophy," and "Herbert Spencer."

Professor Dewey's "Psychology," mentioned in the above list, is an excellent treatise which calls for further notice. Its method is admirable and its information full and up to date. The usefulness of the book is further enhanced by full bibliographical references at the end of each chapter. A useful innovation upon the older rubrics of Sensation and Perception, Memory and Imagination, Conception and Reasoning, is the plan (adopted both by Mr. Dewey and in Professor Clark Murray's recent "Handbook") of treating the "Elements of Knowledge" (the sensational data) and "Processes of Knowledge" (under which Mr. Dewey includes apperception, association, and attention) as preparatory to actual mental facts—percepts, images, and concepts. Even these last, of course, are not to be regarded as separate, independent facts; they are rather mental aspects. Mr. Dewey calls them "stages of knowledge"; and throughout it is one great merit of his book to bring out clearly the inseparability and mutual dependence of the different forms of mental action. The special object of the work, as stated by the author, has been to combine the scientific treatment of psychology with the traditional use of that discipline as an introduction to philosophy. In this different enterprise Mr. Dewey has achieved a very fair measure of success, though it may be doubted whether his philosophy of the universal Self is not too largely imported into the book, if regard be had to the needs and capacities of the ordinary student of psychology, who is *ex hypothesi* philosophically untrained.

Professor Ladd's "Physiological Psychology" is a work of very great labour, and one for which he is entitled to the gratitude of all sympathetic students of the science. Much has been heard for some time of Physiological Psychology and Psychophysics, but detailed information as to the aims, methods, and achievements of the new branch of investigation has not been accessible in any English book. Professor Ladd has here supplied this want in very full and competent fashion. The treatise is naturally based to a considerable extent upon Wundt's "Physiologische Psychologie," but embraces in its survey all the important and most recent monographs. It is to be noted at the same time that the author recognizes the limitations of such inquiries, and takes a sober

* "Realistic Philosophy defended in a Philosophic Series." By James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., President of Princeton College. Two vols. Macmillan. 1887.

view of the possible achievements of the "new psychology" in the future. The book is divided into three parts, of which only the second deals with what would ordinarily be described as physiological psychology. The first part, dealing with "The Nervous Mechanism," is a somewhat elaborate physiological treatise; and the third, on "The Nature of the Mind," would certainly be described in many quarters as "metaphysical psychology." Professor Ladd here develops a view of the ultimate nature of the mind, and its relation to the body, which bears a strong resemblance to that maintained by Lotze.

Professor Max Müller's "Science of Thought" * has more of the personal accent in it than is usual in an abstract treatise. "Dixi et salvavi animam meam," is the expression used by the author himself in the preface. He endeavours here to systematize and re-inforce those views on the inseparability of thought and language, and the consequent decisive importance of the science of language for philosophy, to which he has repeatedly given expression elsewhere. The book contains, indeed, in its main contentions and strain of argument, little that will be absolutely new to readers of the author's Lectures on the Science of Language. But the discussion of logical terms and distinctions is amplified, and so, too, are the references to the statements of individual philosophers and to the history of philosophy generally. A chapter is inserted on Kant's philosophy; and in regard to the question of the origin of language, so familiar to readers of the lectures, we find Professor Max Müller now adopting from his friend Noiré a third theory as in the main the true account of the subject. Whenever our senses are excited and our muscles hard at work, says Noiré, we feel a kind of relief in uttering sounds. For example, "when people work together, when peasants dig or thresh, when sailors row, when women spin, and when soldiers march, they are inclined to accompany their actions with certain more or less rhythmical utterances. These sounds come to be signs of repeated acts, and being uttered by men associated in a common work, have the advantage of being understood by all. . . . When we remind ourselves or others of these acts by means of the sounds which used to accompany them, the *clamor concomitans*, we make our first step towards real language." Remembering Professor Max Müller's own nicknames of the "pooh-pooh" and "bow-wow" theories, the critics have not been slow to dub this new hypothesis the "yo-heave-ho" theory. The whole subject is one on which, as John of Salisbury used to say, it is permitted to doubt. Professor Max Müller also develops at considerable length his well-known criticism of Darwinism, based on the fact that man alone possesses language in the sense of a system of general signs. Much of what he says, by the way, as to the philosophy of evolution may be heartily assented to; but if he admits that the human animal may have been "mute for ages," and have developed from a speechless into a speaking state, I fail to see his special point against the Darwinian theory of development through the anthropoid ape or some similar creature. The human animal (so called in a future reference) developed reason and speech; yet Professor Max Müller maintains that "no one who knows the true nature of language could conceive how any animal, from the lowest to the highest, could ever have developed speech" (p. 158). The animal which blossomed into speech, and so developed into man, did so, we are told, because he

* "The Science of Thought." By Professor Max Müller. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

was "capable of becoming what he is"—because he had the potentiality of reason and speech within him. And again we are warned that we must distinguish between what is not *yet* rational and what *never* can be rational. Surely in the case of the so-called human animal we only know its potential possession of these attributes because it afterwards developed them; and if a variety of apes were at any future period to develop the same characteristics, we should be compelled to ascribe to them also the potentiality of reason and speech. Without, therefore, in the least assailing the philosophical view of evolution taken by the author, I should venture to doubt the usefulness of this particular polemical application. Nor, again, while admitting to the full all that is said by Professor Max Müller on the inseparability of concept and word, can I quite understand the extent of the claims which he puts forward for the Science of Language. Again and again we are told that the Science of Thought must be for the future neither more nor less than the Science of Language. "If we fully understood the whole growth of every word, philosophy would have, and could have, no longer any secrets. It would cease to exist" (p. 515). Unquestionably, comparative philology and the palæontology of language throw a most valuable light upon the work of the logician and the psychologist; and the science of language may truly be said to explain and explode the mythology which so persistently mingles with our philosophic attempts to explain the universe. But I fail to see how the history of the metaphysical conceptions which man *has* employed can *ipso facto* determine the conceptions which he *ought* to employ. The historical method, here as elsewhere, can only tell us how man came to employ certain names in certain senses; it cannot decide as to the truth of the names and the adequacy of the theory they embody. After all the negative service rendered by the science of language, is it not true that the task of philosophy remains to be performed, as before, by our best reflection upon all the elements of the concrete fact presented to us? But though we may differ from Professor Max Müller on a point of principle like this, it need hardly be said that the book is full of interesting and instructive matter. The general reader will naturally turn by preference to the philological illustrations which, in Professor Max Müller's hands, never fail to charm; but the first chapter, on "The Constituent Elements of Thought," is full of sound psychology attractively set forth; and the last three chapters often throw a welcome light on logical terms and distinctions.

A second edition has appeared of Dr. Ferrier's well-known work on the "Functions of the Brain."* The book, the author tells us, has been almost entirely re-written, and a good deal has been added; but "the principal doctrines formerly advocated in respect to the localization of cerebral functions are maintained in all essentials unchanged."

Fleming's "Vocabulary of Philosophy"† has also undergone a thorough revision, or rather re-construction, at the hands of Professor Calderwood, and now appears in a fourth edition. Fully one-half of the book is new. The result is a very great improvement on (indeed a

* "The Functions of the Brain." By David Ferrier, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. Second edition, rewritten and enlarged. Smith, Elder & Co. 1886.

† "Vocabulary of Philosophy, Psychological, Ethical, and Metaphysical; with Quotations and References." By William Fleming, D.D., formerly Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Fourth Edition. By Henry Calderwood, LL.D. London: Charles Griffin & Co. 1887.

transformation of) a book that had become practically antiquated, though a still greater ruthlessness in re-construction might occasionally have justified itself. In its new form the "Vocabulary" will be a handy book of reference for the student and the extra-academic reader of philosophy.

Professor Knight's "Hume" * adds another volume to the all-too-slowly progressing series of Philosophical Classics. The story of the life, most skilfully and effectively told, occupies half of the volume. The chapters on Hume's philosophy bring into prominence Hume's historical position in philosophy and the real speculative bearing of his main positions, most of which was all to seek in Professor Huxley's brilliant but philosophically unsatisfactory sketch. Feeling, however, the limitations imposed by the series, Professor Knight has in hand a more comprehensive work on the same subject, in which it is satisfactory to see that he proposes to include consideration of the subsequent issue of the philosophy of Hume and the further course of speculative thought both in Britain and upon the Continent.

Mr. Bosanquet's translation of Hegel's Introduction to his Lectures on "Ästhetik" † is, as was to be expected from the editor of the Clarendon Press edition of Lotze, all that a translation should be. Hegel's "Philosophy of Art" is in some respects the most attractive and suggestive of his works. By interpreting philosophical expressions, instead of merely furnishing their technical equivalents, and by explanatory notes, Mr. Bosanquet has endeavoured to make the translation of use to those who are interested in art and the theory of art, without being professed students of philosophy.

Mr. Proudfoot Begg's "Development of Taste" ‡ has evidently been a labour of love to the author. He traces the first impulse towards the subject to the teaching of Professor Edward Caird in Glasgow, nearly twenty years ago, and the book has grown out of his studies since. The first part is devoted to tracing the development of the sentiment for natural beauty in ancient and modern times. This is a subject on which it would be difficult to be uninteresting, and Mr. Begg seems to be, in general, just, though a sense of literary proportion is curiously absent in comparing, even momentarily, the "Odyssey" and "Evangeline," and in speaking of Lucretius as "the William Black of ancient times." What follows on the theory of beauty, as it used to be called, with the refutation of Jeffrey, Alison, and Spencer, is more diffuse, and, as is apt to be the case with the abstract theory of aesthetics, less profitable reading. But an exception must be made in favour of the author's chapter on the Sublime. Finally, the fact of the ugly leads him to the kindred fact of moral evil, and he ends with a thoroughly Hegelian defence of optimism. Altogether, metaphysics predominate over aesthetics proper in the latter part of the book.

Captain McTaggart ought not to speak of Prolegomena, nor should he discuss an emendation of Descartes' first principle of certainty into

* "Hume." By William Knight, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews. (Philosophical Classics for English Readers.) W. Blackwood & Sons. 1886.

† "The Introduction to Hegel's Philosophy of Fine Art." Translated from the German, with Notes and a Prefatory Essay by Bernard Bosanquet, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.

‡ "The Development of Taste, and other Studies in Aesthetics." By W. Proudfoot Begg. Glasgow: Maclehose & Sons. 1887.

Cogito ergo cognosco sum: "I think; therefore I know that I am." But in spite of such extravagances there is much in the criticism to which he subjects Materialism and Idealism that displays considerable acuteness and philosophical insight. The present volume* is intended to be only the first of a series. The author's system of "Absolute Relativism," therefore, cannot yet be fairly judged; but it seems a pity if his criticisms, which are often much to the point, are to lead him only to the barren conclusion of an "unknowable *x*, or the potentialities of infinite activity manifested as stimulus and response to stimulus" (p. 127).

The "Natural History of Thought," † as the full title indicates, has throughout a practical or educational aim in view. It is the "parent intent upon the education of his child," not the philosopher or scientific psychologist for whom the author writes, and he does not pretend to scientific exactness. When this is said, it may be added that the book is well-informed and pleasantly written, and is marked both by good sense and good feeling.

If the author of "Scottish Metaphysics Reconstructed" ‡ desires his views to become known and to exert an influence upon current thought, he ought by all means to disentangle them from the abrupt and somewhat erratic commentary on Hamilton's positions in which they are here embedded. The author's triads of "objective universals," "space, time, and force," "intelligence, goodness, and causation," have little in common with any "Scottish Metaphysics" of the past, and stand in need of fuller exposition and justification than they here receive.

The second part of the "Principles of Morals," § begun by Professor Fowler in conjunction with the late Professor Wilson, has been completed, and is vouched for by Professor Fowler alone. The standpoint occupied is concisely set forth in the preface: "Our moral sentiments and moral ideas, as they exist at present, are not incapable of analysis or explanation; they are the result of the constant interaction of the primary feelings of our nature, co-ordinated and directed by the reason, and moulded by the peculiar circumstances, physical and social, in which each individual man, each race of men, and mankind at large, have been placed." The first half of the book, accordingly, is occupied with an account of the many-coloured skein of primary feelings out of which the conscience or moral sense is woven—the self-regarding, sympathetic, resentful, and semi-social feelings. The method adopted is partly that of description and definition (as in the older text-books), and partly historical, making use of anthropological results. Our feelings of moral approbation and disapprobation are then explained as reflex feelings of satisfaction due to the gratification of some of these primary feelings of our nature. The objects of our moral approval are said to be "all those actions in which a man subordinates his own lower to his higher good, or his own good to the greater good of others, or, when the interests only of others are at stake, the lesser good of some to the greater good

* "Absolute Relativism; or, the Absolute in Relation." By W. B. McTaggart, late Captain 14th Hussars. London: W. Stewart & Co.

† "The Natural History of Thought in its Practical Aspect, from its Origin in Infancy." By George Wall, F.L.S. Trübner & Co. 1887.

‡ "Scottish Metaphysics Reconstructed." By the writer of "Free Notes on Herbert Spencer's First Principles." W. Blackwood & Sons. 1887.

§ "The Principles of Morals." Part II. Being the body of the work. By Thomas Fowler, D.D., President of Corpus Christi College; Wykeham Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1887.

of others." Professor Fowler admits the vagueness of the terms "higher and lower good," "greater and less good," and falls back in the context of this passage upon their practical clearness. He afterwards offers a definition of what he understands by the terms: "Confining ourselves to the good of an organic being, the simplest account seems to be that the good of any part of it is the satisfaction or development of that part, and the good of the whole, the development of its entire nature, or the attainment of that end or those ends for which it is naturally fitted. . . . The good of man may be conceived of as the development of the various parts of his nature in harmony with one another, and with the social and material medium in which he exists." This is a broad statement, however, which might be adopted both by a Hegelian and a Spencerian evolutionist. Professor Fowler would probably not object to have his own point of view described as a humane and enlightened Utilitarianism, and he apparently uses the terms good, welfare, happiness, and pleasure as interchangeable; but by introducing the notion of a natural end, and by admitting a distinction of quality in pleasures, he imports elements which, as Professor Sidgwick has shown, are inconsistent with a purely hedonistic theory. The gain in breadth and general acceptability is thus compensated for by a want of definiteness, and it might have been well, in a treatise of this size, if more space had been devoted to endeavouring to determine what is man's chief good or ultimate end of action, which is properly the fundamental question of ethics regarded as a department of philosophy. In all the more practical topics Professor Fowler's mode of handling his subject is a model of clearness of style and moderation of temper. Lucid and straightforward common-sense is a distinguishing characteristic of the whole book.

One of the most interesting of recent books connected with philosophy is the collection of Hegel's letters edited by his son, Professor Karl Hegel of Erlangen — "*Briefe von und an Hegel.*"* The new volume, in two parts (really two volumes), is to form the nineteenth or last volume of the new edition of the complete works issued by Duncker and Humblot in Leipzig. This re-issue points to the renewed study of Hegel in Germany, of which there are indications in other quarters; for example, in the preface to Wundt's recent treatise on Ethics. In drawing attention to the coincidence in certain fundamental conceptions between his own views of ethics, and those taken by the speculative Idealism of Fichte and Hegel, Wundt there prophesies a similar return upon the past in other spheres—a return, not upon the details of past systems, but upon their dominant though imperfectly executed aims and conceptions. This fresh collection of Hegel's letters far more than doubles the number of those that have seen the light before in Rosenkranz's *Life* or in the "*Vermischte Schriften*," and brings us appreciably nearer to the man, his character and opinions. The letters have been edited with the utmost care by Dr. Karl Hegel, and to have them brought together in this way, in chronological order, with the letters of Hegel's correspondents to which they refer, is a real boon.

ANDREW SETH.

* "*Briefe von und an Hegel.*" Herausgegeben von Karl Hegel. In zwei Theilen. Erster Theil; mit einem Porträt Hegel's. Zweiter Theil; mit einem Facsimile Hegel's. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. 1887.



A FAIR CONSTITUTION FOR IRELAND.

A SCHEME of self-government for Ireland, manifestly just and adequate, and at the same time acceptable to the whole nation, is still to be sought. Between 1842 and 1866 a succession of tentative proposals on the subject was made by men of notable ability. O'Connell, Sharman Crawford, Smith O'Brien, Gray Porter, J. G. MacCarthy, Isaac Butt, and others less widely known, sketched from time to time the ground plan at least of an Irish Constitution, but none of these proposals has kept possession of the public mind. In latter times eminent Englishmen, Mr. Frederic Harrison, Mr. Chamberlain, and Professor Freeman, amongst others, have attempted the same task with only limited success. It is a much more serious embarrassment, however, that the elaborate and ingenious scheme formulated in Mr. Gladstone's recent Bills has not altogether satisfied the friends of Home Rule either in England or Ireland. He has indeed specified guiding principles which must always be kept in view hereafter—the rights of the Crown, the interest of minorities, and the control of the Imperial Parliament over Imperial interests must be effectually secured—but the special machinery which he provided for accomplishing these and other essential ends is no longer insisted upon; and friendly and unfriendly critics have been invited by Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues to suggest a better if they can.*

* The abandonment of the original measure is complete. At Edinburgh, before the General Election, Mr. Gladstone said:—"I stated in the most distinct manner that there was no part of it which Parliament would not be perfectly free to change. I went further, and said that if the change were compatible with the principle, and calculated to forward the application of the principle, better than the provision embodied in the Bill, we would welcome and accept that change." Since the election, in the same place, he has said:—"I promise in the name of my colleagues that we will cast over our own Bill to the winds the moment it is shown us that a better plan for giving effect to our

We must therefore begin this inquiry anew, but with the immense advantage that skilful politicians have traversed the country and left permanent landmarks for our guidance.

The Irish people were so fascinated by the courage and promptitude of Mr. Gladstone's policy that they would have accepted his Bill for the Better Government of Ireland almost without scrutiny; though the more thoughtful were alarmed by a parliamentary procedure for which there was no precedent, and which was certain to embarrass a new Legislature, and by a financial burthen which they believed to be beyond our strength. The delay to which we have had to submit carries with it a substantial compensation. Since amendments are called for, it is our right and duty—ours first of all mankind—to furnish a sufficient scheme. If Irishmen cannot frame a constitution for their native country, what security is there that they can administer effectually a constitution framed by other hands? They must prove their fitness for self-government in the same manner that all communities of civilized men have done before them. In the history of constitutional liberty there is not, so far as I know, a single case where the fundamental statute was not the work of the people whose rights it was designed to establish. Whenever the necessity for a written Constitution arose in any country, representative men of the nation proceeded to consider the special provisions suitable to its character and requirements. It is needless to cite the case of great States—it is not possible to conceive France or Italy, or even Hungary or Belgium, accepting a ready-made Constitution. Nor did smaller communities relinquish the initiative. British colonies, great and small, exercised an independent judgment. The farmers and fishermen of Prince Edward's Island and the convict population of Van Diemen's Land, equally with the intelligent and aspiring citizens of Canada and Australia, picked and chose for themselves, and their choice when made was confirmed by an Imperial Statute. Ireland, it is true, has no deliberative assembly to frame a Constitution in the identical manner these kingdoms and colonies adopted; but the method is of slight importance if the essential agency and initiative of the nation be maintained. A Royal Commission, sitting successively in Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, might have ascertained the will of the people with sufficient certainty. Capable and experienced

views can be produced, and the moment it is shown to us that the new plan is not an evasion of the subject and is not an artful machinery devised for the purpose of defrauding the Irish people out of their homes and their just rights."

Mr. Campbell Bannerman went still further, and represented the Government themselves as prepared to frame their proposal anew. "The Bill," he said, "is no longer before the country, and her Majesty's Government, if called upon to deal with the question, will have perfect freedom in determining the particular method by which they should seek the attainment of the main object of their policy."

Mr. Morley, at Harwich, invited amendments and promised them a friendly reception. "Whatever modification our plan is capable of without impairing the principle, that modification will not find in us, or in any of those who adhere to us, any resistance; but, on the contrary, will find support." Later speeches are of the same character.

Irishmen, wherever they exist in the world, would have rejoiced to appear before it, and a body of facts and opinion might have been accumulated on which statesmen could safely act. The omission was so obvious that it was more than once suggested in the House of Commons that a Select Committee should be appointed to examine witnesses and deliberate on the precise nature and powers of the legislative body to be established in Ireland. On one of these occasions Mr. Morley, then Chief Secretary, replied that the fittest Committee to conduct such an inquiry was the Cabinet. In ordinary cases this proposition could hardly be disputed, but when the question concerns the interest of four or five millions of Irish Catholics, and the Cabinet is an institution in which an Irish Catholic never has had a seat from the era when it was invented two centuries ago down to this day, the expediency of the method is not quite so clear. To my thinking, a Cabinet of the Opposition can no more perform this essential work than a Cabinet of the Executive, if it be composed of the same materials. Some months before the General Election of 1885, in an appeal to the Conservative party, I ventured to affirm that "half a dozen men seated round a table, empowered to draw the heads of an Irish Constitution, would have no difficulty in providing adequate guarantees (for the Irish minority), adequate guarantees being a *sine quâ non*."* But the men I had in view were three Irish Conservatives and three Irish Nationalists, with Lord Carnarvon or Mr. Morley in the chair as umpire. I was far from supposing that the "Round Table," when it came, would be occupied exclusively by eminent Englishmen, sitting sublimely apart from the people whose destiny was in question, like a congress of the Great Powers delivering orders to Bulgaria. It is not by abandoning the initiative in their own affairs that any nation has won freedom, or learned the duties and obligations which freedom imposes. To be worthy of their destiny the nation to be enfranchised must be active and sympathetic partners in whatever is done to establish and regulate their liberties. If they themselves cannot do this work it will never be effectually or permanently done :

" A nation freed by foreign aid
Is but a corpse by wanton science
Convulsed like life, then flung to fade,
The life itself is self-reliance."

There is happily a simple and rudimentary method of inquiry, not needing a Royal Commission, a Select Committee, or any other external agency, which has proved of solid value in similar cases. In the United States, where the founders of the Republic proceeded with exemplary caution, the principles at issue in a Federal Union, and the methods by which they could be most effectually expressed in

* *National Review*, Feb. 1885.

action, were carefully debated in the press, by men who had examined all the difficulties of the problem, before they were adopted by the Legislature. It was by controversy in the *Federalist*, much more than by debates in Congress, that Hamilton and Madison laid the bases of a Constitution which has resisted the strain of a hundred years.

Persons for whose judgment and experience I have great respect think that this method might be employed in Ireland with advantage, and, as some one must begin, I have undertaken to do so. I would willingly set an example to better men; for I am persuaded that if they apply themselves soberly to the inquiry how the rights of the whole Irish nation can be made secure and permanent in a native Parliament, with the same serious purpose which animated Hamilton and his friends, they will not labour in vain. And in the process of debate the bulk of the people will be made familiar with fundamental truths which are essential to their prosperity as a nation, and essential even to the success of their efforts to be speedily recognized as a nation.

I will presently submit for consideration and controversy a plan of an Irish Constitution which I have long had in my mind. It will help the reader to determine how far it is likely to answer its purpose if I state at the outset the precise ends it is designed to accomplish. I desire in simple good faith, without any *arrière pensée*, to content my Protestant fellow-countrymen, by making religious liberty, private property, the administration of justice, and the peace of a mixed community as safe in Ireland as they are anywhere under the sky; to make the substitution of a Celtic or Catholic ascendancy for the Protestant ascendancy, which has been happily overthrown, impossible; to create a native Legislature in which the whole nation shall be adequately represented, where the experience and discipline of the better trained minority may unite with the passionate desire of the majority (in whom suffering has been the nurse of patriotism) to raise up their country anew. I desire, *toto corde*, to secure not the triumph of one party over another, but the unity and peace of the entire people of our island. Without peace at home national prosperity is impossible, whatever institutions we may create; and the primary condition of national peace is that we shall recognize the fact that the Irish nation is not homogeneous but heterogeneous; that it is composed of various races, creeds, and interests, each of which has an absolutely equal claim to the protection of the law and to the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of citizens; that we must constantly acknowledge and act upon the principle that in all public affairs, from the parish to the Parliament, it is the highest interest of the country that the majority and the minority should be fully represented, and neither of them suppressed nor overborne. If there be men whose aim is to secure a great party triumph for

Nationalists and a profound humiliation for Unionists, they will not find what they want here. I address myself only to those who would bring to the foundation of a new State a fixed desire to be just to all its citizens and interests without distinction. Nobody knows better than I do that Irish Catholics have a fearful past to forgive, but "'tis more sure than day or night" that it is their interest to forgive it frankly. Alexander Hamilton, the confidant of Washington, taught his new republic a profoundly wise maxim, very applicable to our case. "Justice [he said] is the end of government and of civil society; justice, *not* victory." Let us be ready to do justice, whatever sacrifice of pride or prejudice it may entail, and we shall reap a sure reward.

The Protestant minority, many of them with great interests at stake, require commensurate securities before they entrust them to a native Legislature; and why should they not require them? Parliamentary government is based on a system of securities; the prerogatives of the Crown and the powers of the Lords and the Commons respectively are exercised under restraints created to check their abuse. In all the Constitutions which have established free government in modern times there are special guarantees for interests liable to be unjustly impaired. Law itself is in general a precaution not so much against probable as against possible wrongs; a ward is protected against the fraud or laches of his guardian, and an inheritor in remainder against that of his father, as strictly as a householder against a housebreaker. What the case calls for, therefore, is not a sentimental but a statutory warranty; not appeals to the past conduct of Irish Catholics, as forming sufficient security, however generous and magnanimous that conduct may have been, but guarantees, which will be recognized as solid and adequate, against the possibility of reprisal for past wrongs, or any exceptional legislation whatever.

The only method of protecting the minority hitherto proposed has been to limit the functions of the new Legislature and Executive; either to retain them in leading-strings or to withhold from them the ordinary agents for executing their orders; in short, to make them powerless to do much good in order that they may be able to do no wrong. This method was not acceptable to any one in Ireland. It did not satisfy the minority, and it would have exasperated the new Legislature. Had it been adopted, the Constitution would have been degraded in the eyes of the people from the beginning, and new struggles for the rights withheld would have immediately commenced. A half-measure must inevitably share the fate of all the half-measures and quarter-measures which have preceded it. A wiser and safer method of proceeding, I humbly submit, would be to create a Legislature and Executive which from their character might be safely

trusted to exercise all the powers which the Australian and Canadian Parliaments enjoy. If this can be done it would manifestly furnish a perfect, and perhaps the only perfect, guarantee. Commit your interests, not to an agent who is handcuffed, and under surveillance, but to one in whom you are able to place liberal confidence. Create a Parliament and Government which you can trust, and trust them accordingly. The fundamental security for sober, ordered liberty must reside in the character of the Legislature. It is idle to look for it anywhere else. And this safest and best method is also the simplest in form and probably the easiest to attain. The bulk of the nation would view with natural displeasure any sacrifice of their rights made to pamper the prejudice or personal caprice of English politicians, but they will be ready, I am persuaded, to make ample concessions to placate and content their own countrymen.

I will speak presently of the method by which such a Parliament may be created; but first let me glance for a moment at the duty it will have to undertake: for the nature of an instrument or an institution must be largely determined by the work it is designed to perform. For what work do we want a native Parliament? Is it not chiefly to restore social peace, and the prosperity which can only flow from peace, to a distracted country? Ireland presents a spectacle without parallel among Christian nations: its population—larger when any man amongst us was born than it is to-day—has dwindled year by year for more than thirty years; its ancient manufactures have disappeared; its foreign commerce, once considerable, is almost annihilated; the bulk of the population is pauperized and demoralized by a constant struggle for existence against unjust laws and pitiless authority. The produce of the island is carried away by absentees, and by fiscal exactions which have constantly increased while the wealth of the country diminished. The seed of the future—its young men and women—have been flying to foreign countries longer than the existing generation can remember, because they have no career or pursuit at home. We should be mad to make the Parliament of such a country a cockpit to fight out hereditary quarrels, or a platform for political gladiators to contend for the spoils of office. The task to which Irish statesmen must give their whole mind and heart is to guide the reawakened spirit of the country to the reproductive enterprises by which poor communities become prosperous, and to foster them by the security and confidence which spring from just laws justly administered. It will be their duty to reorganize the higher education, that it may teach the people practical truths more important to their interests than any to be found in Adam Smith or the Ready Reckoner: how nations prosper by integrity and mutual goodwill; how wise it is to use power justly and moderately, and that policies and passions, natural in a time of

conflict, would be shameful in a time of peace; how prosperity can only exist under the shelter of settled law; and that you would as vainly try to grow corn on a rock as commerce and manufactures in a country where credit was not strong—credit being the offspring of confidence in the security of property, whether it be derived from the earnings of the artisan or the capital of the manufacturer or the landowner.*

Let us revert to the question how such a Parliament ought to be constituted, that it may represent the entire nation in an adequate manner.

It is scarcely necessary to contend that it ought to consist of two Chambers; for we have no experience, and no one has any experience, of any other method of conducting Responsible Government. The plan in Mr. Gladstone's Bill of the two Houses or Orders, as they were named, sitting habitually together, with the power of separating and sitting apart in certain contingencies, was abandoned almost at the outset by the Attorney-General.* A single Chamber has been pictured as a peculiarly democratic instrument. But there are three great democratic States in the world, and their record is that two of them tried the unicameral system, and after a little abandoned it as dangerous and vicious, while the other would never consent to try it. A Legislature of one Chamber managed the affairs of the United States at the outset; but it proved so inconvenient that Washington and his associates hastened to replace it by a Congress of two separate and independent Houses. The first French Republic began in the same manner, and the Convention fell completely under the control of a jealous demagogue, who ruled it by sheer terror, till every head above or on a level with his own disappeared in the sawdust of the guillotine basket. Warned by its fate, Gambetta and the founders of the existing republic created a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. These are warnings which we cannot afford to disregard; and we are left in no doubt as to the motive of the change from one to two Chambers. The most eminent commentator on the American Constitution † says that the change was effected to create a check upon hasty or oppressive legislation, and upon the tendency of public bodies to accumulate all power and influence in their own hands.‡

* "With reference to the proposal for having two orders in the Irish Parliament, I do not defend that as a very symmetrical or logical arrangement, but I look upon it as an arrangement not suggested by the judgment of the Prime Minister, but rather proposed as a concession to the fears, which I believe to be ill-founded, of hon. members which have found expression in this House."—Sir Charles Russell, Attorney-General, House of Commons, May 23, 1885.

† Story.

‡ The same eminent commentator on the Constitution of the United States says:—"There are particular moments in public affairs when the people, stimulated by some irregular passion, or some illicit advantage, or misled by the artful misrepresentation of artful men, may call for measures which they themselves will afterwards be the most ready to lament and condemn. In those critical moments how salutary will be the interference of a body of respectable citizens, chosen without reference to the exciting

And an experienced French statesman describes the evils which are inseparable from the experiment made under the First Republic. "If the interests of stability and conservation are committed wholly to the chances of the composition of a single elective chamber, invested with the sole and final decision of all questions, and to the chances of the discussions in that Assembly, be assured that, sooner or later, after numerous oscillations between tyranny of different kinds, these interests will be sacrificed and lost."

It is needless to go back to the experiences of the Long Parliament in England—even Cromwell was obliged to replace it by two Houses—or of the corrupt Parliaments of Scotland: it is enough that the experiment has never been successful. It is true, I believe, that some adventurous English Radicals are not deterred by these grave warnings from desiring a single Chamber in Westminster; but let them propound their scheme to their own country. Home Rule in Ireland is surrounded by too many difficulties already to embarrass it with hazardous experiments in speculative philosophy—if, indeed, there be any ground for speculation. For my part, in a long public life I have never met a man trained in the working of the parliamentary system who believed that a single chamber would secure habitual fair play to minorities, and therefore I am against the unicameral method.

Starting from the postulate of two Houses, the constitution of the popular Chamber is the most critical question. The existing system of Parliamentary Government, as it has been twice modified in the direction of Democracy in the reign of Queen Victoria, makes the authority of that Chamber supreme in the last resort. Whoever would establish a just Constitution, therefore, must make sure that the entire nation is adequately represented in that Chamber. Unless both majority and minority have the proportion of political power to which they are entitled, neither contentment nor fair play can be ensured. I know of no method by which this distribution can be made certain except by adopting the system known as the representation of minorities. The omission of that practice from the recent Reform Act has wrought injustice in so many English counties and cities that it will force itself on public attention anew. It ought not to be forgotten that its rejection was imposed on the Liberal party as an article of faith by Mr. Bright. Nothing was to be permitted to interfere with the divine right of the majority to rule. Eldon or Percival did not deny the claims of the majority of the nation to be fully represented in Parliament two generations ago more peremptorily than Mr. Bright denied the claims of the minority

cause, to check the misguided career of public opinion, and to suspend the blow until reason, justice, and truth can regain their authority over the public mind." If these reasons weighed with a people trained in local government, they are still more applicable to a people who have lost its practice and tradition by long disuse.

half a dozen years ago. Like Rousseau, who contended that if a community were divided into a party of 500,000 men *plus* one, and a party of 500,000 men *minus* one, the former were entitled to the unrestricted rule of the whole, Mr. Bright worships the majority. But it cannot have failed to shake the authority of his doctrine with thoughtful men that, when it was proposed to apply it to Ireland, he forgot the passive submission to majorities which he had taught before. He rebelled against the decisive majority of the Liberal party on the Irish question, and he declaims with great vehemence against the calamity of a majority ruling in Ireland to the certain prejudice, as he conceives, of the minority. I do not complain of his solicitude for the minority: he cannot desire to protect them more heartily than I do; but the principles of justice do not vary with latitude and longitude, nor can what is right in Middlesex become wrong in Munster. For myself, in Ireland thirty years ago, in Australia twenty-five years ago, and at home when the last Reform Bill was under consideration, I equally contended for the direct representation of minorities as just and reasonable. The principle is so intrinsically fair that, apart from Mr. Bright, it has been resisted chiefly on the ground that it is too complicated for popular use. This objection may or may not be well-founded as against Mr. Hare's theorem; but it has no force against three-cornered constituencies. There the principle and practice are easily intelligible; they have been tried, and they secure as near an approximation to fair play as we can reasonably look for in sublunary affairs.

Ireland might be divided into thirty-five constituencies, each electing three members on the present franchise, of whom no elector could vote for more than two. I need not stop to specify the constituencies; they would necessarily be based on population, and have their centre in the great towns as at present. Even Dublin University might be retained as one of them by enlarging the constituency to a number that would admit of three members. The graduates of the Royal University, all the members of the learned professions, wherever their diplomas were obtained, with engineers and classified teachers added, would furnish the necessary minimum. The five-and-thirty constituencies would give a House of 105 members—a convenient number for a working legislature. We are accustomed to regard 300 as the proper number for a House of Commons in Ireland, because it was the number of old. But that maximum was not selected for our convenience or advantage, but for the convenience of our rulers. James I., for example, added forty boroughs in one day, with the unconcealed purpose of swamping the representatives of the nation. I do not think we have any inducement to follow servilely the political geography of the “second

Solomon;" and that we should rather consider what may be convenient and useful at present than what existed at any former period. The question of convenience cannot safely be disregarded. In addition to the Legislative Assembly or House of Commons, we shall need to find Senators, and probably 105 members to send to Westminster, and these demands may easily exceed our supply. Under Mr. Gladstone's Bill, with the 24th Clause omitted, they would amount to 410. But if this difficulty did not exist, the limit of a hundred members has proved in practice more convenient for the transaction of business than two or three hundred. In modern Constitutions this fact has been universally recognized. The supreme Legislature of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with a population larger than that of the United Kingdom, consists of 120 members. In Belgium, with a population like our own, the Senate consists of fifty-eight members, and the Chamber of Deputies of 116. Holland, a little less populous than Belgium, has only eighty members in the popular Chamber, and thirty-nine in the Senate. In Portugal, with four millions of people, the Chamber of Deputies (*Camera dos Deputados*) is one member short of a hundred, the Senate (*Camera dos Pares*), which is hereditary, being more numerous by forty. In Switzerland, with the care of two-and-twenty cantons, inhabited by races more divided by blood, language, and religion than Ulster and Munster, the Senate consists of forty-four members, the Lower House of 178; and in Denmark the numbers are sixty-six and 101 respectively. The British Colonies all follow the same rule of convenience. In the Dominion of Canada, the local Legislatures in the respective provinces vary from twelve to sixty-five in the Upper Chamber, and from thirty to eighty-eight in the Lower; while in the Dominion Parliament, controlling a territory thirty times larger than the extent of the United Kingdom, the Senate consists of seventy-two, the House of Commons of 181. In Victoria, the most populous and energetic of the Australian colonies, the number of members in both Houses (which has been twice increased with increasing population and duties) only reaches forty-two members in the Upper House and eighty-six in the Lower. In the mother colony of New South Wales, the parent of the Australian group, the Senate consists of fifty-eight members, and the Assembly of 113; while in South Australia they are only eighteen and forty-six respectively. In the South African colonies the numbers range equally low; in the Cape colony, the principal African possession, divided between Britons and Boers as Ireland is between Saxons and Celts, they are twenty-one and sixty-six. It is scarcely necessary to push the inquiry further. The practice of modern States is to limit the Legislature to the number of men that can be spared for the duty and are sufficient to perform it satisfactorily.

In such an assembly the section at present alarmed by Home

Rule might, through the representation of minorities, count upon electing one-third of the members, the other two-thirds going to the Nationalists. But the National party, as Mr. Parnell reminded the House of Commons,* includes various sections, all of which would be represented in a native Parliament. Some are moderate by character and habit of mind; many desire an Irish Parliament, not to promote any party triumph, but to restore prosperity and tranquillity to the whole country. Nationalists of good sense and great experience, quite unfit to be members of a combative party in Westminster, will be of infinite use when we can return to the path of peace and social progress. It is not too much to expect that all Ireland would elect eighteen members of this disposition; and, if it did, a balance of parties would exist most favourable to the working of Responsible Government. The old Nationalists would be in a majority, and rightly so, but only so long as they acted with justice and prudence. A Parliament so constituted would be best, not only for the interest of the minority, but for the interest of the nation. It is impossible to work Parliamentary Government unless the difference of opinion which exists in every community be represented in the Legislature, so that men in power may have reason to apprehend prompt displacement if they violate their duty. The discipline fit for a time of war is generally wholly unfit for a time of peace. If the Irish Parliament, to take an example familiar to us all, consisted, like the Irish party, of a number of men following one leader submissively, voting habitually together on all questions as the majority had previously determined, however upright their motives might be, Parliamentary Government—the most perfect system of liberty that exists in the world—would be at an end, for Parliamentary Government requires as the first condition of its existence a party in office and an alternative party prepared to take office, and not forbidden to obtain it. To weigh accurately there must be weight in both scales. The highest result an Irish patriot could desire in an Irish Parliament is a state of parties where neither would be denied the opportunity of governing in turn. The main purpose for which a House of Commons exists is to superintend and control the Executive Government. When the bribery of Walpole or Pelham filled the English House with the creatures of the Minister, that purpose was not answered, and Parliamentary Government did not exist. There was a corrupt faction who voted as they were ordered by the Court, an angry middle-class, and a discontented people. Since Responsible Government has come into operation such a sight has not been seen. In the first House elected under the Reform Act of 1832, the Liberal majority was overwhelming, but Peel began immediately to create the Con-

* "Of course there are sections among Irish Nationalists as there are sections in the great Conservative party." (Speech on the second reading of the Government of Ireland Bill.)

servative party, whom he finally led to power. In the first House elected under Disraeli's Reform Act, the Opposition, though greatly outnumbered, acted like men who were confident that their time of power would return. Had that hope been denied to either of these parties, Responsible Government would have disappeared. If these be substantial reasons for desiring a House in which the minority is fully represented, a higher reason is that justice requires it; and justice is the only price at which national peace can be purchased. The minority would detest a Parliament, which, instead of being national in the truest sense, would be monopolized by one section of the nation; and who can wonder or blame them? Wolfe Tone, Lord Edward, John Keogh, and the Nationalists of their day detested Grattan's Parliament for the same reason. And in the end Grattan himself detested it, so natural is it to revolt against foul play. The contention of the Irish people by their most trusted spokesmen has long been that political power does not belong to a section, but is the common property of the entire nation.* It does not belong to the greater section more than to the smaller, but to both. Whenever it becomes necessary to apply this principle in action there is no people more disposed to take a generous view of their duties than ours. There is not among mankind, I believe, a more placable race or one more ready to forget and forgive when the fight is over. If the rancour of the past survive the cause from which it springs, it will not be the fault of the men who wield the blade or the hammer.

If the Senate consisted of fifty-four members this number would preserve the proportion that usually exists between the two Chambers. The use of a second Chamber is to arrest rash proposals, and to revise crude ones. Whenever a Senate has consisted of men guarding their own class interests from scrutiny it has had little or no moral authority, and its very existence has been constantly menaced. Whenever it has represented the integrity and experience of the community it has been strong and serviceable. A Senate ought to be the embodied conscience of the nation, to which an appeal might be safely made to determine whether a disputed measure was intrinsically just and for the permanent advantage of the country. It ought to consist of men whose character and ability justified such a trust, and whose judgment would carry weight with the people. Its authority ought to be like that of the discreet head of a household, who never interferes except to forbid or correct some serious mistake, but whose latent power is a warranty against misfeasance. Legislation is the process by which weak communities are made strong, and poor ones prosperous, and discontented ones happy, so far as it is given to a

* "I am one of those who have always insisted that a due proportion of representatives should be given to the Protestant minority in Ireland; and everything else also which would tend to prevent rash, hasty, ill-considered, revolutionary legislation I cordially welcome."—Mr. Parnell, in the speech already cited.

State to effect these ends; and the responsibility which it imposes is plainly one for the best men to exercise. How to make sure that we shall have the assistance of such men in the Senate is a grave problem. To obtain them by a property qualification is hopeless; we know from the past practice of the House of Commons that a qualification is easily fabricated, and if it were made impossible to fabricate it we should only have the spokesmen of a single interest in the Upper Chamber instead of the picked intellect and integrity of the whole nation. To obtain the right men by a contest at the polling booths cannot be pronounced impossible, but it is a highly hazardous and uncertain method. The constituencies are the best judges of candidates to represent their convictions and wishes in the popular Chamber, but when the question is to select experts for a special duty the general consent of the nation is a better security than the opinion of individual constituencies.

My proposal is that the Irish Senate shall consist of fifty-four members selected fairly from the four provinces, and that to ensure our getting the best men at the outset they shall be nominated in the Constitution Act. A list which has undergone the scrutiny of the people, the press, and the Irish members in the House of Commons, and which, to answer its primary purpose, must content the judgment of the Irish nation, is likely to be a better one than can be got by any other process. It will be canvassed over and over again by the whole nation before it is finally adopted.

This method, I invite the reader to note, is not strange or untried;—very much the contrary. Nomination, and not election, is the method by which an Upper House is commonly chosen in free countries. Teuton, Celt, and Magyar, Catholic and Protestant, large and small States, have equally preferred deliberate selection to the hazard of the hustings. Senators are nominated in Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Prussia, Portugal, Bavaria, and several smaller States; and, among British Colonies, in Canada, New Zealand, and New South Wales. In Victoria, where they are elected, there has been an intermittent struggle for five-and-twenty years by the elected Upper House to exercise financial powers, which, on principle and by nearly universal practice, are reserved for the popular Chamber. In the United States the Senators are chosen by the State Legislatures, which is in effect a process of nomination. In Spain they are elected by an indirect suffrage, and the choice is so strictly limited to the governing class that nothing is gained in popular control, while the selection of good men outside of the official circle is rendered nearly impossible.*

* To be Senator requires to be a Spaniard, to be forty years of age, to be in possession of civil rights, and to possess one of the following qualifications:—Of being or having been President of the Congress; Deputy elected in three general elections; Minister of the Crown; President of the Council of State, of the supreme tribunal, or of the upper tribunal of accounts; captain-general of the army, or admiral, lieutenant-general, or vice-admiral; ambassador; councillor of State; magistrate of the supreme tribunals;

To frame a list of senators which would command the confidence of the country, North and South, would not, I think, be difficult, but I prefer to indicate the sources from which a competent Senate might be obtained rather than to name individuals without their authority. In my opinion it should include two archbishops or bishops of the Catholic and Protestant Churches respectively, a Presbyterian minister who has been Moderator of the General Assembly, the Provost of the Dublin University, the President of Maynooth College, a representative of the Royal University, and two or more judges of the Supreme Court in whose discretion and disposition the nation has confidence.* Among the Irish peerage there are more than a dozen who have either pronounced for the principle of Home Rule or are not hostile to it if a fair scheme be devised, and they have the first right to be senators. Men who have conducted industrial enterprises successfully, who have served in Parliament with distinction, manufacturers from Belfast, merchants from Cork, and the pick of the legal, medical, and engineer professions would find a natural place there. And there are men who have none of these official claims but who have moral claims; whose character and life fit them for the duty of being arbitrators between the majority and the minority. Those who understand Ireland *au fond* know that it would not be difficult to name exceptional men, not belonging to the higher but to the middle class, who enjoy the confidence of large sections of the nation, and who might be counted on as confidently as the highest magnate in Church or State to resist injustice to any man or interest. To the popular Chamber we send advocates, to the Senate we ought to send umpires and judges. If it be constituted in the manner suggested, of men of acknowledged capacity, integrity, and services, who represent the sense and experience of the community, and possess its confidence, its decisions in all cases of difficulty would be received by the people in the same spirit that the household acknowledges the authority of the *paterfamilias*.

To anticipate misapprehensions. I may note that calling ecclesiastics to legislative duties is far from being a novelty. In England the bishops of the National Church constitute one of the three Estates of the realm. In Austria the prelates of the Catholic Church and the Greek Church sit side by side in the Upper Chamber of the Reichsrath, and in Hungary in the House of Magnates. In the Bavarian Senate there is a Catholic bishop and a Protestant clergyman selected by the King, and in Wurttemberg ministers of the two

assessor of the tribunal of accounts, or minister plenipotentiary during two years; archbishop or bishop; rector of a university; president of one of the Spanish academies of history of moral and political sciences, of exact sciences, and of medical science; inspector-general of the body of civil engineers; provincial deputy four times; or, finally, alcalde twice in districts exceeding 30,000 souls.

* The Catholic Bishops refused to act in Australia, and would, perhaps, refuse here; but their aid would be invaluable.

Churches are elected by their respective congregations, and in Saxony the heads of the chief collegiate institutions, Protestant and Catholic, are called to the Senate.

The House of Lords is responsible for the antipathy to a second Chamber which doubtless exists, and if we could only have a second Chamber as arrogant and intractable as that body has proved on the chief Irish questions of the last half-century, the antipathy would be well founded. But the Senate of the United States is a more skilled and energetic public servant than the House of Representatives, and in many European and colonial States the Senate answers fairly well the purpose of a Court of Appeal on disputed questions, and is rarely an impediment to wise legislation. But I am far from desiring to leave a possible danger to a sentimental remedy. There was a clause in Mr. Gladstone's Bill providing for cases of protracted difference between the two orders, by which it was directed that, when the disagreement lasted for three years, the question should be submitted to the orders voting together, and adopted or rejected according to the decision of the majority so voting. This clause provided effectually against the possibility of a dead-lock, and it might be strengthened if an "absolute majority" of the united body, not merely a majority of those voting on the occasion, were required to decide the question in dispute. At the joint sitting of such a Legislative Assembly and Senate as I propose one hundred and fifty-seven members could vote, of whom eighty would constitute an absolute majority. If eighty members of a legislature so constituted approved of a proposal, it may safely be assumed that it would be one which inflicted no injustice—if they rejected it it would be only because there were such solid objections either against the measure, or against its immediate adoption, as ought to prevail.

But the securities against rash legislation do not end here. After all these precautions there is another turnpike gate to pass. You cannot create an Act of Parliament without the Royal Assent, and in all statutory Parliaments the veto is kept alive. In British Colonies it is used rarely, but it is used imperatively whenever the necessity arises. Not one Bill in many hundreds is "reserved for the Queen's pleasure," but in certain specific cases the Governor's instructions require him to exercise this prerogative, and he does so invariably. The veto is doubtless a limitation upon the powers of a Legislature, but in England the Queen is limited, the House of Lords is limited, and the House of Commons is limited by law, though the three acting together are omnipotent. A latent power, which slumbers and is forgotten till an adequate occasion calls it into activity, restrains just legislation no more than the existence of capital punishment in the criminal law controls the ordinary life of a citizen; and the same principle

would prevail in Ireland under Responsible Government which prevails in Australia, America, and South Africa, the freest of free countries.

Though nominated senators have found favour in the bulk of modern States, a right might be reserved in the Constitution for the Irish Parliament at the end of ten, or at latest twenty, years to change to an elective system. By that time urban and rural municipalities would probably cover the entire country, and to these bodies, trained in public affairs, the choice of senators might be safely entrusted if an elective system should be preferred. In the great colony of New South Wales, however, where our countrymen are more than a third of the population, the same right was reserved, but has never been exercised; the system of nomination being permanently retained.

The Executive Government springing from such a Legislature would naturally resemble it in fairness and moderation. The Canadians, who had the identical difficulty which exists in Ireland to encounter, who had to govern on the same soil two races divided by religion and historic memories, took measures worthy of imitation. They began by making peace at home. I met in London the delegates sent over to negotiate the present Constitution of the Dominion; they consisted of the leader of the French Habitans, the leader of the English and Irish Orangemen, the leader of the Conservatives, and the leader of the Irish Canadians. The basis of such a coalition necessarily was to respect each other's rights, and shelter them from the possibility of invasion. In the first Government, and in all which have followed down to this day, care has been taken to make the Cabinet as representative as the Legislature. It not only included Protestants, Catholics, and Presbyterians, but one or more members were selected from each province of the Dominion, so that its opinions and interests would have a watchful guardian at the centre of authority. The arrangement does not rest upon any law or compact, or on any hard-and-fast rule, but on a good understanding among public men; and the existing Administration, after the Dominion has lasted for twenty years and witnessed various changes of Government, consists of six Catholics and eight Protestants (including Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Methodists under that denomination) who have been selected from Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick according to their importance. A system substantially similar exists in the United States, where members of the Cabinet are selected from the Southern and Western as well as from the more powerful Northern States. In Australia, after the great dividing questions had been settled, coalition Government became the practice; and the best men, instead of striving against each other, found it possible to pull together for a common end. These are persuasive examples for Ireland. While an Established Church and an iniquitous Land Code existed, such a Government would have been impossible. But religious

equality is now all but established; and if the land question were settled there is no reason why the national Government, like a national Parliament, should not be a coalition from the beginning. It is under a Government of such a mixed character that the country would be most tranquil and contented, and the labour of public men be least diverted from practical work to barren contentions. Responsible government—the honourable ambition of success in public life—would not suffer; for men are so constituted that where they agree on the end to be attained, they are rarely agreed on the method of attaining it. In Canada an honourable man is at the head of the Government, surrounded by the representatives of different districts and interests; and an equally honourable man—as far as a stranger can judge—is at the head of the Opposition, surrounded by other representatives of the same interests and districts, ready to replace the Minister when public opinion falls away from him. Parliament is divided into parties, not into factions. The leader of the Government is a Scotch Protestant, warmly supported by Canadian and Irish Catholics; and the leader of the Opposition is an Irish Protestant, largely supported by a party which includes Upper and Lower Canadians, Presbyterians, Protestants, and Catholics. A statesman who had to form a Cabinet entrusted with the task of inaugurating Home Rule in Ireland would not, if he were worthy of his position, constitute it merely of political gladiators or successful rhetoricians, as sometimes happens in England; but, having regard to the necessities of the case, he would select men skilled in the permanent interests of the country, and including all the races and classes which constitute the Irish nation. If Canada can do this, if Australia can do this, why is it forbidden to us?

The permanent staff must be in accord with the Cabinet and with national opinion. Nearly two hundred years ago Swift pronounced it to be an intolerable grievance that Englishmen should be employed almost exclusively in the public service of Ireland, and the intolerable grievance has not ceased to this day. But we ought to deal forbearingly with a long-rooted wrong. Some of the Irishmen in the public service in England might be willing to effect an exchange with Englishmen of the same rank in Ireland; a few might receive retiring allowances at once, for Ireland is greatly over-officered; and we could accept the remainder for the sake of the Drummonds and Hamiltons whom the class produced. Except in a few confidential offices no change would be absolutely essential. Where there are statesmen of strong will and definite purpose the permanent staff is simply an instrument in their hands; it receives its impulse from above as unresistingly as the train from the engineer. I can say—for I have made the experiment—that a Government may accept a staff appointed and trained by its adversaries and find it pliable as a glove. As respects future appointments and promotions, they might be advantageously removed

from political influence. The Imperial Government has relinquished the bulk of employments by substituting competitive examination for ministerial patronage, and the Government of Victoria has placed the entire service under a Commission strictly enjoined by law to promote officers only for character, capacity, and service, never for private or political considerations. Public men will lose nothing by the change, for the most embarrassing, the most invidious, and the most thankless of their duties is to distribute offices and regulate promotion. "The implacable enemies of a Government," an experienced statesman once said to me, "are not the candidates for office for whom we have done nothing, but those for whom we have done less than they expected."

The functions of the titular head of the Government, the Lord Lieutenant, cannot be made too closely identical with those of the Governor of a great colony. There are precedents and warnings, and much valuable experience, to regulate a Governor's conduct towards his Ministers and Parliament, while the relation of the Viceroy to an Irish Parliament is one which it will be discreet to forget. Mr. Gladstone's Bill proposed to remove the last of the insulting restrictions of the Emancipation Act, which forbade him to be a Catholic. That it should still need to be removed is one of the most significant illustrations of English rule in Ireland. In Turkish dependencies the Great Powers compel the Sultan to appoint only a Christian as Governor, to content the majority. In Ireland the exactly opposite system exists to this day: the Governor must *not* be a Catholic. But in truth it is mainly a question of sentiment. Under responsible Government it is of little more importance who is Viceroy than who is Lord Mayor of Dublin. All real authority resides in Parliament, and to constitute Parliament fairly is the one solid and sufficient guarantee.

The Constitution Statute might remove certain questions from controversy, as similar instruments have done in other communities, either by recognizing them as fundamental conditions of the pact, or by settling them on a permanent basis. It might declare, for example—(I.) That the Sovereign or Regent *de facto* of England shall be Sovereign or Regent of Ireland; (II.) That complete religious equality shall exist among all citizens before the law, and that it shall not be lawful to submit to either House, or lawful for the Viceroy to assent to any proposal giving to any Church a concession which the other Churches do not equally enjoy.

Religious equality is specifically recognized in the Constitutions of the United States, of Belgium, and of Canada, and implicitly in many States of Europe. The language of the American Constitution is simple and sufficient: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

"No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." In Canada the property of religious minorities is strictly protected by the Constitution; the Protestants being in a minority in Lower Canada, the Catholics in Upper Canada. No one can feel less disposed than I am to refer to the Imperial Legislature any Act of the Irish Parliament; but Canada has made one exception, and I think we also might make the same one. I do not believe there is the slightest risk that religious liberty would be infringed; but here is a clause of the Canadian Constitution which renders infringement impossible in that country, and would render it impossible here:

"That whenever any Bill or Bills shall be passed by the Houses of Parliament in Canada . . . which shall contain any provisions *which shall in any manner relate to or affect the enjoyment or exercise of any form or mode of religious worship*, or shall impose or create any penalties, burdens, disabilities, or disqualifications, in respect of the same, or relate to other matters regarding religious worship, every such Bill or Bills shall, previously to any declaration or signification of Her Majesty's assent thereto, *be laid before both Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*: and it shall not be lawful for Her Majesty to signify her royal assent until thirty days after the same shall have been laid before the said Houses, or to assent to any such Bill or Bills, in case either House of Parliament shall, within the said thirty days, address Her Majesty to withhold her assent therefrom."

III. A schedule of the Statute might fix the number of Ministers and their salaries, but leave a power to the Legislature to vary the offices at discretion, provided the sum granted for the service be not exceeded. It might fix the salaries of the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, the Judges, and other high functionaries, as a permanent appropriation, removed from annual discussion; such fundamental principles and schedule not to be capable of repeal or modification, except by a majority of two-thirds of both Houses. This has been done in the Australian Constitutions.

Fixing the salaries would have one great advantage—the public expenditure from the beginning might be framed on a moderate and economical scale. Official salaries in Ireland were settled in England, and are out of all proportion to the incomes of the professions or the earnings of industry. In Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland they proceeded on a different system; salaries are moderate, but they are sufficient, because the general scale of living is on a rational basis. The enjoyments of life are more common, and there is less habitual poverty in any of these countries than in England, but there are no great incomes. A Dutch, Flemish, or Swiss gentleman has not one-third of the income of a landowner or official in Ireland, but he has all the solid enjoyments of life in a larger proportion. We must fix our living on a moderate scale. The happiest and most prosperous countries in Europe are not those where a standing army of officials is maintained at a large cost, but those where the State does little more

than refund the outlay incurred in performing public duties. In Switzerland a Minister of State receives a smaller salary than the despatch clerk who posts the letters of the same functionary obtains in London. The honour of serving the country is recognised as an adequate reward. The State spends liberally, even profusely, on education, and economically for all other purposes. This may be too heroic a model for imitation within hail of London, but, at any rate, it indicates the direction in which we should aim from the beginning.

IV. As a written Statute will need to be interpreted in cases of difficulty, a Court of three judges might be named in the Act on whom this power would be conferred. It would not be impossible to name three whose fairness or fitness would not be called in question by any reasonable Irishman. The provision in Mr. Gladstone's Bill referring disputed questions to a Privy Council in which all parties are represented, is not satisfactory. It would not secure a judicial decision, but a party conflict and a party triumph.

V. The compensation of members of Parliament for the expenses incident to the office is the practice in nearly all free countries except England. It is provided for in the Constitutions of the United States, Belgium, and Canada, and ought to be provided for in ours. I have served in Parliament under both systems, and I can confidently affirm that, to secure purity and public spirit, representatives must not be required to make inordinate sacrifices. All the expenses for election purposes, from the registration of votes to the taking of the poll, ought also to be defrayed by the State, as they are in many British Colonies. If men are invited to perform grave public duties, and expected to perform them uprightly, it is insensate to begin by imposing a tax which in effect is the purchase-money of the position. To compensate members of the Lower House on a moderate scale need not cost more than we pay for the single office of Viceroy; and the example of Congress warns us to fix the amount in the Constitution, and not leave it liable to be increased except by such a decided majority of both Houses as may be required for other fundamental changes.

There are writers who affirm that guarantees of this nature, or of any nature, are useless—"not worth the paper they are written upon," and so forth. But experience bears a different testimony; they have been adopted in many Constitutions in Europe, America, and Australia, and have never in any instance proved insufficient. The religious equality in the American Statute was assailed by a strong and fanatical party called Know-Nothings, but altogether in vain. In Canada there are more Orange lodges than anywhere out of Ireland, but they cannot touch the guaranteed rights of minorities. The Victorian Statute contains a number of "checks" designed, it was said, to put a drag on the wheels of democracy. To put an effectual

brake upon so tremendous a force might well seem hopeless, but it did not so prove in action. The "checks" have not been infringed or disregarded in a single case, nor has any individual right, however odious or unpopular with the majority, been violated.

Under such a Legislature and Executive it would be impossible, I submit, to work any grave injustice; and if so, they ought to possess, and would be fit to exercise, all the power enjoyed by the Parliaments and Governments of the great colonies. I have sat in colonial Cabinets which appointed judges, controlled the police, and advised the exercise of the prerogatives of the Crown, and in a Legislature which made laws "in and for the colony in all cases whatever," appropriated its revenues according to law, and distributed its patronage through Ministers possessing their confidence. I belonged to a minority of the population as small in proportion to the whole as the Protestant minority in Ireland; but representative men of the majority and minority found no difficulty in acting cordially together. The imperial army and navy, while an imperial army was maintained in the colonies, were at the orders of the Government in London; but all the agencies for maintaining public order were necessarily under the control of the men responsible for it. That community would not have endured, and no community ought to endure, the creation of a judiciary placed above the laws of the country in which they live. If they were men of the most upright character it would be an intolerable oligarchy, and if they were not, it might become an unendurable tyranny. I have lived too long away from Ireland to speak with complete knowledge of the existing Bench, but thirty years ago many of the Irish judges were partisans scarcely less pronounced than the men who outraged law and decency in the interest of the Stuarts. Lord Beaconsfield, in his *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, describes how they were sometimes appointed. Peel, he says (in substance), got rid of a parliamentary bore and bigot by sending him to the Irish Bench. This was Mr. Lefroy; and Messrs. Pennycuik and Blackburne, men of much larger capacity, were as far removed from the ideal judge. An independent judiciary is an essential guarantee for personal and public liberty; but a judge in Ireland must exercise his great trust under the same conditions as in England. To maintain him in office, if he should incur the censure of both Houses of Parliament for a grave delinquency, would be an outrage on national feeling and public liberty. There is no man of the Irish race more willing and ready than I am to sign the conditions of a permanent peace; but I would rather face the twenty years of despotism foreshadowed with brutal plainness of late than see Irishmen accept, as a settlement of our claims, a judiciary which could defy the two Houses of the Irish Parliament.

If the two nations were agreed upon the functions and limitations of

an Irish Constitution, there are three or four collateral questions which ought to be settled at the same time, and by the same authority, in order that the new Legislature may be relieved from exasperating controversy. The most weighty and urgent of these questions is the fiscal one. Mr. Gladstone insists, as one of the fundamental conditions of Home Rule, that there shall be an equitable distribution of imperial burthens, and it is a proviso of manifest justice. Unfortunately, the question is not only a very serious, but a very complicated one. I will not embarrass this project of a Constitution by a financial controversy, but it is necessary to state some of the points on which careful preliminary inquiry is essential to such a distribution of the imperial burthens as shall be fair and final.

Persons of competent knowledge contend that the most iniquitous provisions of the Union were those relating to taxation; and it is not difficult to believe that when a nation was held down by armed force, and compelled to accept an agreement at the point of the bayonet, her pocket was rifled at the close of the performance. In 1800 England paid nearly sixty millions sterling as annual interest on her national debt, and Ireland paid little over one million as interest on an Irish debt created by the English officials in Dublin Castle, and spent chiefly in the systematic corruption and final purchase of the Irish Parliament. It was provided by the Act of Union that those debts should remain separate, and that any surplus of Irish revenue should be applied to Irish purposes after paying this interest, and a contribution to imperial expenditure founded on the relative ability of the two countries. The relative ability was estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{2}{7}$. It has always been held that Ireland was crushed to prostration by the unfair burthen imposed on her by that settlement. The leaders of the party of Protestant ascendancy insisted at the time that her ability was deliberately over-estimated by taking as data the exports and imports of exceptional years, and omitting from the account certain permanent sources of income. The Irish peers, who entered on the minutes of Parliament a protest against the Union, reiterated this complaint, and it has never been abandoned. During O'Connell's Repeal agitation and Mr. Butt's Home Rule movement, skilled financiers contended that there was a gross error in the capital account of the partnership which threw upon Ireland a burthen not only beyond her just proportion of the imperial expenditure, but beyond her power to endure. If this allegation be well founded, Ireland for nearly ninety years has been paying her prosperous partner interest on a fictitious debt, as a struggling tradesman pays an exacting money-lender interest upon an advance which he has never received.

The necessary result of imposing on a community taxes which it could not pay was an annual deficit. If a man whose income is

£1000 a year be required to pay £1,200, however provident and economical he may be; he will make a debt of £200 a year; and this is what befell Ireland. When this perpetually recurring deficiency made it manifest that the ability of the country to bear taxes had been overrated, the Imperial Government, instead of re-adjusting the account, proceeded as the usurious money-lender does with the struggling tradesman—they created nominal loans to pay the deficit; loans of which Ireland never received a penny, or any other benefit, except a receipt for arrears which it is contended she did not owe.

These loans raise another question. It was provided by the Act of Union that any loan contracted after that date should be on the joint account of the two countries; the interest to be paid in the same proportion as the imperial expenditure. But in violation of this provision these loans were made a purely Irish debt, and the interest charged exclusively to the Irish account. We are familiar with this policy in Ireland; it is the same which a rack-renting landlord applies to his estate; he imposes a rent which cannot be paid, and keeps alive the fictitious arrears as an instrument of oppression. After sixteen years of this system, the specific object for which, according to experienced financiers, it was invented, was accomplished. The debt accumulated in the name of Ireland was made a pretence for amalgamating the Exchequers of the two countries, and Ireland became responsible from that time forth for the enormous national debt of England, from which the Treaty of Union professed to protect her for ever. It is idle to set down in figures the claim arising from this injustice. We cannot enforce it, and it is worth nothing if it be not frankly recognized as a proper subject of inquiry and settlement. If the claim be a just one a great nation would scorn, I think, to plead a Statute of Limitation in bar of it. It would abundantly pay the British nation in more than money to treat our claim as it treated the Alabama claim, with prodigality rather than parsimony. The simplest recipe, indeed, for making the connection permanent and fraternal is for England to negotiate with Ireland as she would negotiate with the United States or the German Empire.

When the Exchequers were amalgamated the war with Napoleon was over, and reduction of taxation commenced. It is contended that these reductions have always been made in the interest of England and to the disadvantage of Ireland. At the outset, for every hundred pounds of remission granted to England, Ireland obtained a remission of about twenty shillings. The expenditure of the joint revenue has been a constant source of remonstrance. It is inevitable that it should be greatest near the capital of the empire, but the disproportion was pushed to an inordinate extent. In 1844 a case was submitted to Parliament showing in every branch of disbursement Ireland's share as unfairly small. One instance will

sufficiently illustrate the case. In the Naval Estimates, framed for the protection of the two islands, for every pound spent in "that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Ireland," six hundred pounds were spent in Great Britain. If this wrong does not admit of any specific redress, it may help at any rate to determine the spirit of compensation in which the account ought to be considered if we are to arrive at a just settlement.

The statesmen responsible for these wrongs are dead, and if they be all written off as bad debts, there is a new claim, beginning with the lifetime of the present generation, which is still an open account. Since the famine of 1846, when the working people lost sixteen millions sterling by the failure of the potato, there has been a constant emigration, and while population and resources diminished, imperial statesmen have steadily increased the burden of taxation. A single fact, which is perhaps the most marvellous in the marvellous history of Ireland, sums up the case: the population is less than half what it was when the famine commenced, and the taxation is more than double what it was at that period. A parliamentary return, published in 1866, exhibits the constantly increasing burthen per head borne by the Irish people for the twenty years for which the account was furnished:

	Population.		Taxation.		Taxation per head.
1841	8,196,597	...	£4,158,677	...	£0 10 1
1851	6,574,278	...	4,324,865	...	0 13 3
1861	5,798,967	...	6,792,606	...	1 3 5

"This," says a contemporary critic, "is the cube root of the Irish question." It may be supposed that the burthens of England increased in the same proportion, and that Ireland only bore her share in the partnership liability. But the fact was very different. The complaint of a prodigious inequality was constantly insisted upon and was pressed as strongly by Tories and Unionists as by Nationalists; the following incisive statement of it is the work of one of Lord Hartington's warmest supporters in the Liberal Union: *—

"The annual income of Great Britain, calculated by the best English authorities, is over eight hundred millions (£800,000,000). The annual income of Ireland, calculated in the same manner, is under forty-eight millions (£48,000,000). Ireland pays each year in imperial taxes eight millions (£8,000,000), or three shillings and fourpence out of every pound of her income. Great Britain pays sixty-seven millions (£67,000,000), or one shilling and eightpence out of every pound of her income. If Ireland contributed to the imperial revenue in proportion to her relative ability, she would pay a very little more than four millions; she does pay more than eight."

* Mr. Mitchell Henry, formerly member of Parliament for Galway and more recently Unionist candidate for Glasgow.

The same writer, an experienced man of business, contends that in the thirty years ending in 1883 the National Debt was reduced by a hundred millions, mainly to improve the securities in which wealthy Englishmen invest, and that ninety millions of this sum were extracted by undue taxation from Ireland. In one generation we paid, he insists, nearly half the indemnity imposed upon France by her German conqueror.

But the case does not rest on the testimony of Irish experts. The most eminent of English statisticians, Mr. Giffen, Financial Secretary of the Board of Trade, has distinctly declared that in latter years Ireland has contributed *twice her proper share* to the Imperial Exchequer. "Ireland," he says, "while constituting only about a twentieth part of the United Kingdom in resources, nevertheless pays a tenth or eleventh of the taxes. Ireland ought to pay about £3,500,000; she pays nearly £7,000,000." Another financial critic declares that "Ireland, the poorest country in Europe, pays into the Imperial Exchequer one-sixth of her annual income, while Great Britain, the richest country in the world, pays just one-twelfth."

It cannot be disputed that this is a case which demands inquiry. It is not a sentimental grievance, which may be dismissed with other forgotten wrongs belonging to the dead past, but a practical one, altogether outside of party and which will largely determine the future fortune of the country. To borrow an illustration from the land question, the rent paid on an estate is the principal *datum* in determining the value of the freehold; if the rent be too high, the purchase of the property will be a bad and may be a ruinous bargain. In the same way the permanent contribution which Ireland must make to imperial purposes (after the establishment of a separate Parliament) will be determined on the basis of past contributions, and if they be accepted without inquiry, we may be again loaded with a burthen beyond our strength. Finance is the life-blood of a State, and under inordinate depletion it bleeds to death. The wisest native Government cannot make a country prosperous if it is bound to pay away its earnings to satisfy excessive claims. A Royal Commission of competent financiers must inquire and report on this subject. The profound confidence which the Irish people have in the good intentions of Mr. Gladstone persuaded them to accept his financial proposals without inquiry. But there is time for inquiry now, and the result may repay them for all the vexation which the delay of a settlement has imposed. The inquiry must be now or never. Whatever settlement we accept must be borne unflinchingly, on pain of Ireland being represented as a repudiator at the outset of her career. The disestablishment of the Irish Church furnishes a salutary warning. That settlement will necessarily and properly be protected from disturbance for ever in the Irish Con-

stitution, and yet it is one which no Irish Parliament would have made. It was resolved to establish religious equality in Ireland, but to propitiate British prejudice it was established by giving all the churches, all the glebes and glebe lands, and the bulk of the funds to the minority, to re-endow their Church. One single ruined edifice which the minority never used nor claimed—the historic Rock of Cashel—a separate Bill proposed to convey to the Catholics, and the House of Lords indignantly rejected the proposal. A single settlement of account like this is enough for a century.*

Next in importance after the fiscal crux comes the land question. There is a universal consensus that this angry controversy must not be cast like a firebrand into the midst of the new Legislature, and no party now objects to the purchase of the proprietors' rights at a reasonable price. It is only the security for the necessary advance that is any longer in debate. Mr. Gladstone's original proposal was to my thinking substantially just; but leading men among his supporters and his opponents refuse to impose any liability on the British taxpayer. Their theory of public duty is not intelligible to me. They admit the claim for protection which the landlords whom they planted in Ireland by confiscating the rights of the native owners have upon them, but they repudiate the corresponding responsibility. As the wrongs which must be remedied are confessedly of their creation it is difficult to understand how they are justified in refusing to make any sacrifice towards righting them. It is not so that other nations have interpreted their duty. Austria and Russia, for example, turned their tenants into freeholders, and the State advanced the entire purchase-money, and collected it by annual instalments from the occupiers. Whether this be done in Ireland is a question of slight importance to the tenant, but of high importance to the landlord; for the interest saved by an imperial guarantee would go to swell the purchase-money, with great gain to the seller and without the loss of a penny to the purchaser. I cordially wish it were done, and I am persuaded it could be done without injury to anybody. But if the Imperial Parliament is determined to be bountiful *à bon marché*, there happily remains a valid security in the guarantee of such a Government and Legislature as I have prefigured. Their credit would probably be, and would certainly deserve to be, as good as that of any State in Europe, and the repayment might be made a first charge on the national revenue. But there is one device I trust we shall

* I trust this statement of fact will not be misunderstood as springing from any sentiment of bigotry. There could not possibly be a greater mistake. I saw the disestablishment of the Irish Church with exultation, because it removed a barrier which divided Irishmen on the national question; but I desired it to be accomplished, as far as practicable, without injury to a body of Irish gentlemen and their families, who had derived their position from settled law; and I have had the happiness of knowing, in many parts of the world, some of the manliest young men and most cultivated and charming young women, often passionate lovers of Ireland, who were born in Irish parsonages.

hear of no more: the method of putting in a receiver on behalf of the Imperial Government is offensive and humiliating, and would bring the credit of the country at the outset into undeserved contempt. The record of the Irish farmers does not justify exceptional precautions; they have discharged their liabilities to the State with commendable punctuality. The Loan Fund in the latest report which has fallen under my notice had practically no arrears. The advances for the improvement of land were repaid in a slovenly manner by landlords, but with singular regularity by tenants. Their latest obligations are those incurred under the Purchase of Land Act, 1885, and I have inquired how that account stands. The answer furnishes very useful and significant evidence for our present controversy. Of 1320 instalments of purchase money due in November 1886, all but one were duly paid. Of 1750 instalments for the current year, due in May last, 1633 were paid up to July, and 117 were in course of collection. What State in Europe can show a better balance-sheet than this? It is contended, indeed, that an unmanageable difficulty would arise when the State had to deal, not with a few hundred, but with many thousand debtors; but it is a difficulty which has been successfully encountered elsewhere. When it was my duty, as Minister of Public Lands, to frame a Land system for the colony of Victoria I desired to give the settlers the benefit of deferred payments, without which poor men could not become purchasers. I procured official information on kindred experiments in the United States, as well as in Canada and other British colonies, and the result was sufficiently disheartening. The colonial settlers were permitted to hold the land they selected at a quit-rent, and the quit-rent was never in any case successfully collected. In Canada, New Brunswick, and Trinidad scarcely a shilling of the debt was paid. In the United States in 1820, President Munroe reported that upwards of twenty-two millions of dollars were due to the Treasury, and recommended some indulgence to the debtors. In the end Congress abolished the credit system and ordered lands to be sold at a low price, but for cash only; and it provided for the extinguishment of the existing debt by enabling purchasers to receive a discharge on relinquishing a part of their lands proportionate to the debt to the State which remained unpaid. All these difficulties the Government of Victoria evaded by adopting a new principle. They determined to enlist the self-respect and self-interest of the settlers on the side of the law, and instead of being exacted as an annual rent, the yearly payments were credited as instalments of the purchase money. But the settler was not permitted to exercise the most important power of a proprietor; to transfer or mortgage the land, for example, till the last instalment of the purchase money was paid. This system has been in operation

nearly a quarter of a century ; more land has passed and is passing under it than we shall have to sell in Ireland, and the annual payments have been made with wonderful punctuality. In fact, the farmers were more impatient to complete the purchase than the State, that they might become entitled to exercise the rights of proprietorship. Here is a case which can be tested by all concerned, as the statistics of Victoria are kept with remarkable accuracy, and I challenge inquiry. The population it dealt with was in a large proportion Irish, and the experiment has been completely successful. Some alarmists feared at the outset that the existence of a vast class of public creditors who had votes would tend to create a party in Parliament pledged to reduce their burthen. Had the danger arisen, it would have been met effectually by making the payment of the current annual instalment a condition of exercising the franchise, so that defaulters would have no representatives. But it did not arise. I represented several agricultural districts in succession, and I was not once asked to modify the terms of payment imposed upon selectors. The bargain was a fair and advantageous one, and the farmers performed their part of it better, I believe, than the clients of any merchant or manufacturer in England. Is there any reason why the same system applied to Ireland would not produce the same result ? I know of none.

The Catholic bishops, with true statesmanship, recently declared that "the Irish people do not aim at the confiscation of any species of property," but its legitimate purchase, and I do not doubt that they would gladly see the necessary change made without wanton or avoidable injury to the existing proprietors. There is one considerable relief which the law could give, and I think ought to give them. Family settlements should be subject *pro rata* to the reduction which rents and the general value of the freehold have undergone. Take the settlement of a single property as an illustration. A father entails his estate on his eldest son, and charges it with a jointure for his own widow, and with capital sums, bearing four or five per cent. interest, as portions for younger sons and daughters. When the heir comes into possession, the property is perhaps still liable for a mortgage by his grandfather to provide for *his* younger children, leaving about fifty per cent. of the annual income to the present proprietor. The Land Court reduces the rental five-and-twenty per cent., and the fall of prices snatches away twenty per cent. more. The cost of collection and management is at least five per cent., and by the operation of irresistible causes the entire income of the proprietor is sometimes snatched away, and he has nothing to bequeath to his heir. Can it be doubted that if the father and grandfather were still living, and had to make the settlements anew, they would reduce the provision for the younger children in proportion to the reduction of the gross income ?

Would it be contrary to public policy or private justice if the law made this settlement for them? The loss, it seems to me, should not fall on one person exclusively, and he the principal person, but be fairly distributed over all the annuitants. The law of property in France steps in and settles family interests fairly and peremptorily, without regarding individual wishes, and I think it might be done in this case without violating the spirit of equity which is the essential basis of law.

Local government, which is the necessary complement of central government, must, as far as details are concerned, be left to the Irish Parliament, but the Constitution Statute might with great advantage specify the powers reserved for county boards. In Belgium and Switzerland, the best governed countries in Europe, every duty which can be safely committed to local bodies is entrusted wholly to them. Not only is the humblest citizen actively associated with the State in public labours, and made a sharer in the sense of responsibility, which is the best element of public opinion, but the interests and feelings of cantons and departments, which often have little in common, are safeguarded by localizing authority. Much, I think, might be done towards satisfying Ulster by following this method, and I hope on another occasion to examine how far the Belgian or Swiss practice would help us. De Tocqueville, as if he were speaking of our special case, insists that a Legislature standing alone is not the most effectual organ of the popular will.

"Local assemblies of citizens," he says, "constitute the strength of free nations. Municipal institutions are to liberty what primary schools are to science: they bring it within the people's reach; they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it. A nation may establish a system of free government, but without municipal institutions it cannot have the spirit of liberty." But Ireland never had any of the cardinal institutions which form the limbs and vertebræ of a free State, and the poor substitutes for them in Boards and Committees nominated by the Crown suffer debility and paralysis from foreign influences. It might be wise to direct in the Constitution the general lines on which authority is to be distributed, and the limits to be imposed on the taxing power of local bodies.

The last of the burning questions which it would be wise to withdraw from controversy is middle-class education. I should be glad to see the property of Trinity College placed, like the Canadian educational endowments, under the protection of the Constitution; but it would be idle to hope and shameful to propose that a Protestant college should continue to enjoy £40,000 a year, derived chiefly from the confiscation of Catholic institutions, unless adequate provision were made for the education of the majority. At present no Catholic college has a shilling of endowment. The two claims should be settled

together in the Constitutional Statute, never more to be called a question *in secula seculorum*.

* I pause here, not because the topic is exhausted, but the space. I will ask leave to speak on a future occasion of certain collateral issues now postponed. Some Englishmen, for example, are alarmed at the risk of Ulster suffering injustice, and at the possibility of a Separatist movement springing up, and I would gladly debate these apprehensions with perfect frankness. Whether the powers of the new Legislature ought to be specified, or should extend to all questions not distinctly withdrawn from its cognizance, raises an interesting controversy. If the control of Customs duties be retained by the Imperial Parliament (as it must), it will be necessary to consider regulations to ensure a just distribution of the proceeds, and how any unfair exercise of treaty-making and tariff-making powers by the imperial authorities (from which we have hitherto suffered seriously), may be restrained. The larger question, whether we shall continue to send members to Westminster, will ultimately be settled by forces over which we have no control. I would rather not divert one competent man from the work to be done in Ireland, but if it be a necessary concession to English opinion, it may be made without much reluctance, as it is certain to be temporary. It is past reasonable controversy that the system under which the colonies are liable in life and property for wars over which they have no more control than over the winds and waves, will not last, and that, on the other hand, prosperous communities in Africa, America, and Australasia cannot continue to be defended at the sole cost of the taxpayers at home. If the British Empire is to be held together there must be a federal union, in which taxation and representation will go together. A Parliament of the Empire in which the popular chamber consisted of a convenient number of members—not much exceeding 200—allotted to the mother country and the colonies in strict proportion to populations and resources, and an Upper House of life peers selected on the same principle, would be a truly Imperial Parliament. To such a Legislature, I make no doubt, the colonies would grant the power of taxation for defence, and the other essential costs of empire, in proportions fixed from the outset by mutual agreement. If England and Wales sent 166 members, and Scotland 24, Ireland's proportion would be 35, which we could supply without inordinate inconvenience. And when our own house is put in order, when the relations of Ireland to the empire are finally settled on a satisfactory basis, when the business at home is less urgent and exacting, it will become a reasonable ambition for Irishmen to share the aims and labours of the Imperial Legislature.

Practical Englishmen, if they see any elements of success in this proposal for a fair settlement of Irish difficulties, will inquire,

How far is it likely to be acceptable at home? Whoever knows Ireland, not on the perturbed surface, but in its silent depths, will not think it improbable that both sections of the nation would welcome any settlement which is essentially fair to both.

I have lived much with Irish Protestants at home, in England, and in Australia, and I confidently affirm that their objection to self-government is not an objection to the principle, but solely to the methods proposed. A very capable and resolute country gentleman recently summed up the case in a sentence. "I am against Home Rule," he said, "because I have fears for my property and my religion, and a little perhaps for my civil liberty. If these were not in question I would of course be for self-government in the island as naturally as in the parish or in the household." When I was a schoolboy, and for at least a generation later, the *Dublin Evening Mail* was the sole accredited organ of Irish Protestantism in the Press. In latter times it has powerful rivals and competitors; but there must be many Conservatives who

"Think it still a shame and sin
To quit the good old Angel Inn."

I cut recently from the pages of the *Mail* a sentence which I am persuaded expresses the secret conscience of a multitude of Irish Protestants: "Nobody dislikes the principle of Home Rule, nor will any English statesman refuse it to Ireland when it is seen to mean something better than a free hand for rapine and oppression, and a silly and stupid national spite."

And as it is no longer rash to affirm that Home Rule must come, reasonable opponents naturally cease to be "untransacting," and begin to consider the terms of a compromise. That it must come sooner or later is past rational debate. It has reached the stage where its coming is simply a question of date. When Parliamentary Reform, Catholic Emancipation, or Free Trade was formulated by a Government, and made the condition of its existence, it would have been as hopeless a task to settle any of these demands by any other method than concession, as to turn back the Thames to its source. And Home Rule has at long last reached the same point. The only question is, whether it will come on the inclined plane of compromise, or come in a rush; and the minority cannot doubt which method they would prefer.

* What is the state of mind of the other party? There is confessedly a large Catholic middle class who desire nothing so much as to live in peace and amity with their Protestant fellow-countrymen. They are silent at present because the Irish Party are doing essential work; and even when they do not sympathize with its methods and agencies they will not take the responsibility of embarrassing a cause which has so often suffered from division. They want to see Ireland's national rights restored without undue strain on the social system, and with the least possible offence to opponents.

As for the peasantry, when they are secured the honest fruits of their industry, there never was a race more disposed to be allies and partisans of their social superiors. Their weakness is to run too far and too fast in that direction. What grinding tyranny it needed to make them what they have become we may estimate from the transformation they have undergone. It is said they are demoralized by agitation, and it may be so. It is one of the penalties of human weakness that the justest war often creates a fierce and licentious soldiery, and the most generous resistance to wrong a violent and intractable population. Boycotting adopted for a great public end has sometimes been basely employed as the instrument of private vengeance. And sympathy with crime must have become savage and insensate in that corner of Ireland where the brave Irish girls of the Curtin family were hooted and hustled out of the house of God for avenging their father's death. But those who know how long the Irish people endured wrong with slavish submission, how often they lay down and died in hopeless torpor, will not misunderstand the inevitable reaction. Happily the histories of oppressed communities—Saxon, Teuton, Celt, and Slav—among whom murder and sympathy with murder were never the most revolting crimes, teach us that the evil habits created by social wars are soon purged away and forgotten when the contest is at an end. Our people will never any more be the serfs of landlords or middlemen; but when the immediate causes of wrath are removed they have as abundantly as any race in Europe the native disposition which makes good neighbours and good citizens.

As for the true governing class, the thoughtful and studious men scattered through the professions and isolated in colleges and presbyteries, they whose opinions prevail in the end, know that the minority to whom they are invited to make a peace offering is the same out of which have come, in every generation since the fall of Limerick, our most devoted friends. Swift and Burke, Grattan and Fitzgerald, Curran and Plunkett flamed out in generous rage against the oppressors of the people when the people could make no return for services but their love and fidelity. In our own day, Davis, O'Brien, Mitchel, Butt, and many of their associates, belonged to the minority by birth or creed, and were the most devoted Irishmen of their generation. And in later times, Parnell, Lecky (while we could still count his genius and philosophy among our precious possessions), Pendergast, and Galbraith have been as Irish as O'Connell or Doyle. We have given the hostages of honour and conscience to the Protestants who have helped us in our long struggle, and still more to the English statesman who has raised the Irish question to the position which commands success, and to his allies who have expounded his opinions to the English people with such skill and enthusiasm. We should be among the basest of mankind if we did not burn to repay these magnanimous services in kind.

C. GAVAN DUFFY.

THE STORY OF ZEBEHR PASHA,

AS TOLD BY HIMSELF.

EVERYONE knows the western side of the Rock of Gibraltar where, fringing the shore, the pepper-trees and pines of the Alameda, and the occasional date palms of soldiers' gardens, seem to garland the closely packed town. Blue sea beneath, blue sky above, the white streets seem almost to quiver in a blaze of light. Behind them the mountain rises in sharp fantastic lines skywards, and across the bay the hills of the Spanish coast roll softly down under groves of orange, eucalyptus, and cork. Other white towns glisten along the edge of the sea; ships pass to and fro, the harbour is thronged like the streets. It is the meeting-point for travellers from India, Morocco, and Spain. Everyone knows it, and everyone feels that when his foot touches the soil he is in England again. But every one does not so well know that round on the eastern side, where the grey marble rock presents a for the most part inaccessible wall to the sea and the Mediterranean breaks under perpendicular cliffs, there is one ledge on which a cottage is built. It stands 150 feet above the sea; but on days of storm, when the waves are driven and lifted by the east wind, they leap in spray as high as the roof and drench it with salt water. Aloes and marigolds cling to the rock; all other vegetation is destroyed, until, as the cliff lifts itself out of reach of the sea, a wild olive finds here and there rocthold. The natural wall rising close at the back of the cottage shuts the prospect on three sides. On the fourth, the view eastward is unbounded by anything nearer than the meeting-line of the sea and the sky. There is only the mass of the rock between this one house and bustling Gibraltar, yet on still days the hush of the solitude could hardly be more profound.

Here Zebehr Pasha was confined for upwards of two years.

He had with him some members of his family and a retinue of black servants. He received visitors, and the contrast was strange for any one who goes from the town to call at the cottage. Six thousand hospitable soldiers, with nothing to do, speak in themselves for the life of the western side of the rock. From a tennis party there you have but to make your way round the point and pass, as it seemed, at once into the very heart of the East. No other habitation in sight: nothing but two expanses of blue on the right hand, and on the left a sheer marble wall, which, in the stillness of the scene it encloses, appeals to imagination as a definite boundary-line between the existence of one hemisphere and another.

I saw the Pasha often in the course of the winter; and our conversations, desultory at first, took by degrees the form of a connected narrative of his life and adventures. As I perceived how interesting it might be if it could be accurately reproduced, I asked and received his permission to go to him regularly, and to make notes on the spot. My visits were paid in the afternoon. At two or three o'clock I arrived, and was received in a room facing the sea. There, by the window, two little tables and a circle of chairs were set ready. The Pasha—dark, slight, tall, looking all the taller when he rose for the draperies of Eastern dress—used to sit in an armchair, smoking a tchibouk of hashish, and having one little table at his right hand for the papers and pencil with which he occasionally illustrated his speech. I, opposite to him, at the other table, industriously scribbled. Between us the interpreter, on whom the whole story depended, sat bending forward, equally attentive to one and the other; while round our chairs black servants, some of them natives of the countries of which we spoke, stood in attendance. When the narrative grew dramatic they listened eagerly. Now and then, on a question from the Pasha, one or other could offer some bit of information about his country or people. The going down of the sun was our signal for dispersion. When there was no more light on the sea, the Pasha hastened to bring the story to some point at which he could say, "It is finished!" The interpreter usually added, "He must pray;" and I rose and took leave. During a period of a little more than four months we saw each other in this way on an average about once a week.

The Pasha knew towards the end of the time that I proposed to use what he was saying to me for publication, and he gave me free permission to do so. The story may, therefore, be taken as an approximation to a deliberate statement of his own case. Unfortunately, he speaks no European language, and our conversation was carried on entirely through the interpreter. Achamet was his name. His patience was as great as his stock of English was small. I owe

him many thanks for the good-humour with which he bore ceaseless cross-questioning; but notwithstanding all our mutual efforts, I recognize that there must be many discrepancies between what was told and what was heard. I tried to minimize them, and the story was given to me in so many parts that they could scarcely fit into each other as they do unless the whole were fairly accurate. Still, it should be read with the remembrance that it came through an interpreter who was totally unacquainted with the circumstances and conditions of which it treats. If, on the one hand, this very ignorance gives a certain value to his rendering, it laid him open on the other hand to more probable misapprehension.

I believe that direct narration suffered less in transmission than the discussion of abstract subjects. In this last, usually full of interest, I was aware of wide gaps. The Pasha spoke with fluency and animation. His habit was to address me directly by gesture, as though I had understood the accompanying words, and often when laughter, gravity, and speaking indications of eye and hand had suggested all the incidents of vivid speech, I received a bald generality which a mere comparison of the time it took to deliver showed to be no fair representation of the original.

With regard to the common facts of narration there were also difficulties to be overcome. When Achamet got into figures higher than tens, he was not to be trusted, and for dates I found it necessary to take certain fixed points—namely, the present year, the Pasha's age, and the Franco-German war. From these I asked with regard to every important occurrence. How long ago? How old was the Pasha? How long before or after the Franco-German war? When the three answers tallied I held the date to be verified. For geographical positions I was able to appeal directly to the Pasha. Being unacquainted with European characters, he was of course unable to read European maps, but on one of our tables a good German map lay open, and when an unknown place was mentioned the Pasha called on me to indicate towns which he knew to lie respectively north, south, east, and west of it. Using these as cardinal points, he was able to show the position at least approximately. His knowledge of the geography of the district was very accurate. On one occasion he laid his finger on a river forming one of the network traversing the Bahr-el-Ghasal province, and asked me to name it. I called it the Rohl. "La! La!" he said, shaking his head, "your European maps are all wrong. That river must be the Seraf." I looked a second time, and found that from a mass of names I had read the wrong one. The river was the Seraf.

With regard to the spelling of names, I have adopted the common spelling in cases where I found them already marked upon maps, or

mentioned by travellers. In the case of names which were entirely unknown to me, I have given the best phonetic rendering that I could of the Pasha's clear pronunciation.

I mention these details in order to show that it was not without pains on both sides to ensure accuracy that the story has been written. My share in it has been merely to ascertain what the Pasha wished to say. He speaks for himself.

I.

Amongst the Arabs it appears that a man is not held to be of noble birth unless he can count back his ancestry, as such, for ten generations. Zebehr can count his back through forty generations in direct descent from Abbas, uncle of the prophet, and through twenty-six generations to a certain Ibrahim who came from Mecca to Cairo about a thousand years ago. The account which Zebehr gave of the settlement of his family in the neighbourhood of Khartoum was that this Ibrahim was the head of a migratory tribe, and was a man of so much influence and power that the people of Cairo feared to let him live amongst them. He moved on from city to city to the then unclaimed territory of Gimmeyab, where he settled, and where Zebehr's family hold land to the present day. Zebehr spoke of these things perhaps with more simplicity than Englishmen who still hold land inscribed in their fathers' names upon the Doomsday Book are in the habit of speaking of their ancestry; but he had evidently the aristocratic sense of pleasure in well-known descent. "Ah, you know that!" he said, with a brightened glance, when I made some allusion to the Abbaside caliphs of the West. "Yes, they were Arabs of my family who ruled in Spain." His father, Rahama, still lived at Gimmeyab when Zebehr was a young man; but, though holding an honourable position and able to give his sons a good education, he does not appear to have been rich. Zebehr at least was not rich. At the age of twenty-eight all he possessed in the world was £100.

About that time the provinces to the south of the White Nile had for the youth of Khartoum the same sort of attraction that the wilds of America and Australia have had at various times for young Englishmen. The expeditions which were made into them were trading expeditions, but they went down prepared for rough personal adventure. The country was in many directions unexplored, and the stories that were told of it were as wonderful as the accounts first brought home to Europe from the West. Some portions were described as gardens, in which every sort of fruit grew wild; others as deadly swamps, where nothing but crocodiles and venomous insects could live. Dwarfs, giants, gnomes, and white races with long and

silky hair were among the inhabitants of the wilds. There were the horrors of cannibalism to face, the excitement of big game to hunt. Every expedition went fully armed; sometimes enormous fortunes were brought back; very often lives were lost.

In the year 1857 a cousin of Zebehr's joined himself to the guard of the well-known merchant, Ali Imouri, who was going down in search of ivory to the countries beyond the Bahr-el-Ghasal. The family disapproved strongly of his proceeding, and Zebehr was sent to reason with him, and to bring him away from the expedition. It had already started, but Zebehr overtook it at a place called Was-hallah, three days' journey up the Nile. Ali Imouri refused at first to release the cousin from his engagement. After much discussion he appeared, however, to yield. "Sleep with us to-night on board the ship, and to-morrow you shall take him back," was his final agreement. Zebehr slept on board. In the night the anchor was weighed, and when he woke it was to find himself going south. The only explanation that Ali Imouri would give was, "You wanted to take your cousin away; now I have taken you away. You can come with us." Zebehr had neither arms, nor money, nor change of clothes. He had gone only to fetch his cousin, and had not expected to have to follow him even so far as he had already gone. His remonstrances had, however, no effect upon Ali Imouri, who was absolute master on his own ship. "And thus," Zebehr said, "I started poor as a slave. My cousin gave me food, but Ali Imouri did not like me, and he would give me nothing. He never spoke to me. He took no care for me. I was only a stranger in his train." Their journey lay through the Shillook country—past Kaka, Faschoda, the Bahr Sobat, the Bahr Scraf, Bahr-el-Djebel, and many strangely unpronounceable names, till they came at Meschra-er-Rek to a great and tideless lake, where the boat was to be left for four months. The only thing that Zebehr chanced to have with him was a copy of the Koran, and during the whole of this journey he had nothing to do but to read it, and to make notes upon the country through which they passed. When they arrived at the lake, Ali Imouri said to him with contempt: "You do nothing but read the Koran, and a priest is of no use to us; therefore, while we go on our expedition you had better remain here in charge of the boat." Zebehr altogether refused to do it. The stinging flies and mosquitoes in that place were intolerable, and he had no means of defending himself, or of living amongst strangers. Ali Imouri continued to jeer at him, asking whether he supposed that they had intended to bring a missionary with them. Zebehr said: "You have 100 men of your guard, and they have arms and ammunition; without arms they would be as I am. Give me arms, and I will be as they!" Ali Imouri gave him a gun which was rust-eaten, and two cartridges. Zebehr was glad

to get even that. He cleaned his gun, mended it, and went with the caravan. After eight days' journey they struck the Bahr-el-Dyour, and made a station twenty-four hours' journey beyond it, at Dyour. From Dyour they went by Amoukwal, Abeem, Bayadid, Luglug, to Afouk, in the neighbourhood of the Makua.

Here they found the natives hostile. An advance party of Imouri's men were attacked by overwhelming numbers of blacks, and were defeated and driven back towards their camp. Zebehr, still despised by Imouri, had been left with the remainder in the camp. At sight of their own men flying, this camp party sallied out, and with one of his two cartridges Zebehr had the good luck to kill the black chief. Imouri's men were falling all round under the hail of spears. Fifteen dropped close beside him, with good guns and ammunition. Some of the guns were loaded, and by using them he was able to keep up for a few minutes a very rapid fire, which, following upon the panic of the chief's death, actually turned the tide of battle. Ali Imouri's men rallied, the blacks were driven back, and a defeat, which could have ended in nothing but massacre, was turned into a victory.

From that day Imouri treated Zebehr with as much favour and respect as he had before shown him contempt. He gave him a tent, and coffee, dates, bread, arms, clothes, and everything that he wanted.

By Zebehr's advice, an interpreter was sent to the blacks, saying: "Come down now, and be friendly with us, and we will pay you twenty-five white beads for every man that is killed." So the traders made peace with the tribe, paying, as they promised, twenty-five white beads apiece for the dead, and giving copper rings over and above for the living, to divide amongst themselves as they thought best. In return, the natives agreed to bring ivory and to trade with them.

The caravan moved on to the station, where they had friends, for Ali Imouri was one of fourteen merchants who had agreed to trade in that district; and, after recruiting its strength, it eventually returned to the station at Dyour or Dyoum, which it enlarged and made into its headquarters. From this station it carried on trade with the natives, and sent out small expeditions to explore the country and to penetrate amongst unknown tribes. The habit of the merchants at that time was to deal very roughly with the natives. As a consequence, the natives were of course hostile, and these small expeditions used to suffer severely, rarely returning without the loss of one or two of their members. Zebehr accompanied a great many, and was of opinion that the system upon which they were conducted was quite wrong. He considered them to be at once too weak and unnecessarily aggressive, and he urged his views upon Imouri. At last Imouri said to him: "If this kind of thing goes on, it is evident that I shall lose all my guard; therefore take charge of them if you will,

and organize the matter as you please." Zebehr accordingly took the direction of this branch of Imouri's business, and went on an entirely new principle. He allowed no more expeditions to be made by undisciplined groups of four or five, who went where they liked and acted as they pleased, but usually led them himself in greater force, rarely taking with him less than twenty. He maintained strict military discipline among them, and insisted that all their movements should be executed with military precautions. At the same time, he endeavoured to conciliate the natives, forcing nothing from them, but giving prompt and liberal payment for the goods they brought. His policy was to be always prepared to resist aggression, but never to attack; and the result of this firm and conciliatory method was, that he pacified the tribes and explored the country, becoming everywhere so well known that the children of the tribes were called after his name, and natives from all quarters brought their goods to him to sell. He rose accordingly in favour with Ali Imouri, and five months later received an offer from him to enter into partnership. He refused, preferring to keep his independence, and having still no intention of spending his life in those regions. Ali Imouri, however, wished to go to Khartoum, and Zebehr agreed to remain for four months in charge of the station. In return for this he was to receive £1,200, and be free at the end of the time to go where he pleased. Thirty-six men were left with him, and during the absence of Ali Imouri he pursued his peaceful policy, travelling a great deal through the country, making friends with the natives, becoming acquainted with their customs and their wants, learning some of their dialects, and succeeding so well in his trading operations that he amassed a larger quantity of ivory than had ever before been collected in so short a time. In speaking of this part of his career, he insisted on the necessity for gentle and honest dealing with the natives. Though very wild, they were not, for the most part, cannibals, and they were perfectly able to understand the difference between truth and a lie. "Any merchant could trade with them," he said, "who would go peacefully, using his brains instead of his rifle. If you explain to them quietly, 'Here are beads'; give me ivory for them,' they understand that it is for their advantage and for your advantage. You have only to deal fairly, paying what you promise, and they will bring feathers, ivory, gum, skins—all that they have; but if you go amongst them, blustering, trying to force them, they take to their spears, and you lose your merchandise and your life."

Ali Imouri's absence was prolonged for six months. When he returned, Zebehr had waiting for him 500 cantals of ivory. Highly pleased, Imouri offered a second time to take him into partnership. Zebehr still refused, and Imouri offered him £2,500 if he would remain again in charge of the station while he himself returned with

the ivory to Khartoum. But during Imouri's absence Zebehr had made himself so well acquainted with the country that he knew exactly what the natives most wanted. He saw his way to trading advantageously, and made up his mind to make a career for himself in these countries. He preferred to be independent, and refused the second offer also, returning to Khartoum after an absence which had lasted a little more than a year.

He possessed at this time a hundred pounds of his own. Adding to it the £1,200 punctually paid to him by Imouri, he bought a boat, and stocked it with merchandise suitable to the countries from which he had come. This occupied some months, and it was towards the end of 1858 that he hired a guard of twenty-five men, and started to trade upon his own account. He went rather more west, towards the Nyam-Nyams. The district which he selected was ruled by a king of the name of Zangbahor. Acting always upon his friendly policy, Zebehr traded with him very peacefully and satisfactorily for a year, at the end of which time Zangbahor died, and Tikima his son reigned in his stead. Zebehr appears to have acquired considerable influence at Zangbahor's Court, and on hearing the story one is inevitably reminded of Joseph and Pharaoh. The English mind, Zebehr said, could hardly conceive the condition of the Nyam-Nyam people. They had no God, no prophet, and no law. One man worshipped a tree, another his chickens, some fire, some water, some the buffalo, some the serpent. They had no occupation but hunting, and fighting one with another, and they were cannibals. Cannibalism prevailed amongst them to such an extent that when he first went down they ate none but human flesh. Men, women, and children were killed in the market, cut up and sold, as Europeans sell beef and mutton. All prisoners of war were eaten, and ill-behaved persons; also men who grew too fat to be good for anything else, and persons who died a natural death. A young Nyam-Nyam, who was in attendance upon the Pasha, explained, *apropos* of this, that it is not the custom to eat your own relations. If your mother, for instance, is supposed to be dying, you negotiate with some one of a neighbouring village to give a certain sum for her body. If she recovers, the bargain falls through; if she dies, the fact is notified immediately to the man who has bought her, and she is taken away to be decently eaten at a distance. Amongst people like these, who knew little of agriculture and nothing of trade, there was everything in the way of civilization still to be done, and the king allowed himself to be frequently guided by Zebehr's advice.

Amongst other things, Zebehr taught him the value of a standing army. It was the custom of war in Zangbahor's territory to divide the spoil into prisoners and booty. The prisoners were the share of the people, and the booty was the share of the king; but when

Zebehr saw fine and serviceable young men killed for eating, he "thought it was a pity," and pointed out to the king that it would be far better to give up to his people some portion of the calico and beads which formed his share, and to take for himself the young and strong among the prisoners, who might be trained in his service as soldiers. To fix a definite ransom for each prisoner was the next step. Soon the fame of this proceeding spread. Neighbouring tribes ceased also to eat their young prisoners, and offered them for sale instead. Cannibalism received a great check, and the system of slave armies, which became afterwards so famous, was established. Upon the accession of Tikima war was declared against him by Marissa, a very powerful neighbouring chief. Tikima raised a great native force, armed with spears and arrows, and Zebehr, taking his little guard armed with French rifles, went out with him. Tikima's troops were at first successful. Marissa retreated before them, and after forty days' fighting they penetrated to the capital of his country. This was a town of considerable size, and, to their surprise, they found it quite empty. The houses were left open, and in every house there was a supply of the strong sweet beer of the country. This circumstance aroused Zebehr's suspicions. He was persuaded that an ambush was prepared, and he kept his guard together, forbidding them to touch the drink. Tikima's men were, however, hungry and thirsty. They were unaccustomed to discipline, and they fell upon the drink with exactly the result that might be expected. The town was soon filled with a tipsy crowd. Marissa's army returned, and Tikima's men were slaughtered like sheep. With his small guard, Zebehr was able to surround the person of King Tikima, and to bring him out of the town, rallying a portion of the army about him. In doing this Zebehr was severely wounded by a spear, which pierced his body above the right lung, and came out through the shoulder, breaking the bone. One of his guards wanted to pull out the spear, but fearing that the rush of blood would disable him, Zebehr allowed it only to be broken off short, leaving it still in the wound, and in that condition continued to protect the retreat of King Tikima across a river which they had left in their rear. He was wounded again in the thigh, but the retreat was made good. When they were in safety in Tikima's country, Tikima drew the spear out with his own hand, and then, as Zebehr had expected, the blood gushed out in such quantity that he fell senseless at Tikima's feet. They dressed his wounds, and the next day, when such of the chiefs who were left alive had returned, Tikima called a council, and taking Zebehr, wounded as he was, by the hand, he presented him to his council, saying: "You, who were my friends and the great men of my kingdom—you, my brothers, whom I have loaded with presents, in my danger ran from me and left me to die; but this foreigner gave me life again. I

had been dead, but he brought me back to the world. He is wounded for me, and now he shall be my friend and my son." And he turned round and said, "Bring my daughter"; and when she was brought he gave her before the council to Zebehr. The chiefs of his people remonstrated: they were not negroes, but were light-skinned, with long silky hair, and extremely proud of their birth. "How can you give your daughter," they said to the king, "to a foreigner of whose birth you know nothing? You do not know whether in his own country he is of good race or bad." The king replied: "He has shown himself a wise man and good. But for him I had died; and who of you is brave as he? Let him give my daughter a son like himself, and I shall be content."

For forty days Tikima nursed Zebehr's wounds. At the end of that time Zebehr married the king's daughter and very shortly afterwards went away to the old station at Dyoum, where he remained for eighteen months, leaving his wife with her father. It is not to be implied from this that the marriage proved unsatisfactory; on the contrary, it may be mentioned here that the lady was very sweet and good: he loved her, and regretted her deeply when, twelve years later, she died. Two of her daughters are now well married in Cairo, and his friendship with her father was never broken. His affairs required him to remain at Dyoum, but they prospered, and at the end of the eighteen months he started, with sixty-four Arabs and a hundred and fifty blacks, to take two shiploads of ivory, tamarinds, and gum by water to Khartoum.*

Of all the adventures of his adventurous life, none were, he said, so terrible as those of the next eleven months. The course of the river was unknown to him, and he missed his way, getting westward among unexplored rivers and swamps, where there was not a scrap of food of any sort to be had, and, worse still, sometimes there was nothing but poisonous water to drink. For weeks and weeks they journeyed without sight of a living thing. At one time they had been lost for seventy-five days, and had been unable to procure any food. Everything that was eatable in the ships had long since been eaten. They suffered the agonies of starvation. Some of their number died, some went mad, all were brought very low, when one day the watch from the mast saw smoke a long way off. Zebehr took six men to try and find the smoke. They searched the country for three days, but were unable to discover any sort of habitation. Exhausted and disappointed, they crawled back to the river, and were rowing in a small boat down one branch of it, when they came upon a tiny island and some trees. Here they saw a crocodile asleep. They shot him and cut him up, and making a fire with the wood of the trees, they roasted him in slices. This meal gave them new strength, but when they got back to the ships from which

they had started they found that six more men had died of hunger. They consulted together almost in despair, but on the next day the watch announced smoke again. Zebehr himself saw it, and he took eight men, and said: "Now we will find the smoke, or die. We will come back here no more unless we bring food." They travelled for four days and four nights, and at last found the smoke on a big island in the river. The name of it was Bohl. It is not known to any European, nor is it marked, of course, on any map. Zebehr pointed out the position as being north-east of Hofrat-en-Nahas, but still on the south side of the Bahr-el-Arab, placing it at nine and a half degrees north latitude and twenty-five and a half degrees east longitude. At sight of the strangers, a crowd of natives came out with spears and warlike gestures, but to Zebehr's great surprise he found that he could understand their language. Nearly a year before he had met some natives speaking this dialect, who had told him that they lived on a big island in the west, and that the name of their king was Kurium, and, according to his usual custom, he had noted these things. Taking only one man with him, he advanced towards the natives of the island, and when they saw that he came alone they dropped their spears. "Where do you come from?" they asked. "Have you dropped from the sky, or have you come up out of the earth or the water?" He asked if the name of their king was Kurium. They answered that it was; and he said that the fame of King Kurium had reached to distant countries, and that he had come to visit him and to buy food. The natives treated them then in a friendly manner. They killed a cow for them, and gave them fire to roast it; they gave them also bread and curds; and Zebehr and his men feasted that night. In the morning they told the natives that they wanted to buy food for their friends in the ships, and they showed the beads they had with them. The natives sold them cows at the rate of three big beads a cow, and were so enchanted at the price that they danced about rubbing their stomachs and making frantic gestures of pleasure. Everybody wanted to sell a cow, Zebehr bought a good supply, and sent five of his eight men back with them to the ships. With the other three he went before the king. In telling the story the Pasha interrupted himself here, and asked, with a slightly comic expression, whether I cared to have a description of the palace and costume of this great king. I begged him to give it. "The palace was a low hut, the great King Kurium lay stark naked on a bed of ashes of burnt cows' dung. For his pillow he had two pieces of wood, and there was no other furniture in his establishment." When he saw Zebehr, he too asked, as his people had asked, "Have you dropped from the sky, or have you come up out of the earth or the water?" He could not believe that any stranger should find his way to that country. Zebehr explained that he had come in boats on the river, and wanted to

buy food ; and the king showed himself intelligent, and asked a great many questions. He gave them an empty hut to sleep in just outside his seribah, and sent them bread and curds.

In the morning Zebehr noticed that the natives were gathering from all sides. One of the men he had with him was an interpreter who, like himself, understood this dialect. He sent him to walk about and listen to what was said. Presently the man returned, and fell at his feet, and said that the native chiefs had come in, and were urging Kurium to kill the strangers. They had asked the king, "Who are these strangers?" and the king had answered, "I do not know them; but they know me, and have come from a great distance to buy food." The chiefs replied: "Now they have seen our country, they will bring more men and take it from us. Some day they will kill us. We had better kill them first." Zebehr hearing this, armed himself and went out. The natives were squatting close all over the ground, each man with his spear, so that the spears looked like a field of corn. He walked between them, and found the king and the chiefs under a tree. "Kurium," he said, "I hear all women and men of your people saying, 'Let us now kill these strangers.' Why is this? We have done you no harm." King Kurium said: "No, you have done no harm, but you have seen my country!" "Only for that would you kill us?" "Yes, only for that!" "If you kill us, drain this great river, for it will bring our friends to you for vengeance. They will take your country and destroy you out of the world. But if you cannot drain the river, then be advised; leave us alive." The king replied, that while they were with him they were safe—no one should touch them under his roof; but his chiefs were unruly, and he would not undertake to answer for their safety on the road after they left him. "Very well; thank you," Zebehr said. "You have done what you could; only, remember that if I am attacked, though I die, I shall kill many." Even while he was speaking two men sprang towards him, brandishing their spears, but the king, in great indignation, caused them to be seized, saying, that what they did was shameful, and that they insulted him when they attacked his guest in his presence. Zebehr returned unhurt to his hut. It was by this time nearly sunset. His companions, waiting for him in the hut, asked what had passed. He told them that they were to be attacked next day on the road, and said: "We have to die; but we have got food for the boat. It is better that four should die and many have food. Therefore be brave; never mind. And now let us sleep." His intention was to start in the dark hours before morning, and make the best fight he could. But in the meantime he did not altogether trust the promise of the King Kurium, that they should be safe during the night; so he himself kept watch just inside the door of the hut.

The hut was outside the king's seribah, but quite close to it. It was a moonlight night, with clouds floating across the moon, and as Zebehr watched, he saw a dark mass moving under the hedge of the king's enclosure. This mass advanced slowly and stopped, then again advanced and stopped. At first he took it for a group of natives, but when the third time it began to advance he perceived that it was a big animal, and that it was following a scent down towards the hut in which he was with his men. The clouds rolled away from the moon, and the animal stopped a third time. In the clear light Zebehr perceived that it was a lion. He was accustomed to lion-hunting, and it was well within range in front of his door. He raised his rifle and fired, aiming at the part behind the ear. The beast was wounded, but had strength still left in him for three mighty springs towards Zebehr. The third one brought him to the threshold of the hut, where he fell, and Zebehr finished him with his pistol.

The sound of firearms roused King Kurium, who came running out with the men of his house. When he saw the dead lion he fell on Zebehr's neck and embraced him with expressions of joy, as did also the men of his family. They told him that this lion had been for thirty years the scourge of the settlement, that he came every night and took something, and that in the course of his life he had eaten upwards of two hundred natives, besides children and cattle. They had gone out against him many times, but they had been unable to kill him. "But now, because you have done this great thing," the king said, "I will make a treaty with you that none may hurt you." And the king took milk and poured it over him, and ashes and sprinkled them upon him. "Now," he said, "you are as my brother; one of our own country, and no man will harm you." The natives also came running to see what had happened, and when they saw the dead lion there was great and general rejoicing. They called Zebehr by honourable names—their saviour and their deliverer; and all the chiefs brought milk and ashes and poured them over him. In the morning the king made a speech to him before all the people, saying: "Now we see what kind of man you are, and that you have arms better than our arms; we wish to keep you here always with us. You shall be a great chief with us, and we will treat you with honour; but you shall never go away. You shall stay rather, and kill for us our enemies as you have killed this lion." He also offered his daughter to Zebehr for a wife. Zebehr, whose care was to provision his ships, answered only: "I beg your pardon; but my friends are still hungry—I cannot think of anything till they are supplied." The king at once sent down cows and corn, and the natives came out in gratitude, every one with an

offering of a bark basket full of corn. In a few days the ships were loaded again with corn for the voyage.

Zebehr was, however, too closely guarded by his new admirers to be able to get away. The king's daughter had been sent to the hut allotted to him. She was seventeen, and pretty and kind, and she spent thirty nights in his hut. But he had no intention of remaining with the tribe; and, to tell the story as simply as he did, it was not possible that a son of Zebehr should be left to be born after his father's flight. It was equally impossible to take the girl with him upon the river, where they might have starvation again to face. One evening, after she had made ready his supper, she came and knelt down beside him. "Am I ugly?" she asked, and he answered "No." "Do I displease you, that you do not like me?" He assured her, on the contrary, that she was kind, and that he liked her. "Then why do you not take your wife?" He told her that he was a Moslem, and that Moslems could not marry as her people did. It was necessary, he said, to bring his own priests and to fetch presents from his own country to offer her. She was pleased at the prospect, and told her father what he had said. Zebehr asked leave to go down to his ships and speak with his friends. King Kurium allowed him to go, sending thirty guards with him. When he got among his own people, his people spoke with the guards, and said: "Zebehr is our chief, and he has brought us into these rivers; if he abandons us here, in order that he may stay with you and marry the daughter of your king, he is a treacherous man and no good. But we have firearms, and we will kill both him and you. Now, therefore, let him come with us, and save your lives and his." The guards could not help themselves; so they let him go. He sent his compliments and messages of farewell to King Kurium and his daughter, and from that day to this has never seen them again. He and his men had still many more privations to undergo while they wandered in the rivers, which seem to have been the western sources of the Bahr-el-Arab. The blacks died in numbers, and of the sixty-four Arabs who came with him seven only survived. They were reduced again to the very last extremity, when they came upon a fisher-tribe, who sent guides with them to the station of the Consul Petherick. Two men died after this, and of the five who reached Khartoum two were mad and died within a few days. The voyage lasted altogether eleven months and twenty-five days, and Zebehr looks upon it as the end of his early struggles. The most valuable part of his cargo reached Khartoum. All was now clear before him, and he felt himself to be, in his own words, "the beginning of a great man."

When he had disposed of his ivory he was in a position to buy a larger stock, and to hire 200 guards. He spent only three months in Khartoum, and early in 1862 he started on a fresh expedition.

He went this time through the Bongo country to a town called Mandugba, marked on European maps as Dem Suleiman. The King of Mandugba was Adoo Shukkoo. He was one of the greatest of the native kings, and his territory extended over twenty days' travelling. As nearly as the limits could be defined, they appeared to lie on N. lat. 9° and 7° , and E. long. 23° and 25° , and were bounded to the east and west by Dar Banda and Dar Fertit, to the north and south by Hofrat-en-Nahas and Nyam-Nyam. Six merchants had been down there some time before, and had conducted themselves badly in the country, making disturbances and fighting against the king. He had driven them out of his country, and fearing a repetition of the struggle he at first refused to receive Zebehr. When he announced this decision Zebehr said: "Very well, I will go; I have not come to fight; I will force nothing; and if you don't want me I will leave you. But if you will give me permission to remain till after the rains, I shall be very glad, and I will trade with you peacefully." He offered presents, which pleased the king, and they came, after some negotiation, to an agreement that Zebehr's caravan might remain for nine months in the country, but not in the city of Mandugba. A place was assigned to him for a camp at four hours' distance from the town, and he constructed a fortified station, within which he built store-houses.

Zebehr acted in the meantime on his usual peaceful principles, making friends with the people, giving presents to the king's councillors, and keeping his men under the strictest discipline. He forbade them to quarrel on any pretext whatever with a native, or to take so much as a sugar-cane without paying for it. He also made a rule of paying liberal prices for all goods brought in, and the natives began to flock to him with ivory and other produce. The king, hearing of the fortifications round his camp, came in person to look at it, and asked with some anxiety why he was building in a country where he was only to remain for nine months. Zebehr replied that as there were lions and leopards in the country, it was necessary to protect his men. Shortly after this he constructed barracks within his stockade, and the king again made objections. Zebehr reminded him that the rains were coming, when both men and merchandise must necessarily be under cover, and also represented that when he and his caravan moved and went away all would be to the good for Adoo Shukkoo. The king upon this gave him permission to build what he pleased, and Zebehr constructed a strong defensive position, within which he accumulated stores. He was well provided with ammunition, and his men were armed each with a French rifle, a pistol, and a sword. He continued, notwithstanding these measures of precaution, to keep the strictest peace, trading and doing good business, making himself known, and at the same time becoming

popular with Adoo Shukkoo's people. He had been there three months, when one of his men was killed and his arms stolen. He took no vengeance, but, carrying the corpse in to the king, he said: "See what has happened. Now, if you are a great king you will do justice. I ask only to have his arms which have been stolen given back, and I leave the punishment of the offender to you." The king gave him ground to bury his dead, caused his arms to be returned to him, and punished the murderer. Four months later, the same thing happened again, and he did as before, peacefully asking and obtaining justice.

Seven months had passed, and it was harvest-time, when the king said: "Now go; I don't want you any more in my country." Zebehr's stores had by this time become very valuable. He replied that he was not strong enough to travel with his present escort, and he asked leave to remain till he could send for some of his friends. The king refused. Then Zebehr sent five emissaries to ask if the king would sell him a provision of corn for the journey. The king killed his emissaries, and resolved to attack his camp and take his stores. This action on Adoo Shukkoo's part was not quite so sudden as it sounds in a shortened narrative. He had never been favourable to the Egyptian traders, and Zebehr had for some time past expected an attack. He had friends among Adoo Shukkoo's people, who gave him warning. The native forces were led by the king in person, and were in numbers out of all proportion to Zebehr's. Zebehr's camp was, however, strongly fortified; his 200 men were well-armed and well-trained. His orders to them were not to waste their ammunition with random firing, but to aim carefully, and to pick out the chiefs. For three successive days the natives attacked: they were repulsed, but not without loss on both sides. Zebehr himself was wounded, and Adoo Shukkoo lost twelve of his chiefs. On the third day Adoo Shukkoo was killed, and on the fourth day, the natives being by this time disorganized and leaderless, Zebehr and his men made a sortie, and attacked in their turn. The result was a great victory, and the town of Mandugba submitted to him; Adoo Shukkoo's son, Shaida, flying with a following of some thousands of natives to a mountain called Saroga or Saranga.

As soon as Mandugba was known to be in the hands of Zebehr, the neighbouring tribes offered their submission, begging him to take the place of Adoo Shukkoo, but to trade with them and not to fight. The first to come in was Oro, who offered to be his ally against the others. Then came Indagu, then Golo, Manga, Engazazo, Kutu, Fara, Shairo, Farora, and others who had owed allegiance to Adoo Shukkoo. Suddenly, from a trader Zebehr had become a king. After twenty days he said to the tribes: "It is now harvest-time; let us sign a peace, and go and gather your corn; otherwise when the winter

comes there will be famine." The tribes were well pleased, and peace was made amongst them, and the greater number went to their homes. But Shaida, the king's son, remained in the mountains and threatened to come down and fight. Zebehr said to the people: "You say that I am wise and just, and that you wish me to reign over you. If so, then who will fight on my side against Shaida, the son of Shukkoo?" Five thousand came out to fight on his side, and he said: "Now let every man whose heart fails him go to his home, and no harm shall happen to him, but he shall gather his corn in peace." Some few went, and thus he had none but braves in his army. He led them to the mountain where Shaida was, and attacked. He was twice repulsed with heavy loss, and he saw that Shaida's position was too strong to be taken by assault; so he invested the mountain for eighteen days. On the nineteenth day, at sunrise, a man looking from the door of his tent saw some one coming, and said, "It is Shaida"; and Shaida came in and made submission. He acknowledged all his father's faults, and sixteen chiefs who were with him also put their lives in Zebehr's hands. Zebehr accepted their submission, but he had no wish to reign or to kill. He took Shaida back to Mandugba, where he reseated him, with certain conditions, upon his father's throne. He gave robes to the sixteen chiefs, and allowed them to return to their homes, and issued the strictest orders that their women and children were not to be injured. This clemency was an extraordinary surprise to people who had expected every kind of severity, and the fame of it spread throughout the country. Fifteen days after the chiefs had returned to their homes all the states of Adoo Shukkoo's country offered their submission to Zebehr, and agreed to elect him as their king. Shaida continued to enjoy his father's nominal rank, but he appears to have fallen into dependence upon Zebehr, and soon drops out of history as a nonentity. Zebehr accepted the title of Sultan from the lesser kings, and began to live in imperial state at Mandugba.

FLORA L. SHAW.

(To be continued.)

THE DATE OF THE PENTATEUCH.

THEORY AND FACTS.

THE theory of the critics, at whose head stand Kuenen and Wellhausen, deservedly attracts increasing attention. It is advanced by men of undoubted learning, sincerity, and skill. It has the attraction of novelty and the charm of destructiveness. People are so taken by its merits as a theory that they are beginning to say confidently that no one needs a special training in Hebrew, or the vast field of biblical archæology, to form an independent judgment of a controversy, the issues of which may fairly be called momentous.

That biblical science has made great advances during this century is beyond question. We must be ready, if we do not wilfully close our eyes, to largely modify the former views as to the critical history of the Old Testament. We must admit that the traditional dates of the books may have to be abandoned, that any book may consist of a collection of earlier documents, that glosses and even paraphrases may have been introduced, and that allegory may be largely used for purposes of instruction. Beyond these wide limits, which do not touch the foundations of Judaism and Christianity, inasmuch as they do not affect doctrine, or history essential to doctrine, most believers are unwilling to pass.

The theory of the new school goes far beyond these limits. It supposes the main body of the Hebrew legislation to have been constructed after the return from Babylon, with the direct object of clothing with the authority of Moses what he did not write, what indeed was radically contrary to his legislation, or at least to the older codes thus superseded. This is plainly to make the greater part of the Law a pious fraud. Before we allow these pilots to guide the ship of our faith into an unknown sea, we may in reason be anxious to look at their credentials.

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It is impossible here to state, except in the barest outline, the views of the eminent scholars to whom the controversy is due, their method, and the difficulties it presents, the more as it will materially aid the inquiry if space is allowed to pursue at the same time another which affords an extraordinary parallel. This other inquiry, being purely literary, may tend to soften any possible sharpness inseparable from the discussion of the gravest questions, and thus to keep the balance steady.

The new school argues that the so-called Books of Moses and the Book of Joshua are a succession of documents, three in number. The first is a collection consisting of three principal sources put together during the conflict with Assyria. The second is the Book of Deuteronomy, produced under Josiah. The third is the larger part of the legislation, and is after the exile in its date. These three strata, of about B.C. 750, 600, and 450, represent successive developments. The Books of Judges, Samuel, and part of Kings were also of older date in publication than the second and third codes, though it is argued that these historical books were modified to square them to the legal codes.

The controversy as to the unity and date of the Homeric poems had its origin in the publication of Wolf's *Prolegomena*, at the close of the last century. This eminent critic and his followers argued that these works were not by one author, but in each case a growth. Independent lays had been welded together so as to form the whole of which our Homer consists. The date of the final form, instead of being about B.C. 850, was centuries later, and in the opinion of Wolf's surviving follower, Mr. Paley, about B.C. 400.

The first argument in the case of both sets of documents has been the existence of apparent internal discrepancies. In the biblical documents the argument from alleged internal discrepancies is no doubt formidable; but it has one suspicious result. The system of dates being assumed, the agreements with the later legal codes in the group of historical books, which are held to be earlier on the hypothesis, are, as already noted, asserted to be interpolations or modifications. It is quite amazing to see how frequently Wellhausen is forced to have resort to the hypothesis that this or that passage is interpolated or corrupted, and it becomes a grave question whether this wholesale process of elimination does not destroy the weight of the evidence of these historical books in favour of the hypothesis. The interpolation and corruption of the text cannot be proved on *à priori* grounds; but the framers of the hypothesis are so firmly persuaded of its truth that they do not scruple to clear away any passage which tells against it. This is equally true in the case of the legal documents.

To take an instance of the ruthless way in which Wellhausen

carries out the principle of elimination, I would cite his treatment of the Book of Judges. We are told that the narrative is not tradition in its original condition, but tradition overgrown with later accretions. We have to begin with the accretions, and then to define the underlying tradition. First, we see a general* religious scheme—the apostacy, punishment, repentance, and deliverance of the people. The examples are then narrated. A chronology is next fabricated resting on a statement of time in the First Book of Kings. The styles of the superstructure and that on which it rests are declared to be strikingly different, the word “style” here being used in a very unexpected sense. Instead of a deep philological argument, this is all that is said on the strikingly different styles :*—

“The revised form in which the Book of Judges found its way into the Canon is unquestionably of Judæan origin; but the histories themselves are not such—nay, in the Song of Deborah, Judah is not reckoned at all as belonging to Israel. The one judge who belongs to the tribe of Judah is Othniel, who, however, is not a person, but only a clan. What is said of him is quite void of contents, and is made up merely of the schematic devices of the redactor, who has set himself to work here so as to make the series open with a man of Judah: the selection of Othniel was readily suggested by Judges i. 12–15. Here again we have an exception which proves the rule.”†

This is all that we are told of the striking difference between the two styles; and in passing I must note how little the new school deals with the older weapon of philology. The critic passes on to inner difficulties. But to return for a moment to Othniel. The objection to his historical character is based on the circumstance that the short narrative of his leadership is in the manner which Wellhausen considers to characterize redaction; that he was a clan is without the slenderest evidence; that he was a man of Judah is by no means certain.

In the detailed argument which follows, developing the process of elimination, we are told that “the redaction, as is well known, extends only from ii. 6–xvi. 31, thus excluding both i. 1–ii. 5, and xvii. 1–xxi. 24. But it is easy to perceive how excellently the first portion fits into its place as a general introduction to the period between Moses and the monarchy, and how much more informing and instructive it is in this respect than the section which follows.”‡ It is very strange that Wellhausen does not see in the prohibition to read the latest chapters in the synagogue a reason for their place at the end, just as the section of the fourth Gospel, vii. 53–viii. 11, is sometimes found at the end of a Gospel-book. On the contrary, he connects the story of Judges xvii. xviii. with the hard-pressed state of Dan described in the chapters which are before these last-mentioned in order.§ The narrative of the Danite foray is held to

* Prolegomena, Eng. trans. p. 228 *seqq.*

‡ *Ibid.* p. 233, note.

† *Ibid.* p. 232.

§ *Ibid.* *loc. cit.*

be true of the age of the Judges,* but the story of the crime of the Benjamites and their punishment, as it speaks of an united Israel, to be later than the age of disunion; and as this people is bound together by a religious centre, it must be at least post-Deuteronomic.† Thus chapters xix.-xxi. disappear.

In the story of Gideon there are two eliminations (vi. 25-32 and viii. 22 *seq.*)‡ The story of Barak and Deborah, and Deborah's song, are two different narratives of the same events. This contention is supported by points of disagreement which can always be found in a poetical and a prose version of the same story.§ For instance, the kings of Canaan in the song and the king of Canaan in the narrative prove no difference; a chief's being called king of Canaan is, however, a good point in favour of a very late date, but it is not certain that no Canaanite king took so large a title. This double version suggests a double version of the story of Gideon. The later version is contained in chapter vi.-viii. 3, and the earlier follows: "According to vii. 23 *seq.* there was a great army on foot; but in viii. 4 *seq.* Gideon has only his three hundred men with him." "The two chiefs who in the former account are called the princes Oreb and Zeeb, and are already taken, are here called the kings Zebah and Zalmunna, and are not taken yet." Gideon's pursuit of the two kings is dictated by blood-revenge, his action in the other case by religious impulse. In the one account he is "of a poor house and family"; in the other, he is "a distinguished and royal man." The two narratives are independent in all probability, but the one is religious and the other natural.||

This last case is a most remarkable instance of Wellhausen's method. There is no confusion in the narrative between the great army, the men of Israel, and Gideon's three hundred. The heroes would naturally head the pursuit. The story is of fierce war, not of a game of chess. There is no possible reason why there should not have been two chiefs as well as two kings. It might as well be objected that the narrative of the capture of two frigates, followed by that of two ships of the line, by the same admiral, could only relate to a single event. There is no conceivable reason why a war begun with quite a different motive should not have ended in putting the personal enemies of Gideon into his power. As to the leader's being a distinguished and royal man, this does not conflict with his being of a poor house and family. The Midianite kings merely describe the regal beauty of Gideon's brethren as resembling his. Are only king's sons beautiful? This Talmudic literalism makes the weaving of theories easy work.

Passing from the historical books to the codes, it will be well to

* Prolegomena, Eng. trans. p. 235-6.

† *Ibid.* p. 237 *seqq.*

§ P. 240 *seq.*

‡ *Ibid.* p. 235-237.

|| P. 242 *seq.*

notice the manner in which their relative age and character are argued. A different point of view is supposed in the case of each of the codes, the first being a code of morals and ritual of a simple kind, combined with two collections of legends and histories, the second code being of prophetic origin, and the third a priestly code.

In consequence of the priestly character of the third code it gives an enormous prominence to the priests and Levites, thus presenting in the guise of history elaborate statements which are not found in the other codes, and which are from this circumstance, and on the hypothesis, manifestly unhistorical. For instance, Kuenen thus writes of the Levitical cities in his account of the third code :

"In conflict with history and with the Deuteronomic legislation, the priests and Levites have particular cities set apart for them, together with the adjacent pastures for their flocks and herds. These cities are forty-eight in number, and are distributed over the territories of all the tribes.* The author also tells us of the execution of this precept,† when each tribe gives up four cities to the Levites or priests, with the exception that Naphtali gives three, and Judah and Simeon nine between them. In spite of this the whole affair is unhistorical. Joshua cannot possibly have exacted four cities for this purpose from each tribe, down to the very smallest. He cannot possibly have allotted to the descendants of Aaron, who at that time were still very few in number, thirteen cities, and these in the territories of the tribes of Judah, Simeon, Benjamin; not near the place where the sanctuary then stood (Shiloh), but, on the contrary, in the vicinity of Jerusalem, the later temple-city. In a land such as Canaan the commandment relating to the pastures round about those cities ‡ could not possibly have been carried out; and, besides this, as we have already pointed out, there is not a single trace of such cities for priests and Levites in trustworthy historical accounts. They are a product of the imagination of our priestly writer; their equal distribution over the twelve tribes, and the regular form of the pastures which belong to them, stand upon a par with Ezekiel's proposal to divide the land of Canaan among the twelve tribes by drawing a number of parallel lines. §" (Kuenen, "The Religion of Israel," ii. 171, 172).

This is an excellent example of Kuenen's method of argument. Starting on *à priori* grounds, he uses the *argumentum à silentio* with great effect. Every improbability is brought out, and no possible explanation allowed a hearing. The whole is clenched by ridicule.

It strangely happens that there is a "trustworthy historical account" which proves that the Levitical cities had been constituted about five centuries before the supposed date of their invention. The contemporary list of Shishak's conquests is the authority I cite. In this list the following are the identifications, which have been well known and unquestioned these twenty-three years. They are numbered in the order of the list:—13. Rabbith, Issachar, Israel; 14. Taanach, Levitical, Manasseh, Israel; 15. Shunem (?), Issachar, Israel; 16. Bethshan (?), Manasseh, Israel; 17. Rehob, Levitical, Asher, Israel; 18. Haphraim, Issachar, Israel; 19. Adoraim (?), Judah; 22. Mahanaim,

* Num. xxxv. 1-8.

† Josh. xxi.

‡ Num. xxxv. 4, 5.

§ Ezek. xlvi.

Levitical, Gad, Israel; 23. Gibeon, Levitical, Benjamin, Judah; 24. Beth-Horon, Levitical, Ephraim, Israel; 25. Kedemoth, Levitical, Reuben, Israel; 26. Aijalon, Levitical, Dan, Judah; 27. Megiddo, Manasseh, Israel; 33. Bileam, Levitical, Manasseh, Israel; 36. Alemeth, Levitical, Benjamin, Judah; 38. Shoco, Judah; 39. Beth-Tappuah, Judah.

It will be observed that this list contains eleven Israelite cities, of which five are given in the list of Levitical cities in Joshua and one (Bileam) in that of Chronicles; further, that a seventh city (Megiddo) is closely connected with Taanach. There are therefore only five cities certainly not in the Levitical lists, of which one is probably Levitical, while two are uncertain attributions. In Judah there are six cities, of which three are Levitical and three non-Levitical. In the narrative in Kings we read how Shishak, who had protected Jeroboam, invaded Judah, and put Rehoboam to tribute. The Chronicler tells us that Shishak took the fenced cities of Judah. Of these, as enumerated by this writer, two certainly, and a third probably, are in Shishak's list. We are also told by the same authority that the Levites expelled from their functions by Jeroboam resorted to Rehoboam. The list of Shishak explains the method of expulsion. The king of Egypt was allowed by his Israelite ally or vassal to despoil the Levitical cities. The border city of Aijalon, though counted to Judah in the Chronicler's list of Rehoboam's strongholds, would then have been taken from Judah and given to Israel. This raises the Levitical cities of Israel by one to seven or eight, and equally reduces those of Judah to two. But it may be asked, would Shishak, who is always assumed to have been Jeroboam's ally, have taken any non-Levitical cities of Israel? The reply is, that it has been shown that there are in the Egyptian list only five Israelite cities certainly not Levitical according to the biblical indications, and that of these two are doubtful attributions, and a third is probably Levitical. Brugsch, with no controversial object, speaks of the war as the "attack of the Egyptian king on the kingdom of Judah and the Levitical cities." (*Hist.* 2nd ed., ii. 216.)

If I may be allowed to digress for a moment, I would protest against the hard usage which the Chronicler has received at the hands of the critics, especially the later ones. He is held to be an arbitrary writer of no independent historical weight, and a strong partisan of the latest or priestly code, who has no scruple in changing history to give a colourable support to the views of his party. Of the sacerdotal leaning of this writer there can be no question. It is as natural and as right as the contrary view of certain of the prophets. That his facts are not as accurate as those of the writers of Kings cannot be disputed. At the same time he has preserved some records of undoubted antiquity, which prove his acquaintance with archaic docu-

ments of the highest historical interest. That these fragments are mutilated, and often hard or impossible to decipher, is due to the indifference of the priests and the carelessness of copyists; surely not to a want of intelligence in the Chronicler. It is, however, a large question whether the Chronicler has been rightly understood. He has been acknowledged to be in some sort a historian, but it has not been perceived that he is a very different historian from the writers of the Books of Kings. He is emphatically a Church historian of a very marked type. The conditions of his time account for and justify his attitude. If we take the trouble to compare a strong Church historian with an ordinary historian we shall find something like the difference between Kings and Chronicles. By the one, victory in battle, for instance, is attributed to the influence or effect of the prayers of the Church in the field or the sanctuary; by the other, the stress is laid on the valour and maybe also the piety of the combatants. One view does not exclude the other; both are historical.

The discredit of the Chronicler has had a strange effect on history. Persons whom he alone mentions have been banished as fictitious. This was the fate of Pul, King of Assyria, in spite of probability and the Poros of Ptolemy's Canon occupying the right place in time. At last, very recently, Pul has been discovered in a cuneiform inscription, and is acknowledged to be a historical character. May I venture to predict that Zerah the Ethiopian will be in like manner rehabilitated, and, probably very soon?

To return to the alleged discrepancies between the different codes: if we take the case of the festivals and the Great Fast, the first and second codes have a much more restricted observance than the third; but if these codes are only one, we can readily understand why, for instance, the days of assembly of all the males should be stated in one place and the list of holy days be given in other places. The view of Kuenen lends some support to his hypothesis, but it affords no ground for it.

In the case of the Homeric poems, the followers of Wolf relied, in accomplishing the process of disintegration, upon the internal discrepancies of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," and on their disagreement with one another. The internal discrepancies are now put aside as of no moment; the differences between the two books are allowed their weight, but are not admitted as evidence of late date. An eminent critic like Professor Jebb can write, sure of the approval of the great body of the learned: "As a general picture of that age, the Homeric poetry has the value of history. It is manifestly inspired by real life." As Mr. Jebb holds the Herodotean date of Homer, *B.C. circ. 850*, to be the date of the poems, this is enough to render the discussion of exploded difficulties mere waste of time. There is an end of controversy. How this was brought about belongs to the constructive part of this paper.

The great weapon of the school of Kuenen and Wellhausen is beyond question the *argumentum à silentio*. This is used with much force in comparing the prophetic books with the codes. If, it is argued, certain prophets do not know certain codes, those codes cannot have existed when they wrote. Admitting the basis to be sound, what is the value of the argument?

I turn at once to the Homeric controversy for an answer: no parallel could be more exact. Mr. Paley argues against the date B.C. 800 or 850:

"We cannot trace the existence of these poems beyond the occasional, but rare, reference to some few episodes contained in them in the writings of Pindar and the tragic poets; while we *can* show quite conclusively that they uniformly followed that very different version of the 'Tale of Troy' which we now call 'Cyclic.' This is a *fatal* flaw in the claim to the descent of 'our Homer' from so remote an antiquity."*

The facts stated are beyond question, but the inference is shown to be false by the evidence of archæology. The consent of the scholars of Europe has destroyed the argument. Mr. Paley's position is only the exception which proves the rule.

If we take the argument quoted above, and substitute the Law for "our Homer," and the earlier prophets for Pindar and the tragedians, the cases are exactly parallel. We must only remember that in the case of the legal codes the first is dated about the time of the group of prophets closing with the first Isaiah, the second in the time of Jeremiah, and the third after the exile. This is confusing to the ordinary reader, and it is well to repeat that the last code contains the bulk of the legal documents, including the arrangement of the Levitical cities. If so substantial and characteristic a part of the third code is proved to be anterior to the assumed date of the first, the theory falls to pieces.

I would now ask leave to reverse the order I have hitherto followed, and, speaking of Homer first, to state how the constructive method has been applied to the poems attributed to him, with what result I have already said. For the method and its result we are indebted to the archæologists. They have, in spite of distrust and opposition, advanced step by step until they have won a final victory. Their success has been mainly due to two causes: they have depended upon facts, and they have maintained a due balance between external and internal evidence; not working wholly within the document, nor yet neglecting the evidence of its vocabulary and style.

The archæological or historical school, as I may venture to call it, bases its conviction of the antiquity of our Homer upon the following grounds: The archaic language of the poems, the old-world life which they portray, the agreement of their statements with the evidence of archæology as to the state of material civilization with the nations

* "The Truth about Homer," p. 3.

within the horizon of the poet or poets in the ninth century B.C., and much earlier.

In the matter of language the present condition of the poems is undoubtedly deceptive. I well recollect being shown in Egypt, some forty years ago, a portion of the "Iliad" in uncials, written on papyrus, and my astonishment on seeing before me an ordinary text. As the Queen's printer with the Authorized Version, so the Alexandrian critics had modernized the Homeric orthography, and this has deprived the archaic forms of much of their force. Only a fine critical tact—a very different endowment from grammatical knowledge—can discriminate archaism beneath this disguise. The text of the Law has probably undergone a like modification. Before the discovery of the Moabite Stone it was an axiom of Hebrew grammar that Aramaic forms betrayed a late date. In the Moabite Stone these forms are present in Hebrew of the ninth century B.C., though this may only be trans-Jordanite Hebrew. The lists of Canaanite cities conquered by Thothmes III., as well as those of Shishak, dating respectively B.C. *circa* 1600 and 930, may show a slight Aramaic colouring, much fainter than that of the Moabite Stone; but this is probably due to Egyptianized forms. The earlier list has Rabbu for Rabbah of Judah? Rabbatu for the Ammonite capital? thus perhaps agreeing with the theory of trans-Jordanite Aramaisms. Thus the problem is still dark; yet if there was any Aramaic colouring in the case of the legal documents, this being naturally for the most part in terminations, it may be supposed that the representative of the Queen's printer modernized them; and the same may be true of archaism generally. If so, as in the case of the Homeric poems, a fine critical skill is required.

The antique life depicted in our Homer is centuries earlier than the high civilization of their own times portrayed by the tragedians, as well as the very artificial close of the old order sung by Pindar. Surely the same contrast must strike the unprejudiced reader of the disputed documents and the Prophets. Genesis in particular has an archaic atmosphere which has the inimitable aspect of that which surrounds some episodes in the "Odyssey." If by imagination I may describe the faculty of placing oneself in another's position, I would say that it is an unimaginative mind which cannot feel the unchanged archaism of the history and the poems.

It is, however, on the material civilization that the conviction of the archaeologists mainly depends. Here they are on their own unquestioned ground.

The historical facts and conditions cannot readily be separated from those of material civilization, and it is convenient to treat them together. In this case I will first give the evidence for the antiquity of our Homer.

In the Homeric poems we are politically in the period of the supremacy of Egypt in the Mediterranean, at least before the age when Assyria had asserted her supremacy on the Phœnician coast-land,* indeed, Assyria is so wholly unknown to the poems, that they must be placed long after the first Assyrian empire, B.C. 1130-1090, and before the conquests of Assur-nazir-habal in Phœnicia in B.C. 877. It is impossible that the gigantic figure of the Assyrian should have escaped the poet's imagination. If this view places the latest date of the poems a little earlier than has been hitherto proposed, this will be seen to be rather of advantage than detriment. The aspect of Egypt points to a period when the glories of Thebes were yet remembered. She had ceased to be the capital in the tenth century B.C., and rapidly declined until her ruin in the sack by the Assyrians in B.C. 666.

The two stories which Odysseus tells of his adventures in Egypt are the more valuable as pure inventions, and therefore allowing the poet liberty to relate what he pleased, unshackled by sacred legend. They might have been taken from Egyptian inscriptions and illustrated by Egyptian reliefs of the age from B.C. 1350 to 1200, referring to wars between the Egyptians and the piratical tribes of the Mediterranean, among whom many scholars recognize the primitive populations of Greece and the Greek islands. The piratical landing in the Delta, the attack on the Egyptian peasantry, the Egyptian king in his car, the submission of the Greek to him, the suppliant received into favour while some of his band have been slain and others carried away to work in forced labour—every detail is true to the Egyptian records of the interval defined, and may be as true to later time of which the Egyptian monuments are silent. This later time finds a lower limit in the accession of Psammetichos, B.C. 665. This must also be defined by the earlier date at which the Greeks had ceased to be pirates, and had become colonists, which would raise the lower limit to the eighth century B.C.

The absence of coined money points to a date before B.C. 700; the war-chariot was disused by the Greeks at about the same date.

* The art of our Homer is not the art of the bloom of Attic civilization. It is Phœnician or Græco-Phœnician. To show its characteristics in detail would extend this paper to the size of a volume; a bare outline is all that can be attempted. Until the discoveries of Schliemann, the highest limit of Greek art was about B.C. 600; in other words, this was the lower limit of archaic art in its earlier stages; for it has been the custom of the continental archæologists to assume the latest date for unclassified styles of which a prior sequence could not be proved. This in process of time became a fixed date for all the group. The same has occurred with literary documents. It is, however, quite unreasonable to date all the more archaic styles

about B.C. 600. The phrase should have been B.C. 600 or earlier; if so, the effect of Schliemann's discoveries would have been not contradiction but classification; and they would not have at first been discredited. These discoveries show the existence, at a period long before the ninth century B.C., of the Homeric palace and of ancient tombs containing works of art, some of a very primitive character, others far superior to those of the early part of the sixth century, and of a different and unknown style. The splendid sword-blades of Mycenæ are an unexpected revelation of this new style, pointing back to centuries of progress before their remote date. The strange consequence of this proof that art fell and rose between the age of Mycenæ and B.C. 600 is explained by the Dorian migration, which must have swept away the older civilization in Hellas without materially affecting Asia Minor; and this enables us to understand the apparent survival of this art, or its memory, when the poems were written: thus the earlier their date the better. It will be possible by slow degrees to date ordinary archaic works of art anterior to B.C. 600 within wide limits in the interval between this date and the Dorian migration—in other words, to form a sequence of styles; but for this, excavation at historic sites is needful. Works anterior to the migration can only be placed in one group as analogous to the art of Mycenæ.

The historical facts and conditions described in the codes may fairly be treated on the same lines.

Within the political horizon Egypt again is the great world-power. Ethiopia is not only not the over-lord of Egypt, but as a power is utterly unknown. Assyria appears in two places, but not with the prominence that the dates of the new school demand. These places must be examined. First there is the mention of the Assyrian cities in Genesis x. 11, 12. Schrader thus translates: "From this country he advanced to Assur, and built Nineveh, Rechoboth-ir and Kalah, and Resen between Nineveh and Kalah; that is the great city." Schrader understands the great city to be a designation of the group of cities afterwards called by the name of one of them, Nineveh. This was done by Sennacherib, and consequently the narrative is anterior to his time. Further, as there is no mention of the city of Sargon, Dur-Sarrukin, of which the site is now called Khursabad, the evidence from the name of Nineveh is repeated, Sargon being the predecessor of Sennacherib. We gain nothing by this in the present state of the controversy, but it may be of use in the future. If we take the simple reading of the passage, and hold the meaning to be that Resen was the great city, we have a condition of which the Assyrian documents give us no information, and which would seem to be consequently of remote date. The second mention of Assyria is in the prophecy of Balaam. Here it is predicted of the Kenites that

Asshur would lead them captive, and of the Chittim that their ships should oppress Asshur and Eber. Here the Assyrians are within the seer's horizon, and their conquests, as well as the resistance of the islanders, need no explanation from him. There were three periods at which these conditions were possible—the age of Thothmes III., when the leader, or at least an important member, of the great confederacy, defeated at the battle of Megiddo, was the chief of Asshur, either the old Assyrian capital or the country. This was about B.C. 1600. The second period was the first Assyrian empire, B.C. 1130–1090. The third period was that of the wars of Assyria in the west, under the second empire, from B.C. 877 downwards. If we may by Chittim here understand the maritime nations of the Greek islands, the great invasion of Syria and Egypt by these nations in the time of Ramses III. B.C. *cir.* 1300–1250, would best correspond to the conditions described in Balaam's prophecy.

If we look at the very small space in Schrader's work on the passages in the Old Testament, illustrated by cuneiform documents,* occupied by illustrations of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, we are forced to the conclusion that the political horizon is not that of the Prophets. Yet the first code is thought to have been put together during the conflict with Assyria. Surely it is not unreasonable to require a common historical horizon.

In the Prophets who wrote while the Assyrian power was pressing with ever-increasing force westwards, the great oriental empire is constantly present. Egypt is consistently treated as a declining power. Ethiopia, now holding the over-lordship of Egypt, is recognized as more mighty. But the place which Egypt once held has in fact been taken by Assyria.

The Egypt of the Law and the Egypt of the Prophets deserve a closer examination.

In the Law there is no mention of Upper Egypt, in the Prophets the two divisions of the country are recognized; in the Law there is but one king, in the Prophets the state is divided into many small monarchies during the hundred years before the Saïte reconstruction of an united Egypt; in the Law the army is Egyptian, in the Prophetic and later historical books, Kings and Chronicles, it is largely composed of mercenaries; in the Law the Israelites, welcomed as a tribe, are bitterly oppressed as a nation; in the Prophets they are uniformly befriended.

If we imagine that the first code was written during the Assyrian contest, how are we to account for this archaic colour? The condition which it describes is true of B.C. 1300, and of no much later date.

The new critics treat the codes, in so far as they relate to the past, as historical novels; but it is beyond reason to imagine a historical

* "The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament."

novel of this age with so accurate a colouring. To prove this position it will be worth while to go carefully into the evidence of the antiquity of a portion of the disputed documents—the portion relating to the sojourn and exodus of the Israelites.

The first point in this evidence is the orthography of Egyptian words.

Those which can be cited without risk of an error in judgment are proper names. As we have a large number of transcriptions of a scientific character of Hebrew or Aramaic names into Egyptian, it might be supposed that the corresponding Hebrew and Egyptian alphabet thus obtained could be converted into an Egyptian and Hebrew one—that is to say, that, having found the Egyptian equivalent for a Hebrew letter, we could take it conversely to render Egyptian into Hebrew. If the two languages were identical in the alphabet and its sounds, this would be so; but they are not. The Hebrew was a harsher language than the Egyptian; consequently, the Egyptians could only render a letter harsher than any in their alphabet by the nearest equivalent; but it does not follow that the letter thus chosen would in Hebrew be rendered by that which it had been chosen to render. M. De Rougé has laid down a system of Egyptian transcription from Hebrew: this will be here followed, and any deviation due to the principle just laid down will be justified. The names are now given in the order of their occurrence:

Pharaoh, פֶּרֶעַה, the Egyptian Per-âa: the *y* usually transcribed by the weaker *d*, here represents that letter doubled, and a silent ה is added.

Zoar, צֶזַר, in Gen. xiii. 10, probably Zar, the *y* representing a short vowel.

Potiphar, Potipherah, פֹּתִיפָרַע, פֹּתִיפֶרַע, Petu-pa-ra: the *t* is the Egyptian nuance of that letter which is used in the best transcriptions for *ṭ*, but its sound was nearer to *t*, as is proved by the Greek transcriptions of the first element by *περ-*. Potipherah is thus accurate, and Potiphar slightly in fault; the first is from an Elohistic, the second from a Jehovistic, document.

Asenath, אֲסֵנַת, the Egyptian woman's name Asent.

On, אֹן, An-*nu*, the second syllable not radical.

Moses, מֹשֶׁה, not identified.

Aaron, אַהֲרֹן, not identified.

Miriam, מִרְיָם, probably the Egyptian Meri-(t), beloved, a woman's name.

If this be correct, we must suppose a final ם added.

Phineas, פִּינְחָס, the man's name, Pa-nehsi, the negro, or dark man; a proper name applied to an Egyptian contemporary with Moses.

Pithom, פִּתּוֹם, the city Patum.

Rameses, רַעַמְסֶס, the city Pa-ramses, the abode of Ramses.

Goshen, גֹּשֶׁן, the city Kesem, which gave its name to the surrounding territory; the Septuagint has Γεσέμ.

Shiphrah, שִׁפְרָה, the name of one of the Egyptian midwives, has an Egyptian sound; it is not yet identified.

Puah, פּוּעָה, the name of the other midwife, is not Hebrew, and I would connect it with the verb *papa*, to bring forth, from a root *pa*, not found.

Succoth, סֻכּוֹת, Thukut, the name of the district of Pithom, identified by Brugsch and Naville, both of whom defend the rare interchange of ס and the softest Egyptian *t*.

Pihahiroth, פִּיחַחֲרוֹת, perhaps Pikerehet, or Pikeheref, according to Naville. Etham, אֶתָם, Atima, or Atuma, according to Naville, who defends the correspondence of the Egyptian *t*, usually representing *ṭ*, with *ṭ*, as in the case of Potipherah.

Migdol, מִגְדוֹל, Maktaru, Makatiru, a Semitico-Egyptian name.

Zoan, צֶאֱן, Zân.

Putiel, פּוֹטִיֵּאל, would be in Egyptian, Petu-ara, Gift of God, El.

Tahpenes, תַּחפְנִיס, the name of an Egyptian queen not identified.

Genubath, גִּנְבַּת, Kenbet (?), courtier or chamberlain.

Shishak, שִׁישַׁק, Sheshenk.

So, Seva (?), סֵוָא, Shebak.

Tirhakah, תִּרְחַקָּה, Taharka.

Necho, נֶכּוֹ, Nekau.

Hanes, חֲנַס, Khinensu.

Noph, Moph, נֹפֶךְ, Men-nefer, Memphis.

Syene, סֹוֶנָה, Su-un-nu.

Hophra, חֹפְרַע, Haa-ab-ra.

Tehaphnehes, Tahpanhes, תַּחפְנִיחַס, not identified, except with the Greek form Daphnae.

Pathros, פַּתְרוֹס, Pa-ta-res, the south land.

Pathrusim, פַּתְרֻסִּים, the Gentile plural, in Gen. x. 14.

No, נֹא, Nu, the city Thebes. See No-amon.

Sin, סִין, not identified by name.

Pi-beseth, פִּיבֶסֶת, Pa-bast, Bubastis.

No-amon, נֹא־אֱמֹן, Thebes. See No.

Harnepher, חֲרַנְפֶּר, Har-nefer, an Egyptian proper name—"Horus is Good," or "Good Horus." (Lieblein, "Dict. de Noms Prop.," Nos. 763, 956.)

Merari, מֶרָרִי, Mereri, an Egyptian proper name, "Beloved." (Lieb. "Dict." Nos. 101, 198.)

The evidence of this list will not appear without careful analysis.

If we separate the names into those which occur in the books from Genesis to Judges, those which occur in the Prophets and later historical books, and those common to both series, we can only at first deal for the purpose of argument with the first and second groups, here called for brevity series 1 and series 2; further, we can only cite certain identifications.

The first peculiarity which we note is that series 2 contains four incorrect words in a total of twelve, whereas series 1 contains not one; on the other hand, series 1 has seven correct words out of a total of nine, two being not quite correct; in series 2 there are no nearly correct words.

An analysis of the list leads to some further results. Taking series 1 first, Potipherah, "Gift of the sun," is particularly appropriate to the priest of On, "the city of the sun," Ἡλίουπολις.

The names of the three stations on the route of the Exodus, and one name at its termination, form a compact group of good identifications.

In series 1 we find names which for the most part are necessary to the narrative, and which of themselves are generally of small historical

or geographical importance. In series 2, ten out of the total of eleven are of high geographical and historical importance; the one excepted is in the genealogies.

I would venture to infer from these results that series 1 shows a more intimate knowledge of Egypt, and an acquaintance with the Egyptian language not possessed by the writers of series 2; and that on these grounds it must, in the parts from which the names are taken, be much older than series 2.

It would follow that words peculiar to series 2, which are drawn from genealogical sources closely connected with series 1, may really belong in origin to that series, and thus the remarkable word *Harnepher* should probably be transferred to series 1.

If we may carry out this principle, and place the genealogical words common to the two series in series 1, that group would present yet stronger evidence of knowledge of Egypt and of its own antiquity.

The Levitical names form a most interesting group, full of historical suggestion. Here are the strongest marks of Egyptian civilization. This, it may be noted, is already suggested by Aaron's facility in addressing Pharaoh, which implies not only a knowledge of Egyptian, but also of Egyptian court ceremonial. The incident of the golden calf points in the same direction. The name of Aaron's grandson Phinehas, the same as that of an Egyptian contemporary, points to his having been a dark-skinned man, and this would suggest an Egyptian or Ethiopian mother. His mother was daughter of Putiel. This name, which is without a Hebrew etymology, has a good Egyptian one, especially suited to a convert like Bithiah, "daughter" (that is, "servant") "of Jehovah," the Egyptian wife of an Israelite. This Egyptian etymology, coupled with the probability that both Moses and Aaron are names of Egyptian origin, lends support to the proposed etymology of Miriam, Meri, beloved. Of course it is necessary to show the reasonableness of holding the final *m* to be a Hebrew addition; this proved, we should at last have a good and suitable etymology for Miriam, Mary. It is interesting here to note that in the ascending scale of the Levite genealogy we have the name *Merari*, with no Hebrew etymology, but which is an exact transcription of the Egyptian *Mereri*, from the same root as *Meri*. If these Levite etymologies be correct, nothing further will be proved than high cultivation on the part of the family. Egyptian families of this character present us with Semitic as well as Egyptian names; therefore there is nothing abnormal in the same phenomenon in a Semitic family.

The attempt which Brugsch has made* to identify Egyptian words in the story of Joseph is clearly work in the right direction; and though it has not yet been successful, there is good reason for sup-

* See his *History*, 2nd ed.

posing that Egyptian words and Semitic words used in Egyptian senses are here to be found. The best illustration of the second supposition is perhaps where an *Adon*, or governor, holds the functions of Joseph. To examine the other instances would require too long and too technical an inquiry.

The second point in the evidence is the accuracy of geographical and historical statements. The information is very recent, being due to the discoveries of Mr. Naville excavating for the Egypt Exploration Fund.* His first discovery was made in 1883, and therefore subsequently to the formation of the theories of Kuenen and Wellhausen. These discoveries have been continued by Mr. Naville, and their results developed by himself and others, so that now they are accepted by most Egyptologists: indeed not a single Egyptologist of mark has disputed the results since the death of Lepsius, whose divergent view, arising from a desire to support his own previously stated hypothesis, practically in no way affects the larger conclusions here stated.

In 1883 Mr. Naville discovered the store-city of Pithom at Tell-el-Maskhuta, on the sweet-water canal, about a quarter of the distance from Ismailia to Zagazig. He found that this city was the centre of the district of Thukut, a name already identified by Dr. Brugsch with the biblical Succoth. He ascertained that the oldest royal name found on the monuments of Pithom, and that of the founder of the temple, revealed that Ramses II. was builder of Pithom, as of the sister store-city Ramses, already assigned to him by general consent.

Pithom, as the centre of the district of Succoth, indicated the second station on the Exodus route. This route consequently was along the line of the sweet-water canal, representing the older canal of King Ramses.

Later research led Mr. Naville to discover, not far from Zagazig, the unsuspected town of Kesem, or Goshen, capital of the district of the same name in the Bible. It had formerly been a puzzle that Goshen and Ramses should be used interchangeably in the narrative of Genesis. It now appeared that Goshen was not organized as an Egyptian district until about the time of Ramses, who founded the town named after himself, and made it the new capital of the district. The town Ramses must have been near Goshen, if it were not the same place rebuilt. As Ramses was the starting-point of the Exodus march, or rather as the march began from the land of Ramses, it follows that the route lay along the course of the canal.

The geographical conditions of the narrative are exactly fulfilled. We have two days' march along the fertile valley, and then the wilderness is reached. The crossing would thus have taken place near Ismailia, in the highest part of the ancient extension of the Gulf of

* It is due to the Fund that Mr. Naville has made these brilliant discoveries. Next winter he will continue his work in eastern Lower Egypt, the Israelite territory. Such work deserves the most energetic support.

Suez. It is here that Lepsius' view differs, he making Tell-el-Maskhuta the site of Ramses, which would involve, all his arguments considered, a westward march. (Naville, "Pithom" and "Goshen" (in the press), *Eg. Expl. Fund.*)

The historical agreement is no less exact. Lepsius had already proved that Ramses was the great oppressor of the Israelites, and that his son and successor, Meneptah, was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. It is now proved that Ramses was the builder of Pithom, and his building of Ramses is thus corroborated: in other words, the statements of books are confirmed by the evidence of monuments. Ramses reigned sixty-seven years, less a few months; Manetho assigns to Meneptah a reign of under twenty years, and he cannot be far wrong. Ramses, the city, was already founded in the fifth year of the earlier king, consequently the Egyptian evidence allows eighty-one to eighty-six years for the heat of the oppression to which Exodus assigns eighty years. The characters of Ramses and Meneptah, as shown by the Egyptian records, are the same we see in the more vivid portrayal of the biblical narrative. Ramses is an arrogant tyrant, unscrupulous of human life, who fills Egypt and Nubia with vast monuments at a fearful expenditure of the lives and labour of serfs and captives. Meneptah, coming to the throne an old man, having been long his father's regent, is a weak likeness of his stronger predecessor. He can be as arrogant, and then give way. At a supreme crisis in the history of his country, he left the army to be led by one of his generals, and lost the credit of the victory.

The earlier history of Israel in Egypt receives striking illustration from the Egyptian monuments. By putting together Hebrew and Egyptian chronology we find that the government of Joseph must have been under the rule of the foreign conquerors called Shepherd-kings, or Hyksos. The memorials of these sovereigns are so scanty that we know little more than that in Joseph's time they had already adopted the style of Egyptian Pharaohs, and that their capital was Zoan, in eastern Lower Egypt. We learn that just at this time there was a famine, "lasting many years."* Famines are extremely rare in Egypt. We know in its whole history but one which had a like duration to Joseph's: this was the great seven years' famine in the reign of the Fatimee Khaleefa El-Mustansir-Billah, in the eleventh century of our era. The agreement of the two ancient records—the Biblical and the Egyptian—is thus most remarkable. The story of Pharaoh's dreams has an undoubted Egyptian colour. The investiture of Joseph may be seen in the portrayal of a like function. His office is twice paralleled: once by that of an Egyptian who was raised to be Adon, and in this function was (or seemed) of greater authority than the king; † a second time by that of a minister who in

* Brugsch, *Hist.*, 2nd ed., vol. i. pp. 304, 305.

† *Ibid.* pp. 312, 518.

modern phrase held all the portfolios himself.* The story of Joseph's trial is thought to have suggested the central incident of an Egyptian romance written about the time of the Exodus; whether this be so or not, it certainly shows the correctness of the incident to Egyptian life.

One more agreement has to be noticed, which is wholly unexpected, and could not be traced in the Biblical documents; though, once found, it supplies a wanting link which shows its harmony. We have looked for the other agreements, and maybe have enforced them too strongly. This is what we have never looked for, and at first sight it overthrows Biblical history. It is, however, not Biblical history, but our notion of that history, which is overthrown.

More than five-and-twenty years ago M. de Rougé published an essay on the then newly discovered record of the campaign in which the Egyptian king Thothmes III. defeated the great Syrian confederacy near Megiddo, about B.C. 1600. The story is accompanied by a list of the conquered, consisting of the nations who surrendered at Megiddo, perhaps partly of towns actually taken, partly of nations or tribes subdued, but mainly of the nationality of contingents in the hostile army defeated in this first battle of Megiddo, and which afterwards surrendered. The names comprise such well-known ones as Megiddo, Damascus, Shunem, and others; it being noticeable that some names occur in a correct geographical connection, as if indicating a line of march, while others do not. Among the names M. de Rougé detected *Iaakab-ara*, the name of Jacob, written with the subject: this is precisely like Nathan, "he gave;" and Nathaniel, "God gave."[†] An Egyptologist of the French school, M. Groff, has recently developed this argument, and also traced the name of Joseph in the list in the parallel form *Yeshep-ara*.[‡] From this it would appear that about 150 years after the rule of Joseph began, the tribes of Jacob and Joseph, the eminence of Joseph's descendants being already established, took military service out of Egypt, and with the enemies of the Egyptians. Nothing would seem more revolutionizing to Hebrew history, but nothing suffers save our ideas of what that history was. In the Bible we are told of a great persecution beginning eighty years before the Exodus. Presumably the Hebrews were subject for a long previous period, from the death of Joseph and the overthrow, about the same time, of the dynasty which he had served. The cause of the enslavement of the Hebrews was, as M. Naville has proved, the organization of their territory about the time of Ramses. From Joseph's death until the great oppression was a dark chasm of about 280 years. A single passage in the much-neglected Book of Chronicles throws a flash of light into the darkness, relating how Ephraim's sons perished in a border foray, slain by the men of

* Brugsch, *Hist.*, 2nd ed., vol. i. pp. 161, 162.

† *Rev. Egyptologique*, IV. an., p. 95 seq.

† *Rev. Arch.*, N.S., iv. 344 seq.

Gath, though it does seem possible to determine whether this event took place in Palestine or in Egypt. Another clue is afforded by the fear of the great oppressor, that the Hebrews, being more and mightier than his own people, would join their enemies, and thus be able to leave the country; this said no doubt also with a view to his great projects of covering the land with temples to himself as well as the gods. In truth, the reign of Ramses, like that of his parallel, the Assyrian Assur-ban-habal, was the beginning of a swift end. In both cases great wars had already reduced the manhood of the race. Ramses was forced to conclude a peace on equal terms with the Hittite king. Assur-ban-habal was unable to move when Psammetichos and Gyges revolted. The reign of the son of Ramses was followed by anarchy, and the temporary subjection of Egypt to a foreign invader or rebel, as the fall of Nineveh and of the Assyrian empire speedily followed the reign of Assur-ban-habal. Can we wonder then at the politic Pharaoh's fear of a sturdy race of freebooters, such as the Hebrews appear in the story of their wanderings and in the Book of Judges? One light more is thrown into the darkness by the statement that the Hebrews marched out of Egypt in military order. Thus the Egyptian monuments, while they contradict our ill-formed notions, bring out with startling novelty the true features of the Bible story.

Can documents thus confirmed by independent evidence be centuries later than the events which they truthfully describe? In other words, can the new criticism stand against the force of the Egyptian evidence?

There are two other evidences running through the whole Old Testament by which it may be supposed that the relative date of the books could be determined. These are the development of religion and that of morals. The word development is not here used of religion in the sense which it has in natural science: it is used to describe an effect of religious teaching, not a cause of religious growth.

Religious development has been supposed by the new critics both in the matter of doctrine and in that of ritual. In doctrine they conjecture that there was a movement from what has been termed Henotheism, or the idea that each nation had its own divinity, supreme in its territory, to Monotheism, or the belief in one supreme divinity. No doubt the Israelites passed from the one view to the other. The documents tell us as much, but we cannot say that the documents followed the same course, unless we assume a wholesale remodelling. In the matter of ritual the argument that there is a regular development requires a theory into which the documents are fitted on the hypothesis. The argument is therefore no argument at all.

To reason from the development of doctrine is unsafe. Religious progress would, if regular, place the Law before the Prophets, but this progress is not always regular. The retrogressive philosophy of

Maimonides, and its lasting effect, is a warning against the acceptance of the idea of regular progress.

The evidence from the development of morals has been strangely neglected. The moral advance is perfectly regular from the Law through the Prophets to the New Testament. If we adopt the dates of the new critics the order is destroyed. The new critics have felt this difficulty, and imagine a body "of wise men" working for a while independently of the legislators, but this expedient is a half-measure. It is not possible to deny that much of the work of the wise men was later than the assumed date of the production of the last code. Consequently the contradiction is permanent. Is it possible that there was an advance, a retrogression, and a second advance, the last after the promulgation of the latest code, which was very rigidly observed in the whole future? When we consider the central point of the morality of the Prophets and the wise men, this seems beyond possibility. That central point is the sanctity and symbolical meaning of marriage. Monogamy is either taught or implied in the strongest manner. This is unknown to the Law, which permits polygamy and has no symbolic meaning for marriage.

The argument from moral development seems of special value, as it is beyond all critical questions and of an extremely simple character. Its whole weight is against the new critics. There is thus a body of external evidence, much of which is in discovery later than the theory, and one strong argument on internal evidence, which should surely induce us to pause before we accept the conclusions of Kuenen and Wellhausen; the more as those conclusions require such modifications in the text as to deprive it of all historical character and value.

If I am required to prove how the Biblical documents, which I believe to be the oldest, were handed down, I would reply with the same question as to the Homeric poems. Further, I would ask how the books dated by the new school from the eighth century B.C. were preserved. Except the Siloam inscription (eleventh or eighth century) and the Moabite Stone (ninth century), we have no Palestinian contemporary records before the Christian era, and no Phœnician but of very late date. Were it not for two inscriptions we should have outside the Biblical data no reason for holding that written language was known in Palestine during the thirteen centuries following the Exodus, nor in Phœnicia during the greater part of that interval. Yet it is not on the evidence of antiquity in the statements of the Biblical books, here considered the earliest, but upon the accurate transcription of Egyptian words, that positive evidence of writing should rest. The objection merely depends on the *argumentum à silentio*.

Let us wait for more light.

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

FAUST IN MUSIC.

I ONCE asked Bayard Taylor, who, in his opinion, among the composers was best able to set "Faust" to music? supposing meanwhile, without knowing why, that he would answer, "Wagner;" and I felt a kind of just rebuke when, without a moment's hesitation, he replied, "Beethoven."

We are so accustomed in these days to think of Wagner as the mighty and all-sufficient interpreter of human emotion and passion, as to forget that the singular depth and strength of his portrayal is not accompanied by that breadth and calm which is necessary to a complete representation of humanity. What Wagner portrays is, rather the travail-pangs attending the birth of society out of barbarism than the repose of a fixed dominion of mind and art over brute force and disorder. The triumph of the spirit, with its law and its beauty, in a firm undeviating rule, setting bounds to the wildest storms of passion, turning evil into good, and awarding the victor's garland to every worthy contestant—this reign of a beneficent *law* finds its expression in Beethoven as in no one else.

The quick perception of this by the gifted American poet and translator led me to reflect whether, after all, the real interpretation of Faust be not already given in Beethoven's various writings, particularly in the symphonies. It would be certainly an interesting and perhaps not unremunerative task for a mind of sufficiently broad sympathies and power of analysis to search through these great tone-tragedies for passages giving suitable expression to the several movements of the drama. The ability to do this would of course involve a very deep appreciation of the universality of both the poem and the music. It is not for a moment to be supposed that the composer had the incidents of the drama of Goethe, then, in fact, still

incomplete, before his mind when writing the symphonies; but he had in his heart, and he conveyed in those marvellous tone creations, all unheard by himself, except by the immortal spirit's ear, the movements and the action of the great drama of the ages, the life of man, the aspirations, the struggles, the defeats, and the triumphs of the human soul. I am aware, however, that this, even if it were well done, would be in large measure a thankless task, in view of a widely prevalent aversion nowadays to what is called "programme music." The conditions of success would be almost wholly subjective ones, and in the same degree uncertain and variable. And yet I am quite confident that in the "Eroica," the "Pastoral," and the "Choral" symphonies, there are easily to be found *motifs* that would instantly strike an audience of average musical intelligence as more exactly and distinctly portraying the Faust-idea, or its particular phases, than is done in the overtures and symphonies distinctly so labelled by Wagner and his disciple Liszt.

If the Faust-idea in its broadest conception is that of a drama of humanity, or the struggles of the human soul against the limitations of the finite and imperfect, and its final triumph in its self-reconciliation to the eternal law of the All-wise and the All-loving, and its attainment in this to true freedom and to true satisfaction, then we may most reasonably expect to find all truly human music embodying in some measure this idea. Objection may be made to our attempting to read the Faust-idea in this fashion into music, just as the same objection has been made to the efforts of those scholars who would read into Goethe's own version of the Faust-legend a universal moral import. But I do not think the question primarily regards the particular moral import of either poem or music, but rather the prior fact of their truthfulness as portrayals of humanity. If they are true to human nature the moral will be already there, with or without our "reading in." The question will only be that of our ability to discover it, and the wider one's knowledge, and the deeper one's sympathy with one's human kind, the better able will one be to detect wherein the art of tone has been the true interpreter of the art of words.

Dismissing this general discussion, it is my purpose in this paper to consider in detail the respective qualities of the more important musical settings of the Faust-drama by our modern composers—namely, those of Spohr, Gounod, Berlioz, Boïto, and Schumann.

Remarkable as is the fact that this drama of the ages, as the Faust-legend has been not unfitly called, should have waited until the nineteenth Christian century for its adequate literary embodiment; not less so are the remarkable efforts in the same period to give the legend a proper musical setting. The intellectual and the emotional contents of the deeply graven story find simultaneous utterance. It is in this coincidence of artistic endeavour that a very

interesting psychological phenomenon occurs, in, namely, the exhibition here afforded of the power of the musician to penetrate and seize the most subtle phases of ethical and religious emotion, and give these due expression in his art. A comparison of these several musical settings is therefore at the same time a kind of psychological study of the several composers. The effort will be not to form any absolute judgment as to comparative excellence, but to detect, as far as we may be able, that peculiar moral and religious phase of the drama which is emphasized in each of the musical works under consideration.

I have named Spohr at the head of the list because his opera was the earliest to be produced, and also requires the briefest notice here. It is with some hesitation that I include him in the list of interpreters of the "Faust-idea," for the reason that his librettist's idea was as remote as possible from that, at least, of Goethe, however earnestly it may have reflected some of the cruder mediæval versions of the legend. Faust, after going through a number of exploits of very doubtful valour or honour, is finally carried off triumphantly to Hell, amid the rejoicing shouts of the infernal hosts. The story reads more like the popular Don Juan of other operas, and the music is alike sensational in character, hardly anywhere acquiring the dignity of a moral import. The composition is by no means without merit musically considered, several of the soprano arias being remarkable for their brilliancy, and even to this day popular on the concert stage, and here and there a deep strong pathos, combined with sober purity of form, reminds one even of Glück. But we do not think of this music as belonging to the subjective school in which the real opera alone finds its place—a school whose art is born of an idea clearly conceived in the mind and afterwards shaping to itself a musical form as its purest and fullest manifestation. The music of Spohr's "Faust" might readily be sung to the *libretti* of many other operas of the time without any apparent lack of adaptation. It is pleasant Society-music, if we may use the term—a sort of delicious and exhilarating accompaniment to the waving of perfumed fans, the drawing on of gloves, hastily snatched glimpses of the brilliantly dressed house, and a half-suppressed murmur of gay conversation. If we could conceive of Faust as in the modern sense a "Society man," which somehow we find it impossible to do, we might find this somewhat flippant opera more deserving of study than it at present seems to us.

With the other four compositions to which I invite attention, there is surely no lack of subjective and earnest content. It is doubtful if, except in the oratorios and sacred cantatas of the masters of sacred music, there is manifest anywhere so earnest an intent in musical writing as we find in these works—the "Faust" of Schumann and that of Gounod, the "Damnation" of Berlioz, and the "Mefistofele"

of Boïto. In none, with the exception of Schumann's "Scenes," is the text precisely that of Goethe, but all derive their theme from his version of the legend, and follow his drama with sufficient nearness to enable them to be judged as by a common standard in their literary content. They differ so widely, however, in the special theme or phase of the drama chosen by each composer for musical setting, that they are rather to be regarded as constituting together one complete expression, than as so many various treatments of a single subject. The deep intellectual insight into the meaning of the drama, and the vivid realization of its successive great motives in the language of tone by those writers, are a significant indication of the real progress of the musical art. In neither of these works is the dramatic theme subordinated to the mere play of musical sounds. It is everywhere true opera in the genuine sense, and that so lofty a theme should have found even so many worthy interpreters is a fact that lends a new dignity to the vocation of the musical composer.

Of the five composers named, two have extended their *libretti* into the Second Part of the drama, and two have ended with the First. The moral content of the Faust-idea is of course incomplete without the Second Part. We may look for the reason of this variety of choice in the peculiar moral sensibility or receptivity in the mind of the respective composer with regard to the phases which he has chosen to embody in his work. Viewed in this light our study ought to illustrate the universality of both the poem and the music to which the Faust-idea has been the common inspiration.

It is to this kind of ethico-musical analysis that I shall mainly confine my observations on the works before us. A purely musical criticism would be quite remote from my present purpose; and I humbly hope that to many readers, who would shrink from a merely technical disquisition on a musical subject, my proposed treatment of the one before us may not be wholly unattractive.

The four phases of the drama which I find to have found each its distinctive expression in the several works before us are the following: The Satanic or Infernal, the Pagan and Classic, the Spiritual and the Religious.

The first, I hardly need say, is that which lends its lurid and fateful hue to the music throughout of the "Damnation de Faust," by Berlioz. Terrible as it sounds to characterize the exquisite writing of this gifted genius as infernal, I know of no other term by which to distinguish the power and the spell of his music. Not here alone, but in much else that he has written, we seem to hear the chant of the death angel, the chorus of the accursed, the sad—how sad and penetrating!—lament of the despairing and the lost. Beauty, a depth of hectic colour, a kind of feverish glow and gleam, the repose which is that of languor rather than of rest, the awful, irresistible tread of Fate—

pleasure tasted on the brink of endless sorrow, the hope which is against hope—these are what pulsate beneath the weirdly beautiful tones of this saddest of musical writers. The title of the work speaks for the thorough honesty of the writer. It is not the elevation but the degradation of the human soul—the despair of humanity—before the awful doom of “him that accuses” and denies, that is here depicted in most feeling language. The triumph of Satan, the jubilant howl of evil spirits, the stifling spell of the infernal atmospheres, give a kind of undertone to all the scenes described, even those in which a certain mockery of peace, love, and happiness sheds a thin, faint gleam of warmth and light. If there is a delicious sorrow in the prelude and in Faust’s soliloquy under the influence of Nature, it is not that which is born of sympathy with an infinite life, but of an anticipation of the inevitable decay and death that threatens all. It is the music of pessimism and of despair. That this triumph of Mephistopheles should have proved so acceptable to the public as is evinced by the wide popularity of Berlioz’s work, and also by the recent successful run of Irving’s version of the play at the Lyceum, in which Satan’s rôle is in every sense the leading one, must not necessarily be construed as indicating a correspondingly diabolical predilection in the public sentiment that finds its satisfaction in these portrayals. I attribute it rather to the intense *realism* of both productions, a feature that appeals more than any other to the dominant mental craving of this time, as well as to a negative cause in, namely, the failure of the general playgoing public to penetrate deeply enough into the moral of the Faust-idea as wrought out by Goethe, to know how really superficial and delusive this triumph of “the evil one” is. The discipline of temptation, the awful combat between the angel principle and the devil principle in man, is only seemingly closed by physical death or the captivity of the body. An intense conflict is to follow—a conflict lying deeper than the plane of the body’s passions; a conflict among the principles that go to make up human society. The soul of the larger man is to be tried; the field of this temptation widens beyond the limitations of the Saxon race and the Christian religion; the struggling tendencies inherited from the past existence of the race must come to their conscious realization and decision here in the breast of this typical prophet and martyr. Those who see the drama closed with the awful flight to Hell, depicted as no one but Berlioz could do it, and carry away only the vision of its lurid depths, are, however, hardly more deficient in a true apprehension of the moral scope of the legend than the majority of those good sober-minded people who object on principle to the finding of any good and wholesome moral in a play of this nature. Both classes fall far short of that conception which, in the initial germ, as well as in the completed development of the Faust-idea, is at once its redeeming element and

its lasting glory. For, whether in the ancient story of Job, in which Froude has detected the substance of the legend, or in Goethe's drama, the dominant idea is undoubtedly that of an all-ruling Divine providence, which embraces even the hells in its dominion, and whose laws include even the permission of evil that thereby greater good may come. That the dark side of the argument should have been the first to be recognized is only natural, and that hence should be drawn a theme for popular presentation, rather than from the other more subtle and deeply hidden one, whether by the musician or stage-manager, is not a matter of surprise. If we judge a work of art by the thoroughness with which its end is attained, no one will withhold the highest tribute of praise from Berlioz's most successful work. It is not alone the musical representation of passion, grief, and despair, in their deepest throes; it is the apotheosis of the inhuman, the bestial, the vile. Witness the songs of the "Rat" and the "Flea." Was music ever put to so base a use before? And yet it is realistic art, in precisely the same sense that we apply this term to the carnal and cadaverous canvasses that occupy so large a space in the French Salon. It hymns, as the latter record, the triumph of matter, of the flesh, and of death. Sweet and pathetic beyond all words to describe is this dying Psyche song; the wail of the human soul, as the last gleam of the noble, the tender, the beautiful in man and woman fades from our vision.

Unlike Berlioz, Boïto, while also choosing the Satanic title for his work, writes in a more normally human spirit, and gives us a far healthier and more genial rendering of the story. His theme embraces the Second Part, and thus introduces the idea of the final redemption of Faust, but it is not this completion of the moral motive of the drama that constitutes the distinguishing trait of this composition, so much as that which is incidental to it—namely, the introduction of the Hellenic, or classic element, through the admission of the Helena episode from the Second Part. This supplies the key-note for our understanding the peculiar charm which the work of Boïto possesses throughout. It is the loveliness of Helen, the Greek passion for the beautiful as such; it is human love, neither refined by the elimination of passion nor yet seasoned with the guilty lust of sin, but rather purely natural and free. This element, while suffusing the whole work with a certain voluptuous and sensual glamour, is yet not fraught with the seed of corruption and death. If it is sin, it is yet not the sin done in the light, but in the sleep of Nature, in which the Christian conscience is not yet awakened. It may be animal; it is not bestial. This peculiar character of the moral sentiment embodied in Boïto's music is what leads me to call it Pagan in contrast with the Saxon-Christian element which pervades the other three. The music of the revel and the dance is that of the dithyrambic

chorus of the Greeks; a Dionysian sweetness and mellowness runs through the half-dreamy bars introducing the garden scene and the light-hearted play of the lovers; the mocking gallantries of Mefistofele with Marta are like the innocent pranks of the Satyr of old—the declaration of love, the pledge, the flight, all teem with the fervid passion of inexperienced youth; the unstayed current of unreflecting, unquestioning, love. Even where the composer has attempted to portray the calmer, deeper emotions, as in Faust's soliloquy on his return from his walk in the fields and in his prayer addressed to Helen as the ideal type of the beautiful, the vein of music struck is not one that reaches deeper than the senses, beautiful as these passages undoubtedly are. Three scenes in the opera do, however, deserve special notice, on account of the immense power of artistic interpretation which they exhibit. Natural and earthly as the emotions may be which they portray, they are nevertheless deep and strong, and such as awaken a response in the human heart at all times. I refer to the wail of grief, the frenzy of despair, that is uttered in Margaret's song "Al Mare;" to the sweet but delusive vision of the peace of unending love, in the duet "Lontano, lontano;" and, finally, to the description of the night in Greece, which, in the whiteness of its moonlight, its clear-cut shadows, the very stars reflected in the bosom of the lake, the melancholy fragrance of summer roses in the air, is so marvellously drawn, in the duet between Helen and her attendant in the classic scene. Rarely do we find in music so exquisite an intellect as here. It is the beauty of form left unveiled, except with the merest film of a material covering. It is like a Doric frieze, standing out white, pure, and sharply defined against the purpling sky of an Attic twilight. Not more truly did Goethe bring back the Hellenic spirit to German poetry than has this Italian composer translated in this single scene the classic *modes* into the musical form of our time. The performance of this duet by Mesdames Trebelli and Nilsson I remember as I would a veritable vision of a night in Athens.

From the "Mefistofele," let us pass now to the "Scenes from Faust" of Schumann. This alone of all the compositions before us attempts to embody in musical language the complete moral import of the "Faust" of Goethe. The scenes of course embrace the Second Part, and even include the passage in which the solution of the deep problem of human happiness is reached—in, namely, the discovery of the law of use, of mutual service of man to man, as the highest ideal of society—the divine destiny of man.

That the plots of Satan should have to yield to a prosaic proposition of political economy—that the charms of learning, of sensual pleasure, of intellectual beauty, of empire, should all lose their potency in the face of a scheme to redeem some waste land and

provide for a comfortable home for some poor tenants—this has been a difficult point for the critics to reconcile to their ideas of æsthetic unity and harmony. It has required a profounder appreciation of human delight and human destiny than was possessed by the ordinary poetasters and their critics of the Romantic school, to gain even a glimpse of the sublime idea which the poet has thus embodied. If it was a daring thing, such as only a genuine master could have the courage and the strength to do, must we not admire the musician who has dared even to attempt a worthy musical expression of so lofty and yet so unpopular a theme! This Schumann has done in passages of singular power and depth. In his portrayal of Faust as that human soul that struggles for the complete reconciliation of himself to the primeval beneficent order of a divine purpose, and that consequently yearns for the sympathy of even the inanimate world of Nature as well as for the communion of an actual human brotherhood, there is a lofty reach in Schumann's music which we are able to describe by no other term than spiritual. Intensely human throughout, it is nevertheless thrilled all the while with emotions that come rather from the spiritual than from the sensual side of our nature. The angelic choruses are indeed strains, worthy to be heard in Heaven—mystery, infinity, the sweet but awful secrets of the intercourse of angels and men, the dreamy but joyous ecstasies of the "blessed boys," the prayers and adorations of martyrs and prophets—all these seem to be breathed into these numbers as if from some bright door ajar into the upper world. A calm and noble dignity, the repose which foretells the sure fulfilment of the divine purposes of good, stamps the work with a distinctly ethical character in keeping with its lofty theme. We feel that to divert and amuse are functions almost too trivial for such art as this: to elevate, to purify, and ennoble the aspirations of men becomes alike the mission of the poet and the musician. I know how lame my attempts must be to define in words what I have ventured to characterize as the spiritual character of Schumann's interpretation of the drama. I can only throw myself upon a supposed sympathetic intuition of my reader in any appeal for his approval. The composer is only employing here, in a field adequate to his genius, the same deep human insight and power of expression which have characterized his other works, and which have constituted him a kind of musical prophet. A voice speaks here which is deeper than intellect; it is rather the utterance of some celestial principle in the human soul, of a faculty that sees, and that enables congenial souls to see, what cannot be put in words. As Bœito's music was described as sensuous without the element of sin, so Schumann is human without being sensuous. In this subtle influence of the affectional part of the mind, that which arrives at perceptions and conveys them

to other minds without the formal intervention of intellect, and thus awakens lofty emotions, even without the aid of words, truly the music of Schumann's "Faust" illustrates in no feeble way in what manner

"Das ewig weibliche
Zieht uns heran."

It remains for me to point out in what manner Gounod's opera holds a complementary relation to all the foregoing, and also combines in one work their several distinctive qualities. It is as the universal commingling of all these characteristics that I have called Gounod's rendering of the drama a pre-eminently religious one. For religion is the name for that emotion in the human race which makes possible the mutual approach of the lowest with the highest elements in our nature, which permits Satan to converse face to face with Deity, and equally enables the compassionate love of the Father of mankind to reach down to the uttermost depths to recall His lost child to Himself. But the religious feeling which Gounod has here painted in tones, with truly a master's touch, is that of the Catholic Church. It has not the profoundly ethical and universal character that finds expression in Schumann, and that can comprehend a solution of Faust's destiny like that which the Second Part evolves; but for this very reason it strikes home more directly to the conscience of the masses, which see somehow in Margaret's awful punishment and death a kind of vicarious atonement for the sin of her lover, and in the angelic strains of the postlude hear the triumph of that Divine love which can by some means, more marvellous and instantaneous than the slow process of moral combat in the penitent soul, bring about the desired heavenly transformation. The closing of the opera with the First Part was, therefore, we may say, a dramatic necessity, when the underlying motive was the portrayal of the ordinary Christian sentiment. It is this echo of a deeply interwoven consciousness of sin, of holy love profaned, of the terrors of the Judgment Day, of the compassionate mercy and the pardoning grace of God, that has given Gounod's opera its vast ascendancy over all the others in popular favour. That it is a profoundly religious work does by no means imply the absence of other characteristics, any more than the religion of the Catholic Church excludes the idea of what is sensuous, frolicsome, or even diabolical. But the triumph of Divine compassion is foretold alike in the condemnation of guilt, in the awful throes of a remorseful conscience, in the sensitive recoiling of a pure nature from the presence of the evil one, as in the last prayer of Margaret, wherein the very music she sings seems to break the prison bars and let her soul fly free to Heaven. Powerfully as Mephistopheles is depicted here, it is as a power that is rebuked, and must crouch and crawl away defeated, rather than as the real winner

and victor in the struggle with the All-Father. It is life rather than death that in the end triumphs; and if the sin is deep, it is deeply atoned for, and the end is redemption.

The absence of the Pagan or classic scenes of the drama, as well as of the Walpurgis-Nacht episode, leaves the subject to be treated to much circumscribed limits, and the local colouring given by both the poet and the composer is decidedly Saxon in its prevailing tone. The deep undertone of sadness which is heard in the scenes where strong feeling is described, even from the first note of the marvelously subjective overture, is not an unfit expression in tones of that most true analysis of the Saxon religious character which the composer's countryman, Taine, gives us in his "History of English Literature." But, while the religious feeling is Saxon, the power and presence of the Church as described by Gounod is thoroughly Roman or Latin. Thus the religious spirit breathes in the choruses of angels and spirits in the earlier scenes; it is shown in the mystic power of the Cross used by the students in repelling Mephistopheles; in the holy dread which Faust feels on entering Margaret's chamber, where

" . . . day by day each influence pure
Of heaven and earth her heart mature,
And fain would welcome forth, and win
To light, the angel from within."

We feel its awful presence in the curse of Valentine; in the delirious fears, the calm, and the ecstasies of Margaret in the Prison Scene; and, most of all, in the sublime death-struggle, in which the soul finds release and victory for herself and her beloved.

The Church, on the other hand, not only as mocked by Mephistopheles, but as introduced in her solemn offices as a factor in the drama, is purely of the Roman type. It speaks the verdicts of the irrevocable judgment of Deity, it pronounces the calm and immovable exactions of the law. Terrible and implacable as the Fates of the ancient tragedy rises before the conscience-stricken Margaret the impending sentence of her guilt. Nowhere has this feeling of the immutability of law, of the hopelessness of doom, been depicted in the body and in the form of music, more vividly than in the organ-prelude to the Cathedral Scene. Is it not almost cruelty intoned, in its steady, calm, but irresistible onward movement, undeviating, heedless, merciless? The accusations of Satan from within find their echo from without in the awful strains of the "*Dies iræ*," the Church's great objective representation of the Divine judgment and of the just desert of sin. The majesty, the power of the Church, speak in the solemn tones of her own Gregorian chant. The imprecations, the despair of centuries of lost and doomed lives, press down with their burden in these massive and mighty chords. In these passages from the Church's ritual the religious element of the drama becomes localized and particularized, just as the religious element itself is the

particularizing of the more universal ethical spirit. We can without difficulty locate the drama of the First Part in any of the quaint münster-cities of Southern Germany, but the limits of our earth are almost too narrow to meet the demands of the wider experiences of the Second Part.

I have attempted neither an exhaustive description of these musical works, nor to form any judgment as to their comparative merits, but have adhered to my purpose of discovering the moral *motif* which distinguished each, or of which each seemed to be a more complete embodiment. I have spoken of Gounod's work as in a manner embracing the *motifs* of the others, as well as supplementing them with a distinct one of its own, because this universality is what characterizes the religious feeling itself. It would be an interesting psychological study to inquire how far the choice of these several elements as subjects for their respective treatment is the result of some prevailing disposition or aptitude of the several composers, as shown in their other works. We can hardly doubt that the musical writing of each is the response which his own artistic sense gives back on his being impressed with a certain moral import of the legend. The responses vary according to the differences in the impressions received, and these according to the differences in the receptive organs. Such would be a bold and intrusive kind of mental analysis, a calling of these men to a kind of moral judgment pronounced by their own works; and I confess that I should hesitate in daring to apply my own method in estimating them as I have in estimating their writing; but in one case I feel that my method is fully vindicated by the writer's subsequent choice of theme—namely, in that of Gounod. Not only has the real bent of his musical genius, in spite of apparent efforts to turn it in other directions, proved itself a distinctly religious one by his virtual abandonment of secular for sacred subjects, his decided preference for oratorio over opera, ballet, and all other forms of orchestral writing, but I doubt if in all that he has written there has been at bottom a religious feeling so strong and all-pervading in its influence as in the opera of "Faust." On this, rather than on the later work so designated by the author himself, will the public judgment of the future see written the rightful title—*Opus vitæ meæ*.

FRANK SEWALL.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF TRADE.

A STUDY OF ITS ECONOMIC CAUSES.

II.

[In the last article two propositions were submitted: *First*, that in the increased control which during the last quarter of a century mankind has acquired over the forces of Nature, and the increased utilization of such control for the work of production and distribution, is to be found a cause amply sufficient to account for the almost universal and extraordinary economic disturbance which has prevailed since 1873, and bids fair in a greater or less degree to continue. *Second*, that all the other causes which have been popularly regarded as having directly occasioned or essentially contributed to the economic disturbance in question—with the exception of such as are in the nature of natural phenomena, as bad seasons and harvests, diseases of plants and animals, disappearance of fish and the like, and such as are due to excessive taxation consequent on war expenditures, all of which are local and the first temporary in character—naturally group themselves about the one great cause that has been suggested, as sequences or derivatives, and as secondary rather than primary in their influence. A summary of the evidence in support of the *first* proposition having been submitted, it is proposed in the following article to ask attention to the facts which seem to be confirmatory of the *second*.]

OVER-PRODUCTION.—Consider, first, the most popular alleged cause of recent economic disturbances, that to which the Royal Commission of Great Britain in its final report (December, 1886), and the United States Bureau of Labour (1886) have assigned a prominent place; and which the “Trades Union Congress of England has by resolution accepted as being, in the opinion of the workmen of England,” the most prominent cause—namely, “*over-production*.” In a certain sense there can be no over-production of desirable products so long as human wants for such products remain unsatisfied. But it is in accordance with the most common of the world’s experiences that there is at times and places a production of most useful and desirable things in excess of any demand at remunerative prices to the producer. This happens, in some instances, through lack of progress or enterprise, and in others through what may be termed an excess of progress or enterprise. An example of the first is to be found in the circumstance that in the days of Turgot, the French Minister of Finance under Louis XVI., there were at times

in certain departments of France such abundant harvests that wheat was almost unmarketable, while in other and not far-distant sections of the country there was such a lack of food that the inhabitants perished of hunger; and yet, through the absence of facilities for transportation and communication of intelligence, the influence of bad laws, and the moral inertia of the people, there was no equalization of conditions.* An example of the second, intensified to a degree never before experienced, is to be found in the results of the improvements in production and distribution which have been made especially effective within the last quarter of a century. A given amount of labour, operating through machinery, produces or distributes at least a third more product on the average, in given time, than ever before. Note the natural tendency of human nature under the new conditions. The machinery which thus cheapens and increases product is, as a rule, most costly, and entails a like burden of interest, insurance, and care, whether it is at work or idle; and the possessor of it, recognizing this fact, naturally desires to convert outlay into income by utilizing it to the greatest extent possible. Again, a man who has learned by experience that he can dispose of a certain amount of product or service at a profit, naturally reasons that a larger amount will give him, if not a proportionally greater, at least a larger aggregate profit; and, as the conditions determining demand are not only imperfectly known, but to a certain extent incapable of exact determination, he discards the idea of any risk, even if he for a moment entertains it, and pushes industrial effort to its maximum. And as this process is general, and, as a rule, involves a steady increase in the improved and constantly improving instrumentalities of production and distribution, the period at length arrives when the industrial and commercial world awakens to the fact that there is a product disproportionate to any current remunerative demand. In this way only is it possible to account for the circumstance that the supply of the great articles and instrumentalities of the world's use and commerce has increased, during the last ten or fifteen years, in a far greater ratio than the contemporaneous increase in the world's population, or of its immediate consuming capacity.

But although such is substantially a correct general exposition of the recent course of industrial events, and although all the agencies concerned in reducing the time and labour necessary to effect a given result in the world's work have undoubtedly acted to a certain extent and in all cases in unison, the diversity of method under which the

* This experience of France in the last quarter of the eighteenth century is repeating itself at the present day in China. General Wilson, in his recent "Study of China" (1887), states that "over ten million people died from starvation about ten years ago in the provinces of Shansi and Shensi alone, while abundance and plenty were prevailing in other parts of the country. Every effort was made to send food into the stricken regions: but owing to the entire absence of river and canal navigation, as well as of railroads, but few of the suffering multitudes could be reached."

supply in excess of remunerative demand, or the so-called over-production, has been specially effected, is not a little curious. Thus, in the case of crude iron and steel, cotton fabrics and textiles generally, coal, most articles of metal fabrication, ships, and the like, the increase and cheapened supply have been brought about mainly through improvements in the machinery and economy of production; while in the case of wheat, rice, and other cereals, wool, cotton fibres, meats, and petroleum, like results have been mainly occasioned by improvements in the machinery and economy of distribution. On the other hand, in the case of copper, tin, nickel, silver, quicksilver, quinine, and some important chemicals, over-production, in the sense as above defined, has been almost entirely due to the discovery of new and abundant natural sources of supply. It is also not to be overlooked that other factors, which cannot properly be included within the sphere of the influence of recent discoveries and inventions, have also powerfully contributed to bring about the so-called phenomenon of over-production. The increase in the consumption of some commodities is entirely dependent upon the increase in the tastes and intelligence of the masses; and it is undeniable that the culture of the manual labourers of the world has not advanced concurrently, in recent years, with the increased and cheapened production of such articles. Many things, consequently, have been, as it were, showered upon these classes, which they do not know how to use, and do not feel that they need, and for which, therefore, they can create no market. A man who has long been contented with one shirt a week is not likely to wish to use seven immediately, even if he can buy seven for the price that he formerly paid for one, and his wife takes pleasure in doing his washing. But the most remarkable example of this nature is to be found in the case of sugar, which takes precedence over most of the articles which enter largely into the world's commerce and consumption in respect to extraordinary increase of production and equally extraordinary decline in price within recent years, and mainly (as will be hereafter shown) by reason of wholly artificial agencies—bounties—rather than from improvements in machinery or increased facilities for distribution.

One of the inevitable results of a supply of product or service in excess of remunerative demand (*i.e.*, over-production) is a decline of price; and as the power of production and distribution has been increased in an unexampled degree since 1873 (as has been already shown), the prices of nearly all the great staple commodities of commerce and consumption have declined within the same period (as will be hereafter shown), in manner altogether without precedent in all former commercial history. That this experience has been altogether natural, and what might have been expected under the circumstances, will appear from the following considerations.

If production exceeds, by even a very small percentage, what is required to meet every current demand for consumption, the price which the surplus will command in the open market will govern and control the price of the whole ; and if it cannot be sold at all, or can only be sold with difficulty, an intense competition on the part of the owners of accumulated stocks to sell will be engendered, with a great reduction or annihilation of all profit. Mr. John Bright, in one of his recent speeches, relates the following incident of personal experience: "I know," he said, "a company manufacturing chemicals of some kind extensively, and one of the principal persons in it told me that in one of those high years, 1872, 1873, and 1874, the profits of that concern were £80,000 ; and he added that when the stock-taking and its results were communicated to the leading owner in the business, he made this very wise observation : ' I am very sorry to hear it, for you may depend upon it in the years that are to come we shall have to pay the whole of it back ; ' and in speaking to me of it he said, ' It is quite true, because for several years we have been able to make no dividend at all.' Well, why was that ? The men who were making so large incomes at that time reinvested their money in increasing their business. Many of the concerns in this trade doubled their establishments, new companies were formed, and so the produce of their manufacture was extended to such a degree that the prices went down and the profits vanished."

As prices fall and profits shrink, producers working on insufficient capital, or by imperfect methods, are soon obliged, in order to meet impending obligations, to force sales through a further reduction of prices ; and then stronger competitors, in order to retain their markets and customers, are compelled to follow their example ; and this in turn is followed by new concessions alternately by both parties, until gradually the industrial system becomes depressed and demoralized, and the weaker succumb, with a greater or less destruction of capital and waste of product. Affairs now having reached their minimum of depression, recovery slowly commences. Consumption is never arrested, even if production is, for the world must continue to consume in order that life and civilization may exist. The continued increase of population also increases the aggregate of consumption ; and finally, the industrial and commercial world again suddenly realizes that the condition of affairs has been reversed, and that now the supply has become unequal to the demand. Then such producers as have "stocks on hand," or the machinery of production ready for immediate and effective service, realize large profits ; and the realization of this fact immediately tempts others to rush into production, in many cases with insufficient capital (raised often through stock companies), and without that practical knowledge of the detail of their undertaking which is necessary to insure success,

and the old experience of inflation and reaction is again and again repeated. Hence the explanation of the now much-talked-of "periods" or "cycles" of panic and speculation, of trade activity and stagnation. Their periodical occurrence has long been recognized, and the economic principles involved in them have long been understood. But nearly two centuries ago, when industries were but little diversified, though competition between nations such as England and France was intense, the forms which disturbances assumed were of local and not of general importance and influence. This was notably the case in the stock-jobbing periods of John Law's "Mississippi Scheme" or the English "South-Sea Bubble" in the last century, or the severe industrial and financial crises which occurred in Great Britain in the earlier years of the present century; and people of other countries, hearing of it after considerable intervals, and then vaguely through mercantile correspondence, were little troubled or interested. During recent years, however, they have become less local and more universal, because the railroad, the steamship, and the telegraph have broken down the barriers between nations, and, by spreading in a brief time the same hopes and fears over the whole civilized world, have made it impossible any longer to confine the speculative spirit to any one country. So that now the announcement of any single success in any department of production or mercantile venture at once fires the imagination of the enterprising and reckless in every country, and quickly incites to operations which, without such a leaven of stimulus, would probably never be undertaken. The so-called cycles of inflation and depression have also undoubtedly in recent years become more frequent and intense, because the instrumentalities of production and distribution work more rapidly in effecting results than at any former period.

One universally recognized, and to some persons perplexing, peculiarity of the recent long-continued depression in trade is the circumstance that, while profits have been so largely reduced that, as the common expression goes, "it has not paid to do business," the volume of trade throughout the world has not contracted, but, measured by quantities rather than by values, has in many departments notably increased. The following are some of the more notable examples of the evidence that can be offered in confirmation of this statement.

The years 1879, 1880, and 1881, for the United States, were years of abundant crops and great foreign demand, and are generally acknowledged to have been prosperous; while the years 1882, 1883, and 1884 are regarded as having been years of extreme depression and reaction. And yet the movement of railroad freights throughout the country greatly increased during this latter as compared with the former period; the tonnage carried by six railroads centring at Chicago

in 1884 having been nearly thirty-three per cent. greater than in 1881; and the tonnage per mile carried by all the railroads of the United States in 1884—a year of extreme depression—having been 5,000,000,000 in excess of that carried in 1882; and this, notwithstanding that there was a great falling off in 1884 in the carriage of material for new railroad construction. Again, the foreign commerce of the United States, measured in dollars, largely declined during the same latter period; but, measured in quantities, there was but little decrease, and in the case of not a few leading articles a notable increase. Thus, for the year 1885 the total value of the foreign commerce of the country in merchandise was \$93,251,921 less than in the preceding year (1884), but of this decrease \$90,170,364, according to the estimate of the United States Bureau of Statistics, represented a decline in price. An export of 70,000,000 bushels of wheat from the United States in 1884 returned \$75,000,000; while an export of 84,500,000 in 1885 gave less than \$73,000,000. An export of 389,000,000 pounds of bacon and hams in 1884 brought in nearly \$40,000,000; but shipments of 400,000,000 pounds in 1885 returned but \$37,000,000, or an increase of foreign sales of about 11,000,000 pounds was accompanied by a decline of about \$3,000,000 in price. In 1884 the United States paid about \$50,000,000 for 535,000,000 pounds of imported coffee; in 1885 it imported 573,000,000 pounds for \$47,000,000. In 1877—216,287,891 gallons of exported petroleum were valued at \$44,209,360; but in 1886—303,911,698 gallons (or 87,623,000 gallons more) were valued at only \$24,685,767, a decline in value of \$19,523,000. But the most remarkable example of changes of this character is to be found in the case of sugar. Thus, in 1883 the United States imported 2,023,000,000 pounds of sugar, for which it paid \$91,959,000. In 1885, 2,548,000,000 pounds were imported, at a cost of \$68,531,000; or a larger quantity by 525,000,000 pounds was imported in 1885, as compared with 1883, for \$23,428,000 less money.

The statistics of the recent foreign trade of Great Britain, as reported to the British Board of Trade by Mr. Giffen, also exhibit corresponding results. For example, the declared aggregate value of British exports and imports for 1883 was £667,000,000 as compared with £682,000,000 in 1873, an apparent decline of no little magnitude. But if the aggregate of the foreign trade of Great Britain for 1883 had been valued at the prices of 1873, the total, in place of £667,000,000, would have been £861,000,000, or an increase for the decade of about thirty per cent.

An explanation of this economic phenomenon of recent years—namely, a continuing increase in the volume of trade with a continuing low rate or decline in profits—may be found in the following circumstances: One constant result of a decline in prices is an

increase (but not necessarily proportional or even universal) in consumption. Evidence on this point, derived from recent experiences, will be referred to hereafter ; but the following example illustrates how this economic principle manifests itself even under unexpected conditions :—

The price of sulphate of quinine of American manufacture in July, 1879, was \$3.35 per ounce in bulk. In June, 1886, the quotation for the same article in bulk was 68 cents per ounce. Quinine is used mainly as a medicine, and is so indispensable in certain ailments that it may be presumed that its cost in 1879 was no great restriction on its consumption, and that no great increase in its use from a reduction in price was to be expected, any more than an increase in the use of coffins for a similar reason—both commodities being used to the extent that they are needed, even if a denial of the use of other things is necessary, in order to permit of their procurement. And yet that increase in the cheapness of quinine has been followed by a notable increase in its consumption is shown by the fact that the importation of cinchona-bark—from which quinine is manufactured—into Europe and the United States during recent years has notably increased ; about 4,000,000 pounds having been imported into the United States in 1886, as compared with an import of 2,580,000 in 1883. The following statement also illustrates even more forcibly the ordinary effect of a reduction of price on the consumption of the more staple commodities. Thus, a reduction of 6*d.* per week in the cost of the bread of every family in Great Britain (a saving which, on the basis of the decline in the wholesale prices of wheat within the last decade, would seem to have been practicable) has been estimated as equivalent to giving a quarter of a million pounds sterling per week to the whole people of the kingdom to be spent for other things.*

The evidence is also conclusive that the ability of the population of the world to consume is greater than ever before, and is rapidly increasing. Indeed, such a conclusion is a corollary from the acknowledged fact of increased production—the end and object of all production being consumption. Take, for example, the United States, with its present population of sixty millions—a population that undoubtedly produces and consumes more per head than any other equal number of people on the face of the globe, and is producing and consuming very much more than it did ten or even five years ago. The business of exchanging the products or services, and of satisfying thereby the wants of such a people, is therefore necessarily immense, and with the annual increase of population, and with consuming power increasing in an even larger ratio, the volume of such business must continue to increase. And what is true of the United States is true, in a greater or less degree, of all the other nations of the globe. There is therefore nothing inconsistent or mysterious in

the maintenance or increase in the volume of the world's business contemporaneously with a depression of trade—in the sense of a reduction of profits—occasioned by an intense competition to dispose of commodities, which have been produced under comparatively new conditions in excess of a satisfactory remunerative demand in the world's markets.

The popular sentiment which has instinctively attributed the remarkable disturbance of trade within recent years to the more remarkable changes which have taken place concurrently in the methods of production and distribution has therefore not been mistaken. The almost instinctive efforts of producers everywhere to arrest what they consider "bad trade" by partially or wholly interrupting production has not been inexpedient; and the use of the word "over-production," stripped of its looseness of expression, is not inappropriate in discussing the economic phenomena under consideration. It would also seem as if much of the bewilderment that is still attendant upon this subject, and the secret of the fruitlessness of most of the elaborate inquiries that have been instituted concerning it, have been due mainly to an inability to distinguish clearly between a causation that is primary, all-sufficient, and which has acted* in the nature of unity, and causes which are in the nature of sequences or derivatives. One striking illustration of this is to be found in the tendency of many of the English writers and investigators to consider the immense losses which British farming capital has experienced since 1873 as alone sufficient to account for all the disturbances to which trade and industry in the United Kingdom have been subjected during the same period. That such losses have been extensive and disastrous without precedent is not to be questioned. Sir James Caird estimates this loss in the purchasing power of the classes engaged in or connected with British agriculture, for the single year 1885, as having amounted to £42,800,000; and as the losses for several preceding years are believed to have been to equal or even greater than this, an estimate of £200,000,000 decline in the value of British farming capital since 1880, from depreciation of land values, rentals, and prices of stock and cereals, is probably an *under* rather than an *over*-estimate. Wheat-growing, which was formerly profitable in Great Britain, is reported as not having been remunerative to the British farmer since 1874—a fact that finds eloquent expression in the acknowledged reduction in British wheat acreage from about 4,000,000 acres in 1869 to 2,528,905 in 1886. That the agricultural populations of the interior States of Europe, which have hitherto been protected in a degree by the barrier of distance against the tremendous cheapening of transportation, are also at last beginning to feel the full effects of its influence is shown by the statement (United States Consular Reports 1886) that farming land in Germany, remote

from large cities, where the demand for milk and other perishable products is small, can now be purchased for 50 per cent. of the prices which prevailed at the close of the Franco-German War in 1870-71. And yet such startling results, in the place of being prime factors in occasioning a depression of British trade and industry, are really four removes from the original causes, which may be enumerated in order as follows :—First, the occupation and utilization of new and immense areas of cheap and fertile wheat-growing land in the United States, Canada (Manitoba), Australia, and the Argentine Republic; second, the invention and application of machinery for facilitating and cheapening the production and harvesting of crops, and which on the wheat-fields of Dakota (as before pointed out) have made the labour of every agriculturist equivalent to the annual production of five thousand five hundred bushels of wheat; third, the extension of the system of transportation on land through the railroad, and on sea through the steamship, in default of which the appropriation of new land and the invention and application of new agricultural machinery would have availed but little; fourth, the discovery of Bessemer, and the invention of the compound (steamship) engine, without which transportation could not have cheapened to the degree necessary to effect the present extent of distribution. Now, from the conjoined result of all these different agencies has come a reduction in the world's price of wheat to an extent sufficient to make its growing unprofitable on lands of high rent and under unfavourable climatic conditions; and legislation is powerless to make it otherwise. In short, the whole secret of the recent immense losses of the British and, to a lesser extent also, of the Continental agriculturist, and of the depression of British trade and industry, so far as it has been contingent on such losses, stands revealed in the simple statement that American wheat sold for export at the principal shipping ports of the United States in 1885 for fifty-six cents less per bushel than in 1874, thirty-two cents less than in 1882, and twenty cents less than in 1884.* “I have calculated that the produce of five acres of wheat can be brought from Chicago to Liverpool at less than the cost of manuring one acre for wheat

* The average value of the wheat exported from the United States in 1885, according to the tables of the United States Bureau of Statistics, was 86 cents per bushel at the shipping ports. This was a decline of 20 cents from 1884, 26½ cents from 1883, 32 cents from 1882, 56 cents from 1874, and 61 cents from 1871.

The export value of corn was 54 cents in 1885, showing a decline of 7 cents from 1884, 14 cents from 1883, 12 cents from 1882, 30 cents from 1875, and 15 cents from 1872.

The export value of oats was 37 cents in 1885, showing a decline of 2 cents from 1884, 13 cents from 1883, 7 cents from 1882, 20 cents from 1875, and 14 cents from 1871.

The export price of bacon was 9 cents in 1885, showing a decline of 1 cent from 1884, 2 cents from 1883, 2 cents from 1875, a rise of 1 cent from 1872, and a decline of 6 cents from 1870.

The export price of laid was 7 cents in 1885, showing a decline of 2 cents from 1884, 4 cents from 1883, 6 cents from 1875, 3 cents from 1872, and 9 cents from 1870.

How closely the decline in recent years in the export prices of American cereals has been followed by corresponding reductions in the prices of cereals in the markets of

in England." * And what has happened in the case of wheat has happened also in a greater or less degree as respects meats and almost all other food products; increased supplies having occasioned reduction of prices, and reduction of prices in turn ruinous losses to invested capital and revolutionary disturbances in old methods of doing business. The Bessemer rail, the modern steamship, and the Suez Canal have brought the wheat-fields of Dakota and India, and the grazing-lands of Texas, Colorado, Australia, and the Argentine Republic nearer to the factory operatives in Manchester, England, than the farms of Illinois were before the war to the spindles and looms of New England.

CHANGES IN THE RELATIONS OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL.—Consider next how potent for economic disturbance have been the changes in recent years in the relations of labour and capital, and how clearly and unmistakably these changes are consequents or derivatives from a more potent and antecedent agency.

Machinery is now recognized as essential to cheap production. Nobody can produce effectively and economically without it, and what was formerly known as domestic manufacture is now almost obsolete. But machinery is one of the most expensive of all products, and its extensive purchase and use require an amount of capital far beyond the capacity of the ordinary individual to furnish. There are very few men in the world possessed of an amount of wealth sufficient to individually construct and own an extensive line of railway or telegraph, a first-class steamship, or a great factory. It is also to be remembered that for carrying on production by the most modern and effective methods large capital is needed, not only for machinery, but also for the purchasing and carrying of extensive stocks of crude material and finished products. Sugar can now be, and generally is, refined at a profit of one-sixteenth of a penny a pound, and some-

Great Britain is exhibited by the following table (published in the British "Farmer's Almanac" for 1886), showing the average prices per quarter of wheat, barley, and oats, in Great Britain for two periods of ten years, commencing with 1865, with a separate estimate for 1885 :

CEREALS.	Price per quarter. Average for the 10 years, 1866-1875.		Price per quarter. Average for the 10 years, 1876-1885.		Average price per quarter for 1885.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat... ..	54	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	43	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	32	10
Barley... ..	39	2	36	5	30	1
Oats... ..	25	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	22	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	20	7

Similar tables given by the same authority show the gross value per annum of the product of wheat, barley, oats, beef, mutton, and wool, in Great Britain, to have been £35,000,000 (\$175,000,000) less in 1885 than were the mean returns for the ten years 1866-1875. According also to data given in the returns of the British Registrar-General, the average prices of beef by the carcass in the London market were £58 5s. 7d. per ton during the ten years from 1866-1875, £57 5s. 8d. for 1876-1885, and £49 17s. 6d. for the year 1885.

* Testimony of Mr. J. Harris, a leading farmer in Devonshire, England, before the Royal (British) Commission, 1886.

times at half of that; or, in other words, from sixteen to thirty-two pounds of raw sugar must now be treated in refining in order to make a penny; from about four to eight thousand pounds to make £1; and so on. The mere capital requisite for providing and carrying the raw material necessary for the successful prosecution of this business, apart from all other conditions, places it, therefore, of necessity beyond the reach of any ordinary capitalist or producer. It has been before stated that, in the manufacture of jewellery by machinery, one boy can make up nine thousand sleeve-buttons per day; four girls also, working by modern methods, can put together in the same time eight thousand collar-buttons. But to run an establishment with such facilities the manufacturer must keep constantly in stock thirty thousand dollars' worth of cut ornamental stones, and a stock of cuff-buttons that represents nine thousand different designs and patterns. Hence from such conditions have grown up great corporations or stock companies, which are only forms of associated capital organized for effective use. They are regarded to some extent as evils; but they are necessary, as there is apparently no other way in which the work of production and distribution, in accordance with the requirements of the age, can be prosecuted. The rapidity, however, with which such combinations of capital are organizing for the purpose of promoting industrial and commercial undertakings on a scale heretofore wholly unprecedented, and the tendency they have to crystallize into something far more complex than what has been familiar to the public as corporations, with the impressive names of syndicates, trusts, &c., also constitute one of the remarkable features of modern business methods.

And when once a great association of capital has been effected, it becomes necessary to have a master-mind to manage it—a man who is competent to use and direct other men, who is fertile in expedient and quick to note and profit by any improvements in methods of production and variations in prices. Such a man is a general of industry, and corresponds in position and functions to the general of an army.

What, as a consequence, has happened to the employés? Coincident with and as a result of this change in the methods of production, the modern manufacturing system has been brought into a condition analogous to that of a military organization, in which the individual no longer works as independently as formerly, but as a private in the ranks, obeying orders, keeping step, as it were, to the tap of the drum, and having nothing to say as to the plan of his work, of its final completion, or of its ultimate use and distribution. In short, the people who work in the modern factory are, as a rule, taught to do one thing—to perform one and generally a simple

operation, and, when there is no more of that kind of work to do, they are in a measure helpless.* The result has been that the individualism or independence of the producer in manufacturing has been in a great degree destroyed, and with it has also in a great degree been destroyed the pride which the workman formerly took in his work—that fertility of resource, which formerly was a special characteristic of American workmen, and that element of skill that comes from long and varied practice and reflection and responsibility. Not many years ago every shoemaker was or could be his own employer. The boots and shoes passed directly from an individual producer to the consumer. Now this condition of things has passed away. Boots and shoes are made in large factories; and machinery has been so utilized, and the division of labour in connection with it has been carried to such an extent, that the process of making a shoe is said to be divided into sixty-four parts, or the shoemaker of to-day is only the sixty-fourth part of what a shoemaker once was. It is also asserted that “the constant employment at one sixty-fourth part of a shoe not only offers no encouragement to mental activity, but dulls by its monotony the brain of the employé to such an extent that the power to think and reason is almost lost.”

As the division of labour in manufacturing—more especially in the case of textiles—is increased, the tendency is to supplement the employment of men with the labour of women and children. The whole number of employés in the cotton-mills of the United States, according to the census of 1880, was 172,541; of this number 59,685 were men, and 112,859 women and children. In Massachusetts, out of 61,246 employés in the cotton-mills, 22,180 are males, 31,496 women, and 7,570 children. In the latter State certain manufacturing towns, owing to the disparity in the numbers of men and women employed, in favour of the latter, are coming to be known by the appellation of “she-towns.”*

Another exceedingly interesting and growing feature of the new situation is, that as machinery has destroyed the handicrafts, and associated capital has placed individual capital at a disadvantage, so machinery and associated capital in turn, guided by the same common influences, now war upon machinery and other associated capital.

* “The tendency of late years is toward the employment of child-labour. We see men frequently thrown out of employment, owing to the spinning-mule being displaced by the ring-frame, or children spinning yarn, which men used to spin. In the weaveshops, girls and women are preferable to men, so that we may reasonably expect that, in the not very distant future, all the cotton-manufacturing districts will be classed in the category of ‘she-towns.’ But people will naturally say, What will become of the men? This is a question which it behoves manufacturers to take seriously into consideration, for men will not stay in any town or city where only their wives and children can be given employment. Therefore, a pause at the present time might be of untold value in the future, for, just as sure as the world goes round, women and children will seek fresh pastures, where work can be found for the husband and father, in preference to remaining in places where he has to play the part of the ‘old woman,’ while they go to work to earn the means of subsistence.”—WADE’S *Fibre and Fabric*.

Thus, the now well-ascertained and accepted fact, based on long experience, that power is most economically applied when applied on the largest possible scale, is rapidly and inevitably leading to the concentration of manufacturing in the largest establishments, and the gradual extinction of those which are small. A cotton-mill, which, with a profit (formerly not unusual) of a half-penny a yard, could easily pay 10 per cent. per annum on a given capital, with a reduction of profit to a quarter of a cent per yard, would have to make and sell four times the number of yards to earn the same gross profits; which even then would fall very far short of paying the former rate of percentage on the increased capital, machinery, buildings, &c., necessary to effect the increased production. Such also has already been, and such will continue to be, the outcome of railroad, telegraph, and steamship development and experience; and another quarter of a century will not unlikely see all of the numerous companies that at present make up the vast railroad system of the United States consolidated, for sound economic reasons, under a comparatively few organizations or companies. In this respect the existing situation in Great Britain (which corresponds to that in all other countries) has thus been represented: "Trade after trade is monopolized, not necessarily by large capitalists, but by great capitals. In every trade the standard of necessary size, the minimum establishment that can hold its own in competition, is constantly and rapidly raised. The little men are ground out, and the littleness that dooms men to destruction waxes year by year. Of the (British) cotton-mills of the last century, a few here and there are standing, saved by local or other accidents, while their rivals have either grown to gigantic size or fallen into ruin. The survivors, with steam substituted for water power, with machinery twice or thrice renewed, are worked while they pay one-half or one-fourth per cent on their cost. The case of other textile manufactures is the same or stronger still. Steel and iron are yet more completely the monopoly of gigantic plants. The chemical trade was for a long time open to men of very moderate means. Recent inventions threaten to turn the plant that has cost millions to waste brick and old lead. Already nothing but a trade agreement, temporary in its nature, has prevented the closing of half the (chemical) factories of St. Helens and Widnes, and the utter ruin of all the smaller owners. Every year the same thing happens in one or another of our minor industries."

Such changes in the direction of the concentration of production by machinery in large establishments are, moreover, in a certain and large sense, not voluntary on the part of the possessors and controllers of capital, but necessary or even compulsory. If an eighth or a sixteenth of a cent a pound is all the profit that competition and modern improvements will permit in the business of refining sugar, such

business has got to be conducted on a large scale to admit of the realization of any profit. An establishment fitted up with all modern improvements and refining the absolutely large but comparatively small quantity of a million pounds per annum could realize, at a sixteenth of a cent a pound profit on its work, only \$625. Accordingly, the successful refiner of sugars of to-day, in place of being as formerly a manufacturer exclusively, must now, as a condition of full success, be his own importer, do his own lighterage, own his own wharfs and warehouses, make his own barrels and boxes, prepare his own bone-black, and ever be ready to discard and replace his expensive machinery with every new improvement. But to do all this successfully requires not only the command of large capital, but of business qualifications of the very highest order—two conditions that but comparatively few can command. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that, under the advent of these new conditions, one-half of the sugar refineries that were in operation in the seaboard cities of the United States in 1875 have since failed or discontinued operations.

The census returns of the United States are also very instructive on this point. Between 1850 and 1860, the number of manufacturing firms and corporations in the United States increased from 123,025 to 140,433, and the value of manufactured products increased from \$1,019,106,616 to \$1,885,861,676, so that in that decade there was an increase of 17,408 establishments, to an increase of only \$866,755,060 in the value of products. In 1870 there were 252,148 firms and corporations so employed, producing \$4,232,325,442 in manufactured products; or an increase of 111,715 establishments in the decade from 1860 to 1870 gave an increase of \$2,346,463,766 in the value of products. In 1880, the number of manufacturing establishments was returned at 253,852, producing articles valued at \$5,365,579,191, or an addition of only 1,704 firms and corporations was accompanied with an increase of product of \$1,133,537,749. Here, then, is a demonstration that the average product of a manufacturing establishment in the United States in 1880 was just sixty per cent. greater than it was in 1860.

The following are other illustrations pertinent to this subject: "It is a characteristic and noteworthy feature of banking in Germany," says the *Statist*, "that the bulk of the business is gradually shifting from the small bankers, who used to do a thriving business, to the great banking companies, leaving quite a number of small customers almost without any chance to prosper in legitimate operations—concentration of capital and business in the hands of a limited number of powerful customers being the rule of the day."

The tendency to discontinue the building and use of small vessels for ocean transportation, and the inability of such vessels to compete

with vessels of larger tonnage, is shown by the statement that while a steamer of from 200 to 300 tons requires one sailor for every 19·8 tons, a steamer of from 800 to 1,000 tons requires but one sailor for every 41·5 tons. In like manner, while a sailing vessel of from 200 to 300 tons requires one sailor for every 28·9 tons, a sailing vessel of five times the size, or from 1,000 to 1,600 tons, requires but one sailor for every 60·3 tons. And as it is also claimed that other economies in the construction of the hull or the rigging, and in repairing, are concurrent with the reduction of crews, it is not difficult to understand why it is that large vessels are enabled to earn a percentage of profit with rates of freight which, in the case of small vessels, would inevitably entail losses.

It was a matter of congratulation after the conclusion of the American War in 1865, that the large plantation system of cotton-raising would be broken up, and a system of smaller crops, by small and independent farmers or yeomanry, would take its place. Experience has not, however, verified this expectation; but, on the contrary, has shown that it is doubtful whether any profit can accrue to a cultivator of cotton whose annual crop is less than fifty bales. "Cotton (at the South) is made an exclusive crop, because it can be sold for cash—for an actual and certain price in gold. It is a mere trifle to get eight or nine cents for a pound of cotton, but for a bale of 450 pounds it is \$40. The bale of cotton is therefore a reward which the anxious farmer works for during an entire year, and for which he will spend half as much in money before the cotton is grown, besides all his labour and time. And the man who cannot make eight or ten bales at least has almost no object in life, and nothing to live on." *

The (Milwaukee) "Directory of American Millers," for 1886, shows a decrease in the number of flour-mills in the United States for that year, as compared with 1884, of 6,812, out of a total in the latter year of 25,079, but an increase at the same time in capacity for flour production. The legitimate inference from these statistics, therefore, is that the small flour-mills of the United States are being crushed, or forced into consolidation with the larger companies. That consolidation, in this instance, has not interfered with the cheapening of product, is indicated by the circumstance that whereas the mills of Minneapolis sent out in 1881—1,200,000 barrels of flour, at an average price of \$6.14 per barrel, the quantity sent out in 1885 was 1,834,000 barrels, at an average of \$4.89 per barrel; and for the year 1886 the average was reported at even less.

The experience of the co-operative societies of Great Britain—the inception and practical working of which have been hopefully looked upon as likely to furnish a solution of the labour problem—as

* *Bradstreet's Journal.*

recently detailed by Mr. Thomas Hughes ("Tom Brown"), does not, moreover, seem likely to constitute any exception to the general tendency of great aggregated capital, employed in production or distribution, to remorselessly disregard any sentiment on the part of the individual workman, in respect to his vocation, and to crush out or supersede all industrial enterprises of like character that may be compelled to work at relative disadvantage by reason of operating upon a smaller scale, or of inability to employ a larger aggregate of capital. This experience, as related by Mr. Hughes at a recent Congress of the Co-operative Societies of Great Britain, has been as follows: Co-operation in Great Britain, as long as it has confined itself to distribution—that is, to the purchase of commodities at the lowest rates at wholesale and without the intervention of middle-men, and their subsequent sale to members of the societies at the minimum of cost and profit—has been a very great success; but co-operation in production, so far as it has been attempted by these same societies, appears to have succeeded only by abandoning co-operation in the original and best sense of the term. For example, some of the great and most successful co-operative distribution societies of England, in order to increase their dividends, have recently undertaken to manufacture a portion of the goods which they require, and thus secure for themselves the profits they have heretofore paid to the manufacturers; and, with this view, the manufacture of boots and shoes has been commenced on a large scale by two of the largest of such societies in Glasgow and Manchester respectively—the English society employing a thousand operatives, and disposing of goods to a present aggregate value of more than £200,000 per annum. "These manufacturing enterprises have not, however, been conducted on co-operative lines. . . . The work-people in their factories are not co-operators. They do not share in the profits of the business. They receive simply the market rate of wages." They are on just as bad terms with their co-operative employers as they would be with individual capitalists, and they have endeavoured to better their condition by entering upon strikes; or, in other words, the great Co-operative Distribution Society managers, in Great Britain, finding that it was essential to their success as manufacturing producers, have adopted, without scruple, all the methods and rules that prevail in similar establishments which have been incorporated and are managed solely with a view to the profit of their individual capitalists or shareholders.

But this is not the whole story. Besides these great wholesale co-operative distribution societies which have engaged in manufacturing, there are a large number of smaller and weaker similar societies in Great Britain which are also attempting to manufacture the same description of goods for the profit of their more limited circle of members; and these last now complain that they are absolutely

unable to withstand the competition of the larger wholesale societies, which, purchasing labour at the lowest rate in the open market, denying any participation of profit to their workmen, and working upon the largest scale, are enabled to produce and sell cheaper. "So that all the disastrous effects of unlimited and unscrupulous competition, for which co-operation was expected to be a cure, are showing themselves among the co-operators, and another example is to be added to the record of modern economic experience, of the strong industrial and commercial organizations devouring the weak."

An element of international character and importance, growing out of the improvements in production through machinery, should also not be overlooked. Whatever of advantage one country may have formerly enjoyed over another by reason of absolutely or comparatively low wages, is now, so far as the cost of machine-made goods is concerned, through the destruction of handicrafts and the extended use and improvement of machinery, being rapidly reduced to a minimum. For, apart from any enhancement of cost by taxes on imports, there is at present but very little difference, in all countries of advanced civilization, in the cost of machinery, of the power that moves it, or of the crude materials which it converts into manufactures. The machine, therefore, which enables the labour of one man to displace the cheap labour of ten men practically reduces any advantage which the manufacturer in France, Germany, or other countries, paying nominally low wages, has heretofore had over his competitor in England or the United States, to the simple difference in the cost of the operative who manages the machine in different places; and all experience shows that the invariable concomitant of high wages, conjoined with the skilful management of machinery, is a low cost of production.

Attention is next asked to the economic—industrial, commercial, and financial—disturbances that have also resulted in recent years from changes, in the sense of improvements, in the details of the distribution of products. And as the best method of showing this, the recent course of trade in respect to the practical distribution and supply of one of the great articles of commerce, namely, tin-plate, is selected.

Before the days of the swift steamship and the telegraph, the business of distributing tin-plate for consumption in the United States was largely in the hands of one of the great mercantile firms of New York, who brought to it large enterprise and experience. At every place in the world where tin was produced and tin-plate manufactured, they had their confidential correspondent or agent, and every foreign mail brought to them exclusive and prompt returns of the state of the market. Those who dealt with such a firm dealt with them under conditions which, while not discriminating unfavourably to any buyer, were certainly extraordinarily favourable to the seller;

and great fortunes were amassed. But to-day how stands that business? There is no man, however obscure he may be, who wants to know any morning the state of the tin-plate market in any part of the world, but can find it in the mercantile journals. If he wants to know more in detail, he joins a little syndicate for news, and then he can be put in possession of every transaction of importance that took place the day previous in Cornwall, Liverpool, the Strait of Sunda, Australia, or South America. What has been the result? There are no longer great warehouses where tin in large quantities and of all sizes, waiting for customers, is stored. The business has passed into the hands of men who do not own or manage stores. They have simply desks in offices. They go round and find who is going to use tin in the next six months. They hear of a railroad-bridge which is to be constructed; of a certain number of cars which are to be covered; that the salmon-canneries on the Columbia River or Puget's Sound are likely to require seventy thousand boxes of tin to pack the catch of this year, as compared with a requirement of sixty thousand last year (or in 1886)—a business, by-the-way, which a few years ago was not in existence—and they will go to the builders, contractors, or business managers, and say to them: "You will want at such a time so much tin. I will buy it for you at the lowest market price, not of New York, but of the world; and I will put it in your possession, in any part of the continent on a given day, and you shall cash the bill, and pay me a percentage commission"—possibly a fraction of one per cent; thus bringing a formerly great and complicated business of importing, warehousing, selling at wholesale and retail, and employing many middle-men, clerks, book-keepers, and large capital, to a mere commission business, which dispenses to a great extent with the employment of intermediates, and does not necessarily require the possession or control of any capital.

Let us next go one step farther, and see what has happened at the same time to the man whose business it has been not to sell, but to manufacture, tin-plate into articles for domestic use, or for other consumption. Thirty or forty years ago, the tinman, whose occupation was mainly one of handicraft, was recognized as one of the leading and most skilful mechanics in every village, town, and city. His occupation has, however, now well-nigh passed away. For example, a townsman and farmer desires a supply of milk-cans. He never thinks of going to his corner tinman, because he knows that in large towns and cities there are special establishments fitted up with special machinery which will make his can better and fifty per cent. cheaper than he can have it made by hand in his own town. And so in regard to almost all the other articles which the tinman formerly made. He simply keeps a stock of machine-made goods, as

a small merchant, and his business has come down from that of a general, comprehensive mechanic to little other than a tinker and mender of pots and pans. Where great quantities of tin-plate are required for a particular use, as, for example, the canning of salmon or lobsters, of biscuit, or of fruit and vegetables, the plates come direct from the manufactory to the manufacturer of cans or boxes, in such previously agreed upon sizes and shapes as will obviate any waste of material, and reduce to a minimum the time and labour necessary to adapt them to their respective uses. And by this arrangement alone, in one cracker (biscuit) bakery in the United States, consuming forty thousand tin boxes per month, forty men are now enabled to produce as large a product of boxes in a given time as formerly required fifty men; and, taken in connection with machinery, the labour of twenty-five men in the entire business has become equivalent to that of the fifty who until recently worked by other methods. And what has been thus affirmed of tin-plate might be equally affirmed of a great variety of other leading commodities; the blacksmith, for example, no longer making, but buying his horseshoes, nails, nuts, and bolts; the carpenter his doors, sashes, and mouldings; the wheelwright his spokes, hubs, and felloes; the harness-maker his straps, girths, and collars; the painter his paints, ground and mixed, and so on; the change in methods of distribution and preparation for final consumption having been equally radical in almost every case, though varying somewhat in respect of particulars.

The same influences have also to a great degree revolutionized the nature of retail trade, which has been aptly described as, "until lately, the recourse of men whose character, skill, thrift, and ambition won credit, and enabled them to dispense with large capital." Experience has shown that, under a good organization of clerks, shopmen, porters, and distributors, it costs much less proportionally to sell a large amount of goods than a small amount, and that the buyer of large quantities can, without sacrifice of satisfactory profit, afford to offer to his retail customers such advantages in respect to prices and range of selection, as almost to preclude competition on the part of dealers operating on a smaller scale, no matter how capable, honest, and diligent they may otherwise be. The various retail trades, in the cities and larger towns of all civilized countries, are accordingly being rapidly superseded by vast and skilfully organized establishments (and in Great Britain and Europe by co-operative associations) which can sell at little over wholesale prices a great variety of merchandise—dry-goods, manufactures of leather, books, stationery, furs, ready-made clothing, hats and caps, and sometimes groceries and hardware—and at the same time give their customers far greater conveniences than can be afforded by the

ordinary shopkeeper or tradesman. 'In London, the extension of the "tramway" or street-railroad system is even advocated on the single ground that the big stores need quicker access to their branch establishments, in order to still further promote the economy of goods distribution.

The spirit of progress conjoined with capital, and having in view economy in distribution and the equalization of values, is therefore controlling and concentrating the business of retailing, in the same manner as the business of wholesale distribution and transportation, and of production by machinery, is being controlled and concentrated, and all to an extent never before known in the world's experience.

Keeping economy in distribution constantly in view as an essential for material progress, the tendency is also everywhere to dispense to the greatest extent with the "middle-man," and put the locomotive and the telegraph in his place. Retail grocers, as before shown, now buy their teas directly of the Chinaman, and dispense with the services of the East Indian merchant and his warehouses. Manufacturers deal more directly with retailers, with the result, it is claimed, of steadying supply and demand, and preventing the frequent recurrence of business crises. The English cotton-spinner at Manchester now buys his raw cotton by cable in the interior towns of the cotton-growing States of North America, and dispenses with the services of the American broker or commission-merchant. European manufacturers now send their agents with samples of merchandise to almost every locality in America, Asia, and the Pacific islands, where commerce is protected and transportation practicable, and offer supplies, even in comparatively small quantities, on better terms than dealers and consumers can obtain from the established wholesale or retail merchants of their vicinity. And all these changes have inevitably occasioned, and for a long time yet will continue to occasion, great disturbances in old methods, with losses of capital and displacement from occupation on the part of individuals. And yet the world wonders, and commissions of great States inquire without coming to definite conclusions, why trade and industry in recent years have been universally and abnormally disturbed and depressed.

DAVID A. WELLS.

AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE.

AUSTRALIAN literature has, so far, been almost entirely adapted for home consumption. It is perhaps not yet sufficiently abundant in quantity, or matured in quality, to bear exportation. Whatever delicate aroma it possesses would possibly evaporate in the course of transportation to distant shores. Appreciable enough in the land of its birth, it resembles the balsamic perfume which pervades the virgin forests of Australia, the indescribable fragrance of the wattle-blossom in spring, and other subtle but fugitive odours, which the most popular of their poets summarizes as

"The scent that the bushman knows."

Australia's upheaval in the world of letters is so recent that everything of worth—with one exception—has been written by other than the Australian-born. America is an ancient of days compared with the youngest-born of Britain's great dominions. Australian history really begins, in any vivid manner, with the discovery of gold, or less than forty years ago; a discovery which brought sudden population, and precipitated a development which would otherwise have taken many generations to accomplish. Between Cook's discovery in 1770 and that period all is vague and shadowy to European comprehension. There is no analogy between the slow evolution of the American citizen from the New Englander of a couple of centuries ago and this last distinct type of the Anglo-Saxon race. It was attained almost by a leap and a bound, at a period in the world's history when the advancement of science, its steam-engines, machinery, and telegraphs, made such things possible.

Of the ages past, before the British flag was planted on those distant shores, there is no record; lost is lost, gone is gone, for ever—

more. We are brought sharply to the edge of the prehistoric borderland in a way that can only be achieved in the Old World by looking across 6,000 years of cherished history ere we come to the foot of the world's great altar-stairs—

“That slope through darkness up to God.”

There are no legendary lore, no poetic associations, no memories of heroic deeds to stir the pulse or wake to ecstacy the living lyre. Time has been here as elsewhere, but without the wallet at his back. The rivers Hawkesbury, Clarence, and Yarra have none of the human interest bound up with centuries of bygone records, and those quickening influences which time alone can impart. The circling years brought their seasons, Nature's stock-in-trade was in many essentials much the same, but the human element was wanting. It is the storied past that invests the rivers and river scenery of other lands with so much interest. Scott would have made nothing of his enthralling scenes without flying moss-troopers, the blast of the bugle-horn, minstrels grey, and young Lochinvars not wholly devoted to the making of money. Such memories, told in heroic song and plaintive ballad, are founts of inspiration—trumpet strains which fire the blood and make these dead things vital and real. But for them,

“The Tweed were as poor as the Amazon,
That, for all the years it has rolled,
Can tell but how fair was the morning red,
How sweet the evening gold.”

Of the aspect of this summer land of silence in the pre-golden days, when the South Pacific's sunny waves kept holiday along its far-stretching shores, a bygone poetaster of that early era has made record :

“Broad bays and isles appear, and steep cliffs hoar,
With groves on either hand of ancient trees,
Planted by Nature in the days of yore.”

* * * * *

“But all is still as death! No voice of man
Is heard, nor forest warbler's tuneful song:
It seems as if this beauteous world began
To be but yesterday, the earth still young
And unpossessed. For though the tall black swan
Sits on her nest and stately sails along,
And the green wild doves their fleet pinions ply,
And the grey eagle tempts the azure sky,

“Yet all is still as death. Wild solitude
Reigns undisturbed along the voiceless shore;
And every tree seems standing as it stood
Six thousand years ago.”

The poets and prose writers of Australia have therefore had no traditional lore, no accumulated materials with which to make a beginning, no heritage except that vested interest we all possess in the literature of our common race. But little more than fifty years have elapsed since the above lines were penned. A national literature

is not created in the perfunctory manner of things which perish in the using. The flowering of the human mind resembles the slow growth of the aloe-plant. Like attar of roses, one drop distilled from a million blossoms is a fair result. Absorbed in the settlement of the country, separated from those monuments of history which in the old world lie everywhere around as a perpetual incentive, the colonists' progress in culture bears no comparison with their rapid advance in material wealth. Few devote any considerable portion of their time to study. Political life is an easier road to distinction, and political knowledge is more easily acquired. Literature is a finer product, requiring qualities of a higher order; and workers for nobler wealth than that represented by nuggets are rare. But there comes a time when it is felt that something is wanting, that something more is necessary to the life of a people than the headlong pursuit of wealth, and that it will have to choose between more and more material prosperity, and something better and higher than material accumulation; and there are signs which already herald the approach of that inevitable period. Journalism absorbs the greater portion of the literary ability of a new country like Australia. Colonial brains run into journalistic channels as naturally as streamlets into rivers. Such a career is generally fatal to any persistent effort at making permanent additions to literature. The exigent demands of a daily press forbid divided aims. The field is too often reaped to admit of its growing any fully matured crop. There is no interval for seedtime and harvest, but a perpetual teasing of the surface-soil. The crystal forms by its own laws, the granite by its own, and thought crystallizes into book-form only under similar natural conditions. Thus that native literature which is the climax and flower of all civilization is indefinitely postponed. The literary man must love his art above all considerations as to its mundane rewards. But he can scarcely do without the companionship of congenial minds, and the mental stimulus it affords; whereas, in this making-haste-to-be-rich country there is no atmosphere of sympathy with purely intellectual aims.

Among Australian writers there are three names which stand out from all others, and every visitor will be sure to hear them often repeated there: these are Lindsay Gordon, Marcus Clarke, and Henry Kendall. The fatal age of thirty-seven, so ominous to men of genius, was not attained by any of them—or rarely so by Gordon; and their career was as sad as anything that could be told of any of the immortals in the old world. Gordon's verse is that which is most often on the lips of all Australians. It reflects the peculiar social atmosphere and tone of thought prevailing at a time which will always stand out as a distinct epoch in the history of the colony; not the earliest period nor the most recent, but coming between, when the majority of the colonists were still those of British birth—a phase of

colonial life now for ever passed away. Gordon's verse falls in with the temper of the time. Others may arise more perfectly equipped and with a larger share of the divine afflatus, but it is scarcely possible to imagine a period when Gordon's verse will cease to move Australians. Of gentle birth, he was destined by his father, Major Gordon, for the army, and sent to Woolwich; afterwards to Merton College, Oxford, where his love of horses—always with Gordon a better and deeper feeling than that of the mere turfite—brought him into trouble. Thence he went to Australia. A greater change, at that time, can scarcely be imagined, from the grey time-stained cloisters of pleasant Merton, overlooking the daisied meadows where the Isis rolls its broad silver, and beside whose reverend walls may always be caught

"the distant shout,
The measured pulse of racing oars."

Of unworldly nature, utterly without guile if not without blame, few ever really understood this proud, shy man, who sought no sympathy, and, though feeling the change most keenly, made no pageant of his fallen estate. The natural tenderness of his nature became overgrown by the rough bark of manhood developed in the adventurous life of the country into which he plunged, and few knew how living and fresh it remained at the core, finding vent only in poems which he long withheld from publication.

Truly has it been written—

"Wer den Dichter wird verstehen
Muss in Dichter's Lande gehen ;"

and much of the charm of Gordon's poetry must ever remain in the land that inspired it. It cannot exert its full force upon the minds of the uninitiated in Australian life and scenery. It is therefore wanting so far in one quality essential to verse of the highest order. But it is impossible not to feel the manly ring of his galloping rhymes, or the nobility of sentiment and unaffected pathos that pervades his verse. A wasted career was Gordon's, for in reading his poems you can scarcely fail to perceive that the author was a born soldier. The "Roll of the Kettledrum," "Unshriven," and "The Last Leap" make you feel that the writer would have made an ideal cavalry leader—not a general. The best amateur steeplechase rider in the colonies, he had in that rough country, at one time or other, broken nearly every bone in his body. His intense sympathy for animals formed a part of his existence. After the last leap he feels every pang of his dying horse :

"All is over ! Fleet career,
Dash of greyhound slipping thongs,
Flight of falcon, bound of deer,
Mad hoof-thunder in our rear,
Cold air rushing up our lungs,
Din of many tongues.

"All is over! This is death,
And I stand to watch thee die,
Brave old horse! with bated breath
Hardly drawn through tight clenched teeth,
Lip indented deep, but eye
Only dull and dry.

* * * *

"Rest, old friend! thy day, though rife
With its toil, hath ended soon;
We have had our share of strife,
Tumblers in the mask of life,
In the pantomime of noon
Clown and pantaloon.

"With a flash that ends thy pain,
Respite and oblivion blest
Come to greet thee. I in vain
Fall: I rise to fall again:
Thou hast fallen to thy rest—
And thy fall is best!"

In his first volume—"Bush Ballads"—there is one poem which is especially rich in local colouring, reflecting in a remarkable way the peculiar social atmosphere common to life in the back-blocks far away from colonial townships. Whatever poetry exists in this lonely station life has been embodied by Gordon in "The Sick Stock-rider":

"Hold hard, Ned! Lift me down once more, and lay me in the shade.
Old man, you've had your work cut out—to guide
Both horses, and to hold me in the saddle when I sway'd,
All through the hot, slow, sleepy, silent ride.
The dawn at 'Morrabinda' was a mist-rick dull and dense,
The sunrise was a sullen, sluggish lamp;
I was dozing in the gateway at Arbutnot's bound'ry fence,
I was dreaming on the Limestone cattle camp;
We crossed the creek at Carricksford, and sharply through the haze,
And suddenly the sun shot flaming forth;
To southward lay 'Katāwa,' with the sand-peaks all ablaze,
And the flush'd fields of Glen Lomond lay to north.

* * * *

'Twas merry in the glowing morn, among the gleaming grass,
To wander as we've wandered many a mile,
And blow the cool tobacco cloud, and watch the white wreaths pass,
Sitting loosely in the saddle all the while.
'Twas merry, 'mid the blackwoods, when we spied the station roofs,
To wheel the wild scrub cattle at the yard
With a running fire of stockwhips and a fiery run of hoofs:
Oh! the hardest day was never then too hard!

* * * *

In these hours when life is ebbing, how those days when life was young
Come back to us;
Aye! nearly all our comrades of the old colonial school,
Our ancient boon companions, Ned, are gone;
Hard livers for the most part, somewhat reckless as a rule,
It seems that you and I are left alone.

* * * *

I've had my share of pastime, and I've done my share of toil,
And life is short—the longest life a span;
I care not now to tarry for the corn, or for the oil,
Or for the wine that maketh glad the heart of man.

* * * *

The deep blue skies wax dusky, and the tall green trees grow dim,
The sward beneath me seems to heave and fall;
And sickly, smoky shadows through the sleepy sunlight swim,
And in the very sun's face weave their pall.

Let me slumber in the hollow where the wattle blossoms wave,
 With never stone or rail to fence my bed ;
 Should the sturdy station children pull the bush flowers on my grave,
 I may chance to hear them romping overhead."

One of the most popular of his ballads is "How we Beat the Favourite," in which, as has been well said by a contemporary, "you feel the author has ridden as well as written his ride." "A Voice from the Bush" epitomizes the life history of many an exile. Some doubts have in recent years been thrown upon its being wholly written by Gordon, though it is included in the collected edition of his poems published after his death :

"High noon, and not a cloud in the sky
 To break this blinding sun ;
 Well, I've half the day before me still,
 And most of my journey done.
 There's little enough of shade to be got,
 But I'll take what I can get,
 For I'm not so hearty as once I was,
 Although I'm a young man yet.

"Young ! Well, yes, I suppose,
 As far as the seasons go,
 Though there's many a man far older than I
 Down there in the town below—
 Older, but men to whom,
 In the pride of their manhood strong,
 The hardest work is never too hard,
 Or the longest day too long.

* * * * *
 "Do they ever think of me at all,
 And the fun we used to share ?
 It gives me a pleasant hour or two,
 And I have none too many to spare.
 The dull blood runs as it used to run,
 And the spent flame lickers up
 When I think of the cheers that rang in my ears
 When I won the Garrison Cup.

* * * * *
 "Out there on the station among the lads
 I get along pretty well ;
 It's only when I get down in the town
 That I feel this life such a hell.
 Booted and bearded, and burned to a brick,
 As I loaf along the street,
 I watch the ladies tripping by,
 And I bless their dainty feet.

"I watch them here and there
 With a bitter feeling of pain ;
 Gad ! What wouldn't I give to touch
 A lady's hand again !
 They used to be glad to see me once—
 They might have been so to-day ;
 But we never know the worth of a thing
 Until we have thrown it away."

A deep under-current of sadness runs through all Gordon's verse. Painfully conscious of the hopes he had wrecked, he yet with a fine instinct of pride and reticence asked none to share his remorse. He had passed sentence on himself, and urged no extenuation. In the

bitter gibe he sometimes pens 'you hear below it a suppressed cry of anguish. When the jester shakes his cap and bells, how oft

"'Tis but to hide the tear he sheds."

In a climate like Australia, where there is no very marked winter and the trees shed their bark and not their leaves, spring is not that wonderful awakening from a death-like sleep, stirring the heart into strange ecstasies, that it is in England. The golden blossoms of the wattle-trees mark the period everywhere in Australia. "Whisperings in Wattle-boughs," one of the most profoundly pathetic of Gordon's shorter poems, is charged like a rain-cloud with moisture. It is the stifled grief of an exile who buries his face in the long grass as though to escape the hateful light of day, and thereby draw a little nearer to the mould which covers the buried love he had so lightly thrown away :

" Oh, gaily sings the bird ! and the wattle-boughs are stirr'd

And rustled by the scented breath of spring.

Oh, the dreamy, wistful longing ! oh, the faces that are thronging !

Oh, the voices that are vaguely whispering ! "

Kendall is the first poet of Australian birth whose poems have taken a permanent place in Australian literature. Others before him have published numerous volumes, some of them not without merit, but securing only a local reputation. His boyhood, passed in the Ulladulla and Clarence River districts of New South Wales, amidst the wild scenery of the coast ranges, by hill and stream and surf-fringed Pacific shore, was of that semi-civilized character which secured to his sensitive, impressionable nature a mental vision saturated with forest sights and sounds, and memories of old-time stories of the early days of the settlers in the oldest of the Australian colonies. More than any other his work is redolent of the soil ; it is pervaded by that *intimite* not always found in his contemporaries. In his verse there is an echo of the dripping gorges, a perfume of the odorous gum forests, a distinct impress of native influences which have never been crossed by actual contact with the aspects of Nature in the Old World. Wild-flowers of song, swift whirls of wailful wind and rhymes of rain, the mournful marsh-fowl's cry, the bark of the wild dingo, the notes of the silver-voiced bell-bird, and the changeful forest life around him, set to woodland music, are Kendall's best offerings. His reed was of no great compass, but had a few sweet notes that linger in the ear and bring back visions of the lonely bush in a manner which no other writer has accomplished. His own unassuming introductory lines to one of his volumes best describe his range :

" I purposed once to take my pen and write,

Not songs like some tormented and awry

With Passion, but a cunning harmony

Of words and music caught from glen and height,

And lucid colours born of woodland light,

And shining places where the sea-streams lie ;

But this was when the heat of youth glowed white,
 And since, I've put the faded purpose by.
 I have no faultless fruits to offer you
 Who read this book ; but certain syllables
 Herein are borrowed from unfooted dells,
 And secret hollows dear to noontide dew ;
 And these at least, though far between and few,
 May catch the sense like subtle forest spells."

In this aim he has succeeded. There is withal a certain felicity of expression, a melody and tenderness in some of his lyrics, which arrest the attention of the sympathetic reader. He had a keen vision for the beauty to be found in wayside things, the common growth of Mother Earth, her humblest smiles and tears. Nature in this distant clime lies around as elsewhere, ever open to the artist's hand ; but her materials are different, her canvases less concentrated, her hues attuned to another scale, and her landscapes coloured with unfamiliar pigments. Kendall's verse is the reflection of the Australian *paysage* which he knew so well—and knew no other. Gordon's muse, it is easy to see, has been transplanted : his range is wider than Kendall's—he had the experiences of two hemispheres to draw upon, Kendall but one. Of the world of Gordon's youth Kendall knew nothing. Gordon seems to hold to his lips the double flute so often represented in Greek art. There is an equal strain of the life that now is and that of another far away. The Austral rays are deflected in their passage through a vision pre-occupied with other sights and sounds. Gordon's mind was a palimpsest whereon the earlier records inscribed were always dimly visible. The difference is vital. You have in Kendall's native woodnotes wild no interpolated chords attuned to other movements than the sigh of the haggard gum-trees, the sharp rustle of the stiff hard leaves, and the boom of the Pacific rollers. Plaintive as the moan of the breeze in autumn, lonely as the homeless wind, there is a wild-bird flavour about some of his native themes unlike anything written by other versifiers. "On a Cattle Track" is an Australian picture in little as sharply cut as a Greek cameo :

"Where the strength of dry thunder splits hill-rocks asunder,
 And the shouts of the desert-wind break,
 By the gullies of deepness and ridges of steepness,
 Lo, the cattle-track twists like a snake !
 Like a sea of dead embers burnt white by Decembers,
 A plain to the left of it lies ;
 And six fleeting horses dash down the creek-courses,
 With the terror of thirst in their eyes.

"The false strength of fever, that deadly deceiver,
 Gives foot to each famishing beast ;
 And over lands rotten, by rain and winds forgotten,
 The mirage gleams out in the east.
 Ah ! the waters are hidden from riders and ridden,
 In a stream where the cattle-track dips ;
 And death on their faces is scoring fierce traces,
 And the drouth is a fire on their lips.

* * * * *

"A cry of distress there ! A horseman the less there !
 The mock waters shine like a moon :
 It is 'Speed and speed faster from this hole of disaster,
 And hurrah for yon God-sent lagoon !'"

"A Death in the Bush" contains realistic touches, vivid, delicate nuances, inappreciable to those who know not Australia well :

"The hut was built of bark and shrunken slabs,
 And wore the marks of many rains, and showed
 Dry flaws, wherein had crept and nestled rot ;
 Moreover, round the bases of the bark
 Were left the tracks of flying forest fires,
 As you may see them on the lower bole
 Of every elder of the native woods.

"For, ere the early settlers came and stocked
 These wilds with sheep and kine, the grasses grew
 So that they took the passing pilgrim in,
 And whelmed him, like a running sea, from sight.

"And therefore, through the fiercer summer months,
 While all the swamps were rotten, while the flats
 Were baked and broken, when the clayey rifts
 Yawned wide, half-choked with drifted herbage past,
 Spontaneous flames would burst from thence, and race
 Across the prairies all day long.

* * * * *

"From thence a cattle-track, with link to link
 Ran off against the fish-pools, to the gap,
 Which sets you face to face with gleaming miles
 Of broad Orara, winding in amongst
 Black, barren ridges, where the nether spurs
 Are fenced about by cotton-scrub, and grass
 Blue bitten with the salt of many droughts."

The "Song of Wave-worn Coogee" is a tender lament in the author's most characteristic style ; one of these dirges of the sea best read by its caverned shore. The "Song of the Cattle Hunters" is another purely Australian picture, marked by the rhythmic beat and impetuous swing appropriate to the subject :

"While the morning light beams on the fern-matted streams,
 And the water-pools flash in the glow,
 Down the ridges we fly, with a loud ringing cry—
 Down the ridges and gullies we go !
 And the cattle we hunt, they are racing in front,
 With a roar like the thunder of waves ;
 As the beat and the beat of our swift horses' feet
 Start the echoes away from their caves !
 As the beat and the beat
 Of our swift horses' feet
 Start the echoes away from their caves !"

"On the Paroo" embodies an oft-told tale in colonial life, in a graphic setting, impossible to any other than one steeped to the lips in the peculiar characteristics of life in the back blocks

"As when the strong stream of a wintering sea
 Rolls round our coast with bodeful breaks of storm,
 And swift salt rain, and bitter wind that saith
 Wild things and woeful of the White South Land

Alone with God and Silence in the cold ;
 As when this cometh, men from dripping doors
 Look forth, and shudder for the mariners
 Abroad ; so we for absent brothers looked
 In days of drought, and when the flying floods
 Swept boundless : roaring down the bald, black plains,
 Beyond the farthest spur of western hills.

“ For where the Barwan cuts a rotten land,
 Or lies unshaken, like a great blind creek,
 Between hot mouldering banks, it came to this,
 All in a time of short and thirsty sighs,
 That thirty rainless months had left the pools
 And grass as dry as ashes : then it was
 Our kinsmen started for the lone Paroo,
 From point to point, with patient strivings, sheer
 Across the horrors of the windless downs,
 Blue-gleaming like a sea of molten steel.”

Kendall's most sustained effort is the poem republished under the title of “Orara,” but better known in Australia as “The Glen of Arrawatta.” It serves as the corner-stone of the somewhat slight temple of Kendall's poetic reputation. It is the story of one of those adventurous spirits who, seeking to open up new country for pasturage, and thereby win fortune for those who stayed with narrow means at home, penetrates farther into the unexplored interior, and is murdered by the blacks while sleeping at night by his camp fire : a tale of love and death, but too common once ; a tale related

“ While the fitful gusts
 Are beating round the windows in the cold
 With sullen sobs of rain.
 A settler's story of the wild old times :
 One told by camp-fires when the station-drays
 Were housed and hidden, forty years ago ;
 While swarthy drivers smoked their pipes, and drew
 And crowded round the friendly-gleaming flame
 That lured the dingo howling from his caves,
 And brought sharp sudden feet about the brakes.”

Not aware of his danger, the pioneer journeys on through the silent Australasian waste, afar from any home, in

“ A far-off sultry Summer, rimmed
 With thunder-cloud and red with forest fires,
 All day, by ways uncouth and ledges rude,
 The wild men held upon the stranger's trail,
 Which ran against the rivers and athwart
 The gorges of the deep blue western hills.

“ And when a cloudy sunset, like the flame
 In windy evenings on the Plains of Thirst,
 Beyond the dead banks of the far Barcoo,
 Lay heavy down the topmost peaks, they came
 With pent-in breath and stealthy steps, and crouched
 Like snakes amongst the grasses, till the Night
 Had covered face from face, and thrown the gloom
 Of many shadows on the front of things.

“ There, in the shelter of a nameless glen,
 Fenced round by cedars and the tangled growths
 Of blackwood stained with brown and shot with grey,
 The jaded white man built his fire, and turned

His horse adrift among the water-pools
That trickled underneath the yellow leaves,
And made a pleasant murmur, like the brooks
Of England through the sweet Autumnal noons."

Evening in the wild dreamland of the bush is described with unusual power and impressiveness; its weird character and overpowering vastness are brought vividly before the reader's mind. Night brings slumber to the wearied traveller, who turns to rest surrounded by "gem-like eyes of ambushed wild things" staring from hole and brake. The sequel is soon told, and the pioneer, transfixed with many spears, is left alone

" With Night and Silence in the sobbing rains.

" There he lies and sleeps
From year to year : in soft Australian nights
And through the furuaced noons, and in the times
Of wind and wet ! Yet never mourner comes
To drop upon that grave the Christian's tear,
Or pluck the foul dank weeds of Death away.

" But while the English Autumn filled her lap
With faded gold, and while the reapers cooled
Their flame-red faces in the clover grass,
They looked for him at home ; and when the frost
Had made a silence in the morning lanes,
And cooped the farmers by December fires,
They looked for him at home ; and through the days
Which brought about the million-coloured spring
With moon-like splendours in the garden plots,
They looked for him at home. From sun to sun
They waited. Season after season went,
And Memory wept upon the lonely moors,
And Hope grew voiceless, and the watchers passed,
Like shadows, one by one away."

In this poem Kendall touches the highest point which his measure of poetic force admitted. Small spheres hold small fires, and Kendall's genius was not that of an impetuous torrent sweeping majestically along, though, like Burns, he too sang amid "rustic life and poverty." He was doubtless incapable of any very sustained effort. His muse was never long upon the wing : "short swallow-flights of song" were his, but the song came from the heart of the singer ! One is reminded of Béranger's lines to one cast adrift on this sphere, weakly forlorn and indigent, whose task here below was to sing for the throng :

" Une plainte touchante
De ma bouche sortit ;
Le bon Dieu me dit : Chante,
Chante, pauvre petit !"

A Government appointment of considerable value, as Inspector of State Forests, came too late to restore a constitution undermined by irregularities and bitter conflicts with poverty ; and after holding it scarcely a year, the first native-born singer, with any considerable claim to the poet's bays, died in August 1882.

Among prose writers Marcus Clarke leads the field. His novel "For the Term of his Natural Life," reprinted by Bentley in his "Standard" series, gave its author a permanent position in the ranks of men of letters. Much of his best work appeared in the pages of the *Australasian*, the "weekly" of the Melbourne *Argus*. Some of his best stories, reprinted from these journals, will live—at any rate in Australian literature; though there is, besides, a good deal of purely ephemeral interest which must inevitably be soon forgotten. It is, however, of great moment to the colonies, apart from the merit of his writings, that some one should have arisen to soar above the dead level of dull mediocrity, and fan into fresh flame the torch of literary art.

Born at Kensington in 1847—the son of a barrister—Marcus Clarke arrived in Victoria at the age of seventeen, and after some attempts at following the career of a bank clerk, passed two or three years on an up-country station in the Wimmera district. Later he held an appointment at the Public Library and Museum at Melbourne, until his death at the early age of thirty-four. Station-life furnished him with that close contact with the materials of some of his subjects, and those opportunities of painting direct from Nature invaluable to the literary artist, though reflection must always play as great a part as observation, and the power of generalizing be at least equal to that of the observation of minute facts.

It has been said that no one has yet succeeded in describing the Australian bush—that vast interminable sea of unchanging gum-trees and illimitable distances. In Kendall's verse and certain passages of Marcus Clarke we come nearer to that achievement than in the writings of any others.

In another department of literature the works of Dr. Hearn claim a niche to themselves, as by far the greatest achievement in philosophic writing which the colonies have produced, and they are of such a character as would alone suffice to rescue their place of birth from total effacement in the world of letters. "The Aryan Household" is a permanent contribution to literature. "The Government of England" and "Plutology" are works of which the colony of Victoria is justly proud.

After twenty years in Australia, Mr. J. Brunton Stephens is, perhaps not unfairly, seeing that his works have been produced under the Southern Cross, claimed as an Australian poet. The first place there amongst living men of letters he indisputably holds. A graduate of Edinburgh University, on his arrival in Queensland he became tutor in the family of a squatter in that semi-tropical portion of Australia, and thus acquired familiarity with the scenes and scenery reproduced with so much power in his verse.

His fine poem, "Convict Once," filling an octavo volume, is far

and away the most sustained effort the colonies have yet seen. It is written in hexameters. Scholarly, well-conceived, unflagging in interest, and perfect in execution, it has not, however, caught the popular ear; as was perhaps to be expected. It does not touch the multitude—neither the theme nor the manner. To more refined ears it also labours under the disadvantage of a most repulsive title. The poem is full of life and colour, and that vivid presentment which marks the possession of no ordinary share of the divine afflatus, and alone suffices to carry the reader through a work of such length.

A tale of love and passion and darkest treachery, its pages are lighted throughout with the intense palpitating light of a glowing Australian sun. There are passages which seem flooded with the fervid heat and tropical life of Northern Queensland :

“ Linger, O Sun ! for a little, nor close yet this day of a million !
Is there not glory enough in the rose-curtained halls of the West ?
Hast thou no joy in the passion-hued folds of thy kingly pavilion ?
Why shouldst thou only pass through it ? Oh, rest thee a little while—rest !

“ Why should the Night come and take it, the wan Night that cannot enjoy it,
Bringing pale argent for golden, and changing vermilion to grey ?
Why should the Night come and shadow it, entering but to destroy it ?
Rest 'mid thy ruby-trailed splendours ! Oh, stay thee a little while—stay ! ”

The beauty of an Australian summer night, where the intensity of the moonlight is estimated at one-half that of sunlight, has never before been mirrored in such luminous verse as the following :

“ Oh, Summer-night of the South ! Oh, sweet languor of zephyrs love-sighing !
Oh, mighty circuit of shadowy solitude, holy and still !
Music scarce audible, echoless harmony joyously dying,
Dying in faint suspirations o'er meadow and forest and hill !

“ I must go forth and be part of it, part of the night and its gladness ;
But a few steps, and I pause on the marge of the shining lagoon ;
Here then, at length, I have rest ; and I lay down my burden of sadness,
Kneeling alone 'neath the stars and the silvery arc of the moon.

“ Peace-speaking night of the South ! will thine influence last through my sleeping,
Dream with my dreaming, awake with my waking, and blend with the morn ?
Or shall I start as of old, and my pillow be wet with my weeping,
Victim alternate of self-accusation and impious scorn ? ”

Those who have struggled through the furnaced noons of a fiery Queensland summer will best appreciate the suggestive beauty of the following passage :

“ Die then, sad memories, leaving behind you no token nor relic !
Hark how the tremulous night-wind is passing in joy-laden sighs !
Soft through my windows it comes, like the fanning of pinions angelic,
Whispering to cease from myself, and look out on the infinite skies.

“ Out on the orb-studded night, and the crescent effulgence of Dian ;
Out on the far-gleaming star-dust that marks where the angels have trod ;
Out on the gem-pointed cross, and the glittering pomp of Orion,
Flaming in measureless azure, the coronal jewels of God.”

Brunton Stephens has published a volume of minor performances in the style of Bret Harte, but the greater portion of them are only adapted for home consumption. Most of the allusions or illustrations are purely local, and if transplanted, like translations from one language to another, the *bouquet* is lost. A few of them, however, take an altogether higher standpoint: "The Story of a Soul," "Mute Discourse," and "Spirit and Star" are the most remarkable.

A favourite theme with Mr. Brunton Stephens has been the dominion of the Australian colonies. That dream has never found such exalted and persuasive expression as in the poet's verse:

" Oh, fair Ideal, unto whom
Through days of doubt and nights of gloom,
Brave hearts have clung, while lips of scorn
Made mock of thee as but a dream—
Already on the heights of morn
We see thy golden sandals gleam,
And, glimmering through the clouds that wrap thee yet,
The seven stars that are thy coronet."

Long before "federation" was in the air—to use a popular expression—as far back as 1877, Mr. Brunton Stephens wrote the poem we give below, which has a peculiar significance at this time:

THE DOMINION OF AUSTRALIA.

" She is not yet ; but he whose ear
Thrills to that finer atmosphere
Where footfalls of appointed things,
Reverberant of days to be,
Are heard in forecast echoings,
Like wave-beats from a viewless sea,
Hears in the voiceful tremors of the sky
Auroral heralds whispering, ' She is nigh.'

" She is not yet ; but he whose sight
Foreknows the advent of the light,
Whose soul to morning radiance turns
Ere night her curtain hath withdrawn,
And in its quivering folds discerns
The mute munitions of the dawn,
With urgent sense strained onward to descry
Her distant tokens, starts to find Her nigh.

* * * * *

" Already here to hearts intense
A spirit-force, transcending sense,
In heights unscaled, in depths unstirred,
Beneath the calm, above the storm,
She waits the incorporating word
To bid her tremble into form.
Already, like divining-rods, men's souls
Bend down to where the unseen river rolls.

* * * * *

" So flows beneath our good and ill
A viewless stream of Common Will,
A gathering force, a present might,
That from its silent depths of gloom
At Wisdom's voice shall leap to light,
And hide our barren feuds in bloom,
Till, all our sundering lines with love o'ergrown,
Our bounds shall be the girdling seas alone.

STEPHEN THOMPSON.

THE EXPANSION OF EGYPT.

EVERY one knows that the agricultural welfare of Egypt depends upon its irrigation by the Nile. Few are aware of the complex problem which this irrigation presents each year under varying conditions. In the first place, Upper and Lower Egypt are not merely geographical expressions. The long valley, from Assuan to Cairo, is sharply defined by steep walls of rock. The ancients rightly spoke of them as the Arabian and Libyan mountains. The river at low water shrinks into a deep and narrow bed. At the time of flood it fills a space which varies in different places from one to twenty miles in width.

In Upper Egypt the irrigation is effected by means of basins. Extensive dykes enclose the entire area of cultivated land, divided into sections of from 8,000 to 50,000 acres in extent. These basins are filled with water from the Nile in August and September—the flood time—and emptied in October when the river subsides. The crop of wheat, flax, or beans is sown without ploughing in November, and reaped in March. During the summer, from April to July, water is supplied from the river and from temporary wells, by means of shadoofs (swing buckets) and water-wheels, to excellent crops of millet, cucumbers, and melons. There is always an ample supply of water in the river. The inundation is practically a winter. The waters, charged with slime, interrupt all agriculture, but, retiring, leave, like the melting snow of colder climates, aliment for the crops. It is a characteristic feature of the Nile that its annual rise is singularly uniform in date of commencement and extent. Still it varies, and the agricultural arrangements are based upon such a slender margin that a rise of 17 feet 6 inches is insufficient, and one of 26 feet mischievously excessive. Even with a bad Nile there is always

ample water in the river itself. The peasant may see a stream, which in May delivered only 40 million cubic mètres of water per diem, rise to 700 millions, and yet starvation may stare him in the face. He wants but the smallest fraction of this volume. The twentieth part would be more than sufficient to change the arid strip into a ribbon of verdure. The cup of Tantalus is at the lip of the thirsty soil, but it must be brimming over, or the shadoof and the water-wheel, plying by night and day, will scarce suffice to lift enough to water a few patches of ground. The cattle starve. The taxes are perforce remitted. The great volume of the inundation is only needed therefore in order to raise a small body of water to a point at which it will overflow the bank or shelf, which thus becomes an integral part of the river bed. The water is then controlled by the artificial dykes, which detain a small portion, while under the western shores the bulk of the swollen stream rolls away to the sea.

It is a common error to suppose that a high Nile is necessarily beneficial. This is not the case. It is recorded by Linant de Bellefonds Pasha—for many years Director-General of Public Works—that famines in Egypt rarely occur from lack of water, but almost invariably from an excess. Shakespeare said :

"The higher Nilus swells
The more it promises."

But, in truth, beyond a height of 26 feet famine again threatens, because the salts in the soil are carried to the surface by the upward filtration of the river water, and the land becomes utterly unfit for cultivation until the salts have been washed away by a succeeding inundation. It may be observed that the surface of the land adjoining the river banks is about 17 feet above low water, and that from this level the plain sinks away from the river at about 5 inches per mile until it reaches the slope of the steep desert to the west. Hence, with a 28-feet rise, such as occurred in 1874, the head for filtration is at least 11 feet, and, although the river embankment may be kept sound by the labour of a hundred thousand men, the water readily finds its way through the porous sub-soil, and saturates the land with a noxious solution of calcareous and magnesian salts and alkaline chlorides.

In the Delta the conditions are wholly different. The year is divided into three seasons. The "Sefi," or summer, extends from the first of April to the end of July, while the Nile is at its lowest, with a discharge which varies from 12,000 to 25,000 cubic feet per second. The summer crops are cotton, rice, sugar cane, melons, and cucumbers, while clover is irrigated up to the beginning of June. The summer is followed by the "Nili," or flood season. It lasts for four months, from August to November, both inclusive. During the floods, maize, cotton, rice, and sugar cane are irrigated and

matured, and such fallow land as there may be is put under water. The discharge of the maximum Nile varies from 187,000 to 386,000 cubic feet per second. Although these figures will scarcely convey a meaning to the ordinary reader, they serve to show the change in the volume of water. The third season is the remainder of the year. The "Chitani," or winter crops are wheat, beans, barley, and clover. A discharge of from 25,000 to 55,000 cubic feet per second can be depended upon through the winter.

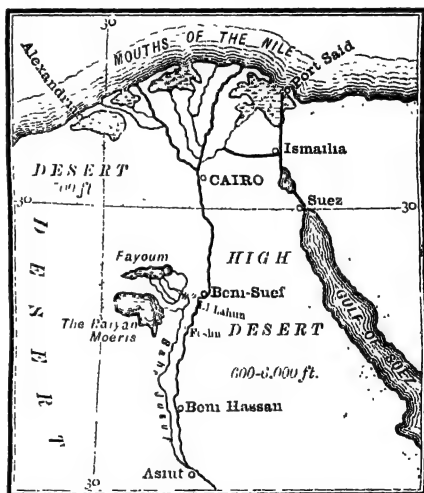
The welfare of the Delta depends upon drainage as well as irrigation. Little more than one-half of it is under cultivation: the remainder is lagoon and desert. The southern part is intersected by innumerable canals—some for irrigation and some for drainage. They have been dug at various times, for the most part without reference to any general plan. They are, or were, practically devoid of proper locks or sluices for regulating the flow of the water. The method in use, until a recent moment, was to throw banks of earth across the canals, leaving gaps of sufficient width to control the water; these gaps being regulated by stakes, planks, or lumps of mud wrapped in rice straw. The canals are of very considerable depth. They run three feet deep in summer and suffice for the summer crop, which covers about one-third of the entire cultivated district. During flood they irrigate the whole area, but have to run 20 feet deep in order to ensure flush irrigation throughout their entire length. Regulators have been built at intervals, converting the canals at low Nile into a series of pools. This checking of the velocity causes the Nile mud to settle in the beds of the canals in deposits sometimes eight feet in depth, which have to be removed annually at great expense. In flood, however, such an excessive volume of water passes to the north that the drainage canals are not sufficient to cope with it, and a saline efflorescence rises to the surface of the land under cultivation. When Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff was appointed to the post of Under-Secretary of State for Public Works, he deemed the question of drainage canals as of primary importance, and, aided by an efficient staff, he has succeeded beyond all anticipation.

It is obvious from what has been said that the obstacle to the better cultivation of the Delta is the fact that the Nile is for three months of the year too high, and for the remaining nine months too low, for the best irrigation purposes; and further, that if a sufficient supply of water could be obtained during the nine months, a vastly increased area could be brought under cultivation. On this subject returns have recently been obtained by the Government from the Irrigation Inspectors of Lower Egypt as to the areas of waste land they could in the future profitably cultivate with an adequate supply of water; the increased volume of water necessary for such extended

irrigation; and, the levels at which the Nile must be maintained at the Barrage to ensure existing areas. The Barrage, it is scarcely needful to explain, is a dam thrown across the two branches of the Nile a little below Cairo, provided with gates, by which the water in the river can be made to enter the lateral canals at a higher head. It regulates to a certain extent the height of the stream, but adds nothing to its volume. The answers received were as follows: Total area capable of cultivation, 4,800,000 feddans (feddan = $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres); area actually cultivated, 2,500,000. The remaining 2,300,000 feddans are composed of 800,000 feddans of good land and 1,500,000 feddans of morass and desert which would require to be repeatedly washed with fresh water, or planted with rice, or otherwise treated before they could be made available for usual crops. The Report continues thus: "As the maximum summer supply of 40 million cubic mètres per day in the Nile is considered as barely sufficient for the irrigation of the 2,500,000 feddans of cultivated land, the volume necessary for the reclamation and cultivation of the 2,300,000 feddans would amount to some 25 millions of cubic mètres, a volume far in excess of that likely to be available." Likely, that is, to be available under present engineering conditions. But to any intelligent person the situation of the Delta points to the necessity of some means of storing water on the Upper Nile, which, regulating the flow, would both control the winter floods, and provide a larger summer supply. It is to a project for a reservoir to effect this purpose that this paper is directed.

Few, even of thoughtful travellers, well-informed students, or residents in Egypt, know the position or appreciate the importance of the low level province called the Fayoum. There is generally at best only a vague notion that, about fifty miles to the south-west of Cairo, a partially cultivated area, surrounded by desert, is irrigated by a branch of the river, whose surplus waters, having no outlet, form a lake. In the "Land of Khemi," Mr. Laurence Oliphant sought to enlighten on this subject the large circle of readers who follow with interest his footsteps in the East. Circumstances prevented his making his sketches as exhaustive as they were brilliant, but they serve to show how much error existed in standard works and on the latest maps. The cartographers are greatly to blame. M. Jomard, in the "Description de l'Égypte," says that he estimated the difference in level between the lake of the Fayoum and the upper irrigated plateau at from six to seven mètres, or about 20 feet. On the "Carte Hydrographique de la Moyenne Égypte," engraved at Paris in 1854, and revised and republished in 1882, M. Linant de Bellefonds gives this difference at 22 mètres, or about 70 feet. These observations were universally accepted, and furnished a basis for everything

written about this part of Egypt. But the surface of this lake—the Birket el-Qeroun—is, in fact, 70 mètres, or about 220 feet, below high Nile, and therefore over 120 feet below the Mediterranean. The depression extends 50 miles from east to west, and 37 miles from north to south. Its irregular shape reduces the area to 1,400 square miles, of which about 600 square miles are below the level of the sea. Of this 219,938 feddans are cultivated, and contribute £162,571 to the Egyptian budget. It was very different in those prosperous days when the Arsinoïte nome was the richest district of Egypt, and inferior to no part of the habitable globe. Strabo never errs on the side of enthusiasm, yet he said: "This province is the most remarkable of all in appearance, natural properties, and embellishment. It is the only district planted with large full-grown olive trees which bear fine fruit. The rest of Egypt is without the olive tree, except the gardens near Alexandria, which are planted with olive trees, but do not furnish any oil. It produces wine in abundance, corn, pulse, and a great variety of other grains." The characteristic features of the Fayoum were due to its perennial irrigation. The plains of the valley and the Delta are green with annual crops in winter, but are drowned in autumn by the yellow flood with its attendant plagues and blessings. The Fayoum, in the period of the Ptolemaic *renaissance*, offered a



striking contrast. Its groves of dark palms and pale olives, its vineyards and orchards stood among fields of every shade of green, picked out by gardens of bright red roses and crossed by a network of innumerable canals, fed from extensive reservoirs, which were in turn filled from the great life-giving canal which still connects this oasis with the Nile. That canal is a vulnerable point. A careful survey shows that the water, which was formerly conducted at a high level along the outer contours of the basin, has sought new and more direct channels. It is easy to conjecture that more than once, by malice in war, or by neglect in peace, the supply has been choked. Worse yet was the plight of the inhabitants of this strange basin when the dyke was broken, so that a devastating torrent rushed over its plains and fell from terrace to terrace into the depths of the lowest plateau. The canal, with a

selvedge of verdure, now winds in a carefully regulated flow of about three millions of cubic mètres per diem, across eight miles of desert, under village walls, with shaded banks, from el-Lahun to Hauara. Its bed-rock at the entrance is about 25 feet below high Nile. When, therefore, in what may be called pre-historic days, the dyke at el-Lahun had not yet been constructed, the whole Fayoum was submerged. At low Nile the yellow river was confined to the valley and separated from the great lake, whose sapphire blue was encircled by green pasturages extending over about 40,000 acres, laid bare by the subsiding inundation. When the river rose it poured a large volume of turbid waters through the shallow gorge to the west, while the bulk of the stream was forcing its way northward through the morasses of the Delta. It thus repeated near its exit into the Mediterranean littoral what had befallen it in Central Africa. As in the case of the Albert Nyanza, the stream found by the side of its channel a depression which absorbed a large portion of its water, delayed its onward march, and prolonged its period of flood. The oft-quoted sentence of Herodotus now receives a new interpretation. The Egyptians told him that the first man who ruled over Egypt was Mên, and that in his time all Egypt, except the Thebaïc canton, was a marsh; none of the land below Lake Mœris then showing itself above the surface of the water (B. ii. c. 4). Paul Lucas says: "The Thebaïd commences opposite the Fayoum" (B. vi. p. 148); and this is confirmed by the map of Fra Mauro and a statement of St. Jerome. During at least two months after the Nile itself had commenced to subside the water issuing from the Fayoum prolonged the inundation in the Delta, and prevented any settled agricultural operations. It is easy to see also that "before the time of King Mên (and the great engineering operations of that age) the river flowed entirely in a single channel along the sandy range of hills which skirts (this part of) Egypt on the Libyan side" (Her. ii. 99.), scouring a deeper waterway where the Fayoum received and disgorged its floods.

It was a magnificent conception, to stem the tide of the Nile, divide and conquer its current, and force it into new beds. Under the walls of the royal palace at Memphis, in the narrowest part of the valley, lay the intakes of the canals whose waters irrigated the vast solitudes beyond Port Said, drove back the tides of the Mediterranean, and washed the salt out of the shallow marshes from Menzaleh to Aboukir. It was a bolder thought to throw a dyke across the mouth of the Fayoum to prevent the entrance of an excessive supply, to allow the surplus water to evaporate, and thus to convert annual pasturages into perennial fields of inexhaustible fertility. Three thousand men were recently at work by day and night in strengthening the Barrage, which is expected to perform for modern Egypt only a part of the work once accomplished by that *bund* above Saqqara, which protected

Memphis. We might adopt the very words of Herodotus, and say that "this point is guarded with the greatest care by the English [Persian] engineers, and strengthened every year, for, if the river were to break out at this place, there would be danger of the Delta being completely overwhelmed by the flood." The Fayoum, however, still attests the immortal work of those first occupants, reputed Arabians, Typhonian, Hyksos, tyrants yet benefactors, whose mysterious presence is as inexplicable now as when Manetho referred it to a direct interposition of Providence. Semitic tradition ascribes the work to the Patriarch Joseph. The name Bahr Jusuf, or River of Joseph, may be found upon the map, and every educated Mohammedan, from the Himalayas to the West Coast of Africa, and every native of Egypt, Copt or Moslem, from the Khedive to the fellah, believes that the conversion of the Fayoum was due to the Israelite, ibn-Jacoub, Premier of a Shepherd King, Pharaoh Raiyan ibn el-Walêd.

Egyptologists have hitherto mentioned this tradition only to deny its antiquity. But it can be shown that the narrative, differentiated in detail but similar in substance, was current shortly after the Mohammedan invasion. In the "Wonders of Egypt," by Murtadi, the story is told in terms which are in entire accordance with the physical facts, and not at variance with either Hebrew or Greek tradition. It may be thus translated from an Arabic manuscript which once belonged to Cardinal Mazarin:—

"Joseph, to whom may Allah show mercy and grant peace, when he was Prime Minister of Egypt and high in favour with Raiyan, his Sovereign, after that he was more than a hundred years old, became an object of envy to the favourites of the king and the puissant seigneurs of the Court of Memphis, on account of the great power which he wielded and the affection entertained for him by his monarch. They accordingly thus addressed the king. 'Great King, Joseph is now very old; his knowledge has diminished; his beauty has faded; his judgment is unsound; his sagacity has failed.' The king said: 'Set him a task which shall serve as a test.' At that time el-Fayoum was called el-Hun, or the Marsh. It served as a waste basin for the waters of Upper Egypt, which flowed in and out unrestrained. The courtiers having taken counsel together what to propose to the king, gave this reply to Pharaoh: 'Lay the royal commands upon Joseph that he shall divert the water of the Nile from el-Hun and drain it, so as to give you a new province and an additional source of revenue.' The king assented, and summoning Joseph to his presence, said: 'You know how dearly I love my daughter, and you see that the time has arrived in which I ought to carve an estate for her out of the crown lands, and give her a separate establishment, of which she would be the mistress. I have, however, no territory available for this purpose except the submerged land of el-Hun. It is in many respects favourably situated. It is a convenient distance from my capital. It is surrounded by desert. My daughter will thus be independent and protected.' 'Quite true, Great King,' responded Joseph, 'when would you wish it done; for accomplished it shall be by the aid of Allah, the All-Powerful.' 'The sooner, the better,' said the King. Then Allah inspired Joseph with a plan. He directed him to make three canals; one from Upper Egypt, a canal

on the east, and a canal on the west. Joseph collected workmen and dug the canal of Menhi from Ashmunin to el-Lahūn. Then he excavated the canal of el-Fayoum, and the eastern canal, with another canal near it called Ben-Hamed, beyond the inhabited parts of Alphiom, from the desert of Ben-Hamed to the west. In this way the water was drained from el-Hun. Then he set an army of labourers at work. They cut down the tamarisks and bushes which grew there and carried them away. At the season when the Nile begins to rise the marsh had been converted into good cultivable land. The Nile rose. The water entered the mouth of the Menhi canal and flowed down the Nile valley to el-Lahūn. Thence it turned towards el-Fayoum, and entered that canal in such volume that it filled it and converted the land into a region irrigated by the Nile. King Raiyan thereupon came to see his new province with the courtiers who had advised him to set Joseph this task. When they saw the result, they greatly marvelled at the skill and inventive genius of Joseph, and exclaimed : ' We do not know which most to admire, the draining of the marsh and the destruction of the noxious plants, or the conversion of its surface into fertile and well-watered fields.' Then the King said to Joseph : ' How long did it take you to bring this district into the excellent state in which I find it ? ' ' Seventy days,' responded Joseph. Then Pharaoh turned to his courtiers, and said : ' Apparently one could not have done it in a thousand days.' Thus the name was changed from el-Hun, or the Marsh, to el-Fayoum, the land of a thousand days."

The old age of Joseph may be an allusion to the long course of the canal, but it is obviously only an amplification and practical explanation of the words of Joseph to his brethren after Jacob's death :—" Ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive " (Gen. l. 20). He had not only interpreted the dream and saved Egypt from a single famine, but had added the Fayoum, with its virgin soil of inexhaustible fertility, imposed a water tax upon the shékhs of the Delta, and provided the best possible insurance fund by storing grain. It was a change similar to that which converted the morasses of the Batavians into the Holland of the Dutch.

But, some one will say, Joseph then is a period, a race and not a person. Augustus is an adjective. There was an Augustan age. Augustus found Rome of brick and left it marble. Joseph—" he who adds"—may be more and less than a man, who found Lower Egypt a marsh and left it an empire. Undoubtedly this appellation now includes in Egyptian tradition many acts which could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be credited to the exertions of a single person. It was the age, the foreign race, the surviving and continuing impulse of the great engineering works inaugurated in the Valley of the Nile that begot Nilometers, geometry, and a literature on papyrus. They were fathered upon him who was primarily, or at least to the popular eye, identified with this golden age. There was an Octavianus styled Augustus, who was neither architect nor author.

At the revival of learning, manuscripts of Claudius Ptolemy were necessarily in great demand. The exquisite specimens guarded in every great library are comparatively modern. It had even become

the fashion to assert that the maps which accompanied them were the works of monks who draughted them after the specifications given in the text, eked out by the descriptions of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo. Masudi, however, who died A.D. 958, mentions a Ptolemaic map of Egypt which he had seen. At Mount Athos there is a manuscript which is assigned to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. In all these manuscripts, as well as in the printed editions, from that of Rome, about 1478, Bonn, Ulm, Venice, Strasburg, Basle, Lyons, to that of Cologne, by Mercator, in 1578, as well as on the map of Berlingheri, of Florence (ca. 1480), there is depicted a body of water in the desert to the south and south-west of the Fayoum. It is styled *Lacus Meridis*, or the equivalent of that expression, according to the language adopted by the editor. On the Greek map of Mount Athos it is a mere spot of colour with a name. On the Berlingheri it is a kind of rosette or cinque foil, where also the lakes of Mareotis and Serbonis are represented by conventional circles much smaller in area. In other manuscripts and printed editions it has an extraordinary shape. It looks something like a Y. It is not connected with the Nile, but has a town, Dionysias, near the junction of the broad basin and the long southern tail, whose latitude and longitude are given in the text: "Et circa Mœridis paludem—Bacchis, 60° 30', 29° 40'; Dionysias, 60° 30', 29° 0'"; and the centre of the lake is given elsewhere as "Mœridis Lacus, 60° 20', 29° 20'."

Now it fell to my lot to make some researches into the nature of this part of Egypt, and as early as 1883 I called the attention of Sir C. Scott-Moncrieff to the existence of a remarkable depression in the desert to the west and south-west of the Fayoum, apparently in the position occupied by this ancient lake Mœris—the Wadi Raïan—which seems to be a key to the past as well as the future fortunes of Egypt. The truth about this Raïan-Mœris no longer rests upon facts for which I alone am responsible. Careful surveys have been made. An admirable and exhaustive report by Major Western, R.E., Director-General of Works, under date of May 5, says: "The Wadi Raïan having been proved to be of reasonably large area with a bed-level well below that of the Nile, and so situated as to lead to fair hopes of the possibility of its being filled with Nile water at a cost commensurate with results, the project was ordered to be considered." In other words I had established the existence of a basin near the Nile, which could be used to regulate the flow of the stream. It would receive the excess of water when it rose to a dangerous height. It might be converted into an impounding or storage reservoir to feed the canals of the Delta when the Nile itself was insufficient.

The Wadi Raïan is not to be found on any map of Egypt prior to my researches. The name Raïan appears and disappears in most capricious fashion. Sometimes it indicates an imaginary town. It

is in fact a local term of great antiquity. When Major Western says that the Wadi Raian has been proved to be a reasonably large area with a bed-level well below that of the Nile, he affirms that the map of Egypt, as it stands corrected by my observations, shows that if there were a communication between this depression and the river a lake would be formed corresponding minutely to the shape and position of the Mœridis Lacus of the Alexandrian geographer of the second century.

The survey of this basin has been made by seven expeditions of which I was the responsible chief, and one in which Dr. Schweinfurth collected most valuable material, which may be consulted, with a map, in the "*Transactions of the Berlin Geographical Society*," vol. xxi., pt. 2, No. 122, 1886. In February 1886 I ran a line of levels, aided by an engineer, Mr. Stadler, then, as now, in the permanent employ of the Government, from a point on a branch canal in the southern part of the Fayoum, towards the west. The relative heights show how absurd are the popular notions that the Libyan Desert is a plain, and that there is danger of encroaching sand. The bench mark was about 50 feet below high Nile. After eight miles the line rose and traversed a plateau 160 feet above the Nile, and then rapidly dropping to the same level gradually sloped downwards to a point 137 feet below the cultivated land in the adjacent Nile valley. In April 1886 Colonel Ardagh accompanied me a little beyond this point, and satisfied himself that it was by no means the bottom of the valley, and that an area of several hundred square miles could be used as a storage reservoir for the Nile. In December the Government detailed the same engineer, and we started from a point opposite Feshn. The line of levels rose to a summit level of 526 feet. It dropped to ten feet below the valley of the Nile. This point was a little to the south of the Dionysias of the Ptolemaic maps. The neck of the Wadi Muélah is only barred by drift sand. In April 1887 Major Surtees, of the Coldstream Guards, attached to the Egyptian Government, with Major Shahin, an Egyptian officer of the Department of Public Works, were detailed to aid me in making a survey to the west and south-west of the Fayoum basin. The principal object was to determine whether the Raian basin communicated with the Fayoum at the level of high Nile at the western end. The survey showed that the two depressions are separated by a solid mass of limestone, eight miles wide, and a hundred feet higher than the highest conceivable level for the water in the reservoir. Contours were drawn by Major Surtees, and it is upon these figures that Major Western proceeded.

His report, having given a table of differences between high and low Nile and the volume of the inundation, shows between what dates there is an excess of water available. It states that the Wadi

Raïan, according to the latest plans, may be taken as having a surface at the level of average high Nile of about 1,000 square kilometres, or nearly 400 square miles. Its average depth has been calculated at 100 feet. It would contain, therefore, about 30,000,000,000 cubic mètres. It would be half as large again as the Lake of Geneva. Blue as the Mediterranean, bounded by precipitous walls of limestone, 300 feet high, broken here and there by stretches of sandy beach, which might be converted into pasturage as the water ebbed, it would have a weird grandeur of its own. The huts of fishermen would be scattered among the tamarisks and coarse vegetation of the eastern shore. The everlasting hills of the desert would bound it on the west, and not an acre of cultivated land would interpose between them. Each year as the Nile rose the water would pass into the basin by a series of lakelets and broad canals, with regulating gates at several points. When it was filled to the highest attainable level the gates would be closed. As the water subsides in the valley and the Delta the crops appear, and several months elapse before any additional supply is requisite. But when in March, April, May, and June there is little perceptible current beneath the Qasr el Nil bridge at Cairo, and the volume of the river has shrunk to one-tenth, one-fifteenth, or even one-twentieth of its autumnal height, then, as matters stand now, the high-level canals are abandoned, steam pumps come into use, and, together with hand labour, raise the water to the needed height, aided by the Barrage. It is worse than useless to permit or encourage the extension of cultivation into the vast plains which are slightly below the sea, or upon the deserted tracts which are a few inches higher than a normal head. If occasionally a crop might be won the loss outweighs the profit. To secure extended cultivation the Government must be in a position to guarantee water, and this requires some storage reservoir. Now, if the Wadi Raïan held from three to six or seven thousand million cubic mètres of water above the level of low Nile, the gates would be opened, and a continuous supply furnished as it was required. The engineering difficulties have been examined and solved by competent experts. The evaporation would not exceed $1\frac{1}{10}$ mètres per annum. The lake would have done its work by the middle of July, so that the amount lost in this way after it was full could be little more than thirty inches. The basin itself cannot leak, or the water of the Mediterranean and the Nile would find their way into it. It would appear almost unnecessary to say that the immense proportion of the water in the lake would be useless. The only portion utilized would be the surface stratum, equal in depth to the difference between the lake when full and low Nile, less the loss by evaporation and the further loss of head in conveying the water back to the Nile or the system of canals into which it was turned. This loss of head would depend upon the

breadth of the successive sheets of water which separated the great reservoir from the valley of the Nile. It might be reduced to less than eighteen inches. This is not a question of constructing a basin. The depression is there, made by Nature, of a certain size. It must be filled to a given depth before it is of any use. It is not too deep to allow this to be accomplished in two successive inundations. Its surface is sufficiently large to meet all requirements.

I have entitled the reservoir, Raïan-Mœris. Raïan is a geographical designation in actual use. It appeals to the sentiments of the Arabs, as the name, or descriptive appellation, of Joseph's Pharaoh. It is an Arabic word associated with irrigation. Mœris, according to the Greeks, was the name of a king who created a lake, "whose use was admirable, and the greatness of the work surpassing belief." Mœris is the same as the Latin *mare*, or the English *mere*. It is Egyptian for a sea. If my project is realized, it would exactly correspond in purpose to the reservoir so finely described by Diodorus: "Inasmuch as the Nile never kept to a fixed and constant height in its inundation, and the fruitfulness of the country has always depended upon its just proportions, this lake was formed to receive such water as was superfluous, so that it might neither flood the land so as to convert it into marshes and pools of stagnant water, nor by flowing too little prejudice the crops by an insufficient supply. This lake continues, to the benefit of the Egyptians, to our own times, and is called the Lake of Myris or Meris to this day. Who is he, therefore, that considers the greatness of this work, that may not justly ask the question—What myriads of workmen were employed, and how many years were required to complete it! Considering the benefit and advantage brought by this great work to the Government, none could ever sufficiently extol it according to what the truth of the thing deserved."

Strabo said, also in the full light of the Augustan age: "The attention and care bestowed upon the Nile is so great as to cause industry to triumph over Nature. By Nature a greater rise of the river irrigates a larger tract of land; but industry has completely succeeded in rectifying the deficiency of Nature, so that in seasons when the rise of the river has been less than usual as large a portion of the country is irrigated as in seasons when the rise of the river has been greater. The Lake Mœris by its magnitude and depth, is able to receive the superabundance of water which flows into it at the time of the rise of the river without overflowing the inhabited and cultivated parts of the province. On the decrease of the water of the river, it distributes the excess by the same canal. In extent it is a sea, and the colour of its waters resembles that of the sea. Its shores resemble a sea-beach rather than the banks of a river." Those, therefore, who believe in Lake Mœris will accept the record

of eighteen centuries of faithful service. They will see in the noble figure of the Spirit of the Lake, on the papyrus at Boulag, a personification of the deep bosom of the Nile, which nourished the millions who built the towns whose ruins are scattered far and wide from Alexandria to Port Said. She appeals to Heaven with uplifted hands to maintain its bounteous goodness. It never occurred to any engineer, Hyksos or Ramesside, Assyrian or Persian, Ptolemaic or Roman, that the world could lapse into such a state of barbarism that the canals of supply should be choked, the subterranean communications lost, the lake allowed to evaporate, and the Delta to revert to a state little better than when Abraham visited it from Hebron.

There are two ways in which this project can be carried out. Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff, with an admirable staff, has shown what he could do with the relatively small sum placed at his disposal. A further sum might be put to his credit. Every penny would be expended by Major Western, as Director-General of Works, in actual labour. Major Ross, as Inspector-General of Irrigation, possesses the confidence of the Khedive. Captain Brown is in charge of the Bahr Jusuf. It may well be, as he thinks, that this stream was originally an adapted drainage channel, artificially connected with the Nile at different points by successive engineers. Never since the fall of the Roman Empire has the diurnal supply of the Fayoum, under Mr. Hewat, been noted and regulated with its present accuracy. The hydrographic map of the provinces of Menufieh and Gharbieh, and careful paper on "Irrigation in Lower Egypt," by Mr. William Willcocks, read before the Institution of Civil Engineers on the 22nd of February, prove that, with Mr. Reid and Mr. Foster, he can be trusted to give a good account of every cubic mètre of water which reaches the Barrage. One might say that a million a year for a million of outlay understates the profits and exaggerates the cost. It may be, however, expedient to put the matter into the hands of a private corporation, on the principle of the present *Compagnie des Eaux du Caire*. The Government would make the water tax a first charge on the additional land cultivated, which would be an ample security. It would probably be found, in practice, more convenient to fix a water rate, and, by paying this to the Company, prevent the complications which might otherwise arise. The right of repurchase at a fair sum would enable the Government at any time to re-enter upon all the ceded rights and carry on the reservoir as one of the ordinary duties of its Department of Public Works.

COPE WHITEHOUSE.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN FRANCE.

FOR the first time since 1879 a thing has happened in the French Parliament which everybody agreed in supposing impossible—the Right has combined with a portion of the Left, not to upset, but to support a Ministry; and a change of Government, instead of telling in favour of the Radicals, has tended in the direction of the Moderate Left. Whatever its results may be—and they are as yet uncertain—this is a very serious parliamentary fact, and one which changes to a great extent the general balance of parties. It is interesting to note how this development was brought about, and what is its true character.

M. Goblet's Ministry fell, apparently, on a question of finance, and in consequence of his positive refusal to throw up M. Dauphin's Budget and strike out boldly for retrenchment. No doubt M. Dauphin was a *persona ingrata*; he had proved himself reckless and incompetent; and the obstinacy of M. Goblet in retaining him as Minister of Finance certainly had its share in producing the result; but the true causes of the crisis are to be sought elsewhere. The underlying originating cause was the modification which had been slowly taking place in the views of the Right and the Moderate Left, and the gradual *rapprochement* of these apparently irreconcilable elements; the immediate occasion was the part played by General Boulanger.

The *rapprochement* between the Moderate Right and the Moderate Left was not an outcome of any subtle design or Machiavellian combination, nor was it the subject of any explicit and formal understanding. It grew up out of that anxiety for the general interests of the country which had long been gaining ground among the best and most enlightened of our parliamentary men, and which led them to look upon it as a necessity that the Government of M. Goblet should give place to a moderate Government, such as might check the advance of Radicalism, set the Exchequer in order, and secure peace abroad and tranquillity at home. It was not that the Goblet Ministry was actually doing much harm. It had at its head a thoroughly honest man, of reasonable enough opinions. He had fearlessly opposed the wild and

impolitic projects brought forward by the Radicals for the separation of Church and State and the imposition of the income-tax; and in the recent difficulties with Germany he had shown no little coolness and tact. But active, intelligent, and trustworthy as he was himself, his Cabinet represented but too faithfully the intellectual anarchy of the majority in the Chamber. It was a Ministry of Republican concentration, so they said—that is to say, it was an attempt to satisfy at one and the same time M. Ribot, M. Jules Ferry, M. Ballue, and M. Clémenceau, which was on the face of it impossible. The result was what might have been expected; the administration became more and more disorganized, and the interference of the deputies grew more intolerable every day. This anarchy in the Cabinet was all to the advantage of the Radicals. M. Goblet, who himself had little sympathy with the Moderate Left, allowed them to go on acquiring fresh place and influence day by day. Moreover, the Radical party was represented in the Cabinet by three restless spirits, not likely to be restrained by any scruples as to the neutrality to be maintained between the various fractions of the Republican body—M. Boulanger at the War Office, M. Granet at the Posts and Telegraphs, and M. Lockroy at the Ministry of Public Works.

The Government was in fact the prisoner of the Radicals. The most heedless and irresponsible, the most scandalous and implacable of the Paris journals—*La Lanterne*, *La France*, *L'Intransigeant*—became *par excellence* the organs of the Government. It was clear that if this state of things went on, the country must either be carried away by the enticements of the Radicals in the direction of the Extreme Left, or be driven by the terror of them into the arms of the Right. The administrative disorder tolerated by M. Goblet's Government might at any time give rise to a revolutionary situation. And there was financial disorder besides. The Government declared it impossible to reduce its expenditure. The country accused MM. Lockroy and Granet of spending the public money in gratifying their friends, and M. Boulanger of lavishing its millions in the most reckless manner. The Chamber itself began to take alarm at the ever-widening gulf of debt.

Nevertheless, and notwithstanding the obvious interest of the Moderate parties in preventing the Government from being wholly given up to the Radicals, I doubt whether it would fairly have come to a crisis but for General Boulanger.

General Boulanger must not be judged exclusively by recent and deplorable incidents. It must be remembered that he possesses, along with his indisputable soldierly qualifications, indefatigable energy, quick perceptions, and a bold and inventive mind; and he has, moreover, the gift of striking the patriotic chord in the popular breast. He worked hard while he was in office, and some of his measures were excellent, if others were childish and absurd; he attracted to himself young and able colleagues; he put our eastern frontier in a thorough state of defence; and finally, and best of all, he restored the spirit of the army and the people, and satisfied us that we have nothing to fear from foreign aggression, while he even succeeded in persuading the foreigner that there might be something to fear from us. All these are facts which cannot be gainsaid. The reputation of General Boulanger was in fact a moral force which France could not afford to dispense with; and it is

sores to be regretted that his own faults and mistakes, the extravagant praises of his friends and the often unreasonable attacks of his foes, should have invested him and his actions with an exaggerated, absurd, and even dangerous importance in the eyes of the populace, have lost him his influence with all earnest men, and have turned this thunderbolt of the battle-field into a mere firebrand of civil discord.

The General's own deficiencies are against him. He lacks rectitude of judgment, moderation, and tact; and he is ruined by his passion for popularity. At Tunis he more than once imperilled by his follies the position which the skill of M. Cambou had so greatly strengthened and improved; he disgusted serious people by the eagerness with which he snatched at every opportunity of attracting notice and applause; and that wretched business of the letters to the Duc d'Aumale, which he was forced to acknowledge at last after the most positive denials, did him no little discredit with the officers of the army. Even at the Salon one could hardly help laughing as one passed from picture to picture and from bust to bust of General Boulanger, all purporting to have been commissioned by himself. But if it was not without uneasiness that one saw a General in the army adopt a political career as the nearest road to power, and enter the Ministry by favour of M. Clémenceau, it was nothing short of a scandal to see him become the friend and companion of M. Rochefort, who not only was one of the instigators of the Commune, but who, as a pamphleteer, has never lost an opportunity of inciting to revolt, or of reviling and calumniating all the representatives of authority, and more particularly the army and its leaders. Such a friendship would be enough to compromise any officer on the staff; in a Minister of War it could only be accounted for as a bid for popularity; and, as he was at the same time lavishing attentions and marks of esteem on the members of the Right and on officers known for their Conservative opinions, an impression soon gained ground that General Boulanger was trying, by the aid of men of all parties, to place himself above all parties—a position which would make it possible for him, in case of war abroad or troubles at home, to play a predominant part, perhaps even to establish a military dictatorship.

But had he really any such design? We have no right to say he had; but certainly he and his friends and admirers have done all that in them lay to justify the suspicion. When he quitted office he addressed a manifesto to the army, just as a deposed prince might have done, and pointed to his retirement as an example of respect for the law in a way which implied that he might have been tempted to violate it. Instead of going quietly down to Clermont-Ferrand, where he was to take the command of a *corps d'armée*, like anybody else, he publicly announced the day and hour of his departure; and the intransigent journals called on their followers to make a demonstration at the Lyons railway station, which very nearly degenerated into a riot. Even at Clermont-Ferrand itself he was met by a committee whose chairman was an old Communist returned from exile. A year or so ago, some enterprising people made quite a little business of exploiting the popularity of General Boulanger. Paulus, the favourite singer of the café-concerts, brought down the house night after night by singing "En revenant de la Revue," the music of which has become more popular than the "Marseillaise." An illustrated journal, the *Courrier Français*, which was founded for the

purpose of puffing the "pastilles Géraudel," a pharmaceutical "speciality" invented by a chemist of Ste. Menehould, and which has on its editorial staff a pair of whimsical artists, MM. Lunel and Willette, divides its admiration among the three, Géraudel, Paulus, and Boulanger. Other journals—most of which have seen but one or two numbers—made it their whole business to recount the exploits of General Boulanger; while others, again, received their retainer from unknown hands, and rallied to the General's cause. Boulanger five-franc pieces (in paper) were sold in the street, along with Boulanger pins, Boulanger ties, and Boulanger pipes with a figure-head of him carved on the bowl. Prose narratives and songs innumerable were devoted to telling the story of his life and recording his triumphs in the future. In all these publications he appears as the hero of the Retribution, the Liberator of Alsace-Lorraine, the terror of Germany, the hope of France. The Germans proceeded to make his position almost impregnable by taking the suggestion in earnest, accusing him of meditating war at the first opportunity, insisting on his dismissal, and denouncing him as a danger to the peace of Europe. M. Rochefort declared that if he were driven from the Ministry a hundred thousand men would turn out into the streets to fetch him back again; and there were not a few of the deputies who were simple enough to believe it.

For some months the position of things abroad made any attack on General Boulanger impossible. From January to March, while Germany was threatening us with hostilities in case the elections went against the military septennate, no one dared touch the Minister of War. Then, on the 20th of April, came the news of the Schnaebele incident. The commissary of police at Pagny-sur-Moselle had been enticed across the frontier by his German colleague on some pretence of duty, arrested by men in disguise, and carried off to prison at Metz. The news of this fraudulent trick was greeted in France with a burst of passion. It took all the coolness of the Government, and especially of M. Flourens, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had the good sense to treat the whole thing on a juridical basis, to prevent this incident from simply setting the match to the powder. During these two successive crises the attitude of General Boulanger was, in the eyes of one party, all that was most correct, dignified, and moderate; in the eyes of the other party it was at once rash, feeble, and inconsistent. It is not possible now to form a judgment upon it; but one thing is certain—that the tone of the Press was, without exception, marked by patriotism and common-sense, and during the two weeks that this delicate business was in hand there was comparative silence on the subject of General Boulanger.

But when M. Flourens had carried his point, had proved that the letter of the commissary Gautsch was equivalent to a safe-conduct, and had thus obliged the German authorities to set M. Schnaebele at liberty, the Boulangist faction broke out again worse than ever, and the conviction was forced upon men of all sides that the presence of General Boulanger in the Ministry was not only a perpetual source of uneasiness in our foreign relations, but involved serious danger at home. Whether with his good-will or no, those who were making capital out of his reputation were doing their best to drag the civil power at the heels of the military, and to sow the seeds of a new imperialism among the people.

Alike in Paris and in the provinces, amongst the small traders, the peasants, the working-men, they had caught the ear of simple, untutored, or imaginative minds, weary of the long depression of industry, out of patience with the disputatious dulness of Republican ways, eager for military glory, and ready enough to join in acclaiming a dictatorship. By the middle of May it may safely be said that almost the whole body of the Senate and four-fifths of the Chamber of Deputies were convinced that the presence of General Boulanger in the Government amounted to a public danger. To avoid openly discussing the Minister of War in the face of all Europe and under the very eyes of Germany, some pretext or other had to be found, and accordingly M. Goblet was defeated on a question of finance, and the whole Ministry went down with him in his fall.

The Boulangist journals, together with all those politicians who saw in General Boulanger the hope and mainstay of Radicalism and a name to conjure with at elections yet to come, pretended to think that the vote was aimed only at M. Dauphin, and that the Chamber would be satisfied with the dismissal of that single Minister, or with a reconstituted Ministry in which the same places should be religiously reserved for MM. Boulanger, Granet, and Lockroy. M. Clémenceau, who had himself taken fright at the unwholesome popularity of the General, and had contributed to his fall, now made it up with him, and pleaded for his retention. M. de Freycinet, who is supposed to be M. Grévy's favourite statesman, and who with all his cleverness has no backbone at all when it comes to either a party question or a popular question, declared that he could not form a Ministry without General Boulanger. M. Floquet, sent for in his turn and charged with the formation of a Cabinet, also made the retention of General Boulanger a condition of his acceptance of the task. All these statesmen wished to share the advantage of the General's popularity, and they were in terror of seeing him turn against them. Happily, it was not everybody who was quite so timid. The committees of the various groups of the Left in the Senate took a daring and somewhat unusual initiative. They went to M. Grévy and requested the formation of a Ministry composed entirely of new elements. M. Ferry and his friends had already refused to have anything to do with any Ministry in which M. Boulanger should have a place. The end of it was that M. Grévy, who ever since the beginning of the year had been exerting the most favourable and pacific influence on the direction of foreign affairs, and had felt something of the difficulties due to the adventurous character of the late War Minister, himself finally decided on doing without him. After nearly a fortnight of very laborious negotiations, lasting from the 17th to the 30th of May, a Government was formed at last under the presidency of M. Rouvier, whose former position as President of the Budget Committee—together with the fact that the late Ministry had been placed in a minority in consequence of his disagreement with that committee, and the paramount importance of the financial question at the moment—sufficiently designated him for the post of Prime Minister. The Radicals were offered a share in the composition of the Ministry, but the Radicals as a body looked on M. Rouvier as a mere substitute for M. Ferry, and saw in the whole occurrence a triumph of the Opportunists; they therefore refused to have anything to do with the new Government, and excommunicated

those of their company—MM. Barbe, De Hérédia, and Dautresme—who accepted office under it as Ministers of Agriculture, Public Works, and Commerce respectively. It was M. Rouvier's first intention to suppress the Ministry of Agriculture altogether, and this would have been a good economical and administrative measure; but he was obliged to concede this point, and to content himself with uniting the Posts and Telegraphs, hitherto a distinct office, with the Finance department, which he reserved for himself. The Ministry of the Interior was given to M. Fallières, and that of Public Instruction to M. Spuller, both old comrades of Gambetta's and friends of M. Ferry; two senators of the same shade of opinion, MM. Mazeau and Barbey, took the posts of Justice and the Marine; and M. Ferron, a General of well-known Republican views, went to the War Office. M. Flourens, who had for the past five months guided our foreign relations with so firm and wise a hand, was retained as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The composition of the new Ministry, with its preponderance of the Moderate elements, was greeted by the Radical Press with howls of rage and a flood of calumny. The chosen line of attack was to point to this combination as the result of German pressure and of a compact with the Right. M. Ferry was of course the agent, the instigator, the heart and soul of this infernal plot. M. de Mackan, the president of the Union des Droites, had been seen at the Elysée during the crisis; that was enough; it was clear that the Comte de Paris had concluded an agreement with MM. Grévy and Ferry. It would be idle to discuss the first invention—that of an understanding with Germany. As to the understanding with the Right, we have already indicated how far it goes, and no farther. To accuse a Ministry, composed exclusively of Republicans, of lending itself to a Monarchical policy is simply ridiculous. To accuse it of buying the support of the Right by stipulated concessions is unjust and untrue. The truth is merely this—that the Right and the Moderate Left have, at the same time and by the same circumstances, been led to the conviction that the country is worn out with political discord, with the dissensions of parties and the waste of public money; that it wearies of these quarrels between Monarchists and Republicans, between Clericals and anti-Clericals; that it craves to be allowed to labour in peace, and feel sure of the morrow; and that it will no longer give its vote and its confidence to those who keep it in a state of needless agitation. I am convinced that the so-called coalition of the Right and the United Left is nothing else than the revolt of patriotism and common-sense against the perils, at home and abroad, into which France had been led during the time of the late Ministry, and partly by its fault.

It must be admitted, however, that the situation is somewhat abnormal, and that Republicans may well watch it with some anxiety, for there is one element in it which it is not easy to appreciate—namely, the effect it will produce on the minds of the electors. For my own part, I think the effect will be good: I think that if the present Government can maintain itself in office till the next elections, it will find itself at the head of a very large majority, and that the Right, as well as the Extreme Left, will come out considerably weakened. But it is possible to look at things in a different light, and to imagine that the Right, having now become a Governmental party, and no longer appearing in

the revolutionary attitude it has hitherto sustained, may draw to itself the votes of the Conservative electors, who formerly opposed it because they dreaded a change in the system of government; and that the Moderate Republicans, on the other hand, may throw their weight into the scale of the Advanced Left, for fear of seeming to make common cause with the Right. It may also be said that it is a very dangerous thing to have opened an almost impassable gulf between the Moderate Republicans and the Radicals, since such a rupture must afford an advantage to the enemies of the Republic. I think these fears ungrounded, partly because there is nothing to hinder the Radicals—as many of them have already proved—from supporting the Ministry if they share its conviction that a policy of conciliation is indispensable; and partly because the Monarchists have no chance whatever of seeing their hopes directly fulfilled by a peaceful and orderly return to the Monarchical system. Nothing but the excesses of a demagoguery, an episode of anarchy, and a *coup d'état* could possibly bring back the Monarchy. Neither the electors, nor even the majority of the Right themselves, have any wish to restore the Monarchy from a mere theoretical preference for that form of government. There is infinitely more reason to fear a military despotism—Boulanger's or any one else's—than a Royal restoration. For these reasons, it appears to me that M. Rouvier and his colleagues have acted wisely, courageously, and for the good of the country.

They had a rough beginning; and right gallantly they came out of it. They were hardly in before they had an interpellation to meet. They were accused of being the *protégés* of the Right. M. Rouvier replied that his programme, so far as it concerned the measures before the House—the Army Bill, the Education Bill, &c.—was the programme of the Left; but as to adopting a policy of party provocation, he must decline doing any such thing. For the first time since 1879 a French Minister ventured to say that the Government of France must be the Government of the country and not the Government of a party. M. Rouvier went further: he promised to resign forthwith if it were found that his majority depended on a coalition of the Right and the Left, and that he had not a clear majority of Republican votes. The result of this challenge to the Extreme Left was a brilliant victory for the Government. The Opposition carried no more than some 150 votes. M. Rouvier had a majority of more than 300, of which 180 votes were Republican. Nothing could now overthrow him but a coalition of the Right and the Extreme Left. It was proved that the Government was no *protégé* of the Right; it represented the Republican majority, to the support of which the Right had very sensibly and patriotically rallied. Six weeks later the Extreme Left, taking advantage of some contemptible demonstration of a few Royalists in Jersey, where the Comte de Paris was staying, thought fit to lay a new trap for the Ministry by inviting it to pronounce itself on “the intrigues of the Monarchists and the Clericals.” M. Rouvier and M. Fallières replied in the same strain as before, and were rewarded by a still more striking success. M. Raynal and M. Jules Ferry, speaking in the Isère and the Vosges, professed the same policy still more sturdily; and M. Spuller gave eloquent expression to it at Havre, at Rouen, at St. Quentin, and in Paris.

If the Ministry were victorious in Parliament, they were no less suc-

cessful in dealing with the anticipated street riots which the Boulangist press had predicted and done all it could to provoke. The demonstration at the Lyons railway station on the 8th of July had led to nothing; everybody was disgusted at it; and it did General Boulanger more harm than all the attacks of his enemies or even his own blunders. For the 14th of July, the day of the National Fête, the *Lanterne* and the *Intransigeant* had announced a great popular demonstration against M. Grévy and the Ministry. The demonstration was limited, however, to the howls and hisses of a few bands of *gamins* led by M. Paul Déroulède, who shouted "A bas Ferry! Vive Boulanger!" as the President went by. On the other hand, M. Henri Rochefort got such a hooting that he had to slip away off the platform where he had expected to be greeted with acclaim. The day passed off quite quietly, and the evening fête was the prettiest and most orderly ever known. The Ministers were challenged to show themselves in the provinces, and assured that they would everywhere be mobbed and hooted. They have been to Rouen, to Havre, to Senlis, to St. Quentin, and they have invariably been well received. During the trial at Leipzig, where some hapless Alsacians—and, worse still, one Frenchman, M. Koechlin—were abominably and ridiculously accused of high treason for having belonged to the Ligue des Patriotes, M. Déroulède got up an indignation meeting at the Cirque d'Iliver, which was in fact nothing but a protest against the removal of General Boulanger and a demonstration in his favour. The only result was to evoke a disavowal from all the local committees of the League, to cause an immense number of resignations, and thoroughly to disorganize the society, which might, if it had confined itself to its original programme as a centre of the various associations for drill and rifle practice, have done some good service, but which, when it attempted to meddle in matters involving the foreign policy of the country, could bring nothing but vexation and humiliation to the Government, and more particularly to the luckless Alsace-Lorrainers, by its childish impertinences.

M. Déroulède is not General Boulanger's only Barnum. He has also M. Rochefort—though M. Rochefort seems to be cooling a little; and the *Lanterne*, whose chief editor, M. Meyer, after taking a cudgelling some time ago from the hands of M. Déroulède, whom he had been abusing, made his paper the *Moniteur* of the Ligue des Patriotes; and, above all, M. Laur, a deputy and one of the editors of the *France*, who made a fine thing of his letters from Clermont-Ferrand, describing the General's grief at the ingratitude of his former friends and the magnanimity with which he had repulsed all attempts to urge him to a *coup d'état*. When pressed, however, to make a somewhat more precise statement, M. Laur had nothing to say in support of these inventions of his imagination. Finally, General Boulanger has taken up the cudgels for himself by challenging M. Jules Ferry to a duel for having, in his speech at Epinal, gone so far as to call the General a "St. Arnaud of the café-concert"—a duel which came to nothing through the blood-thirstiness of the General's seconds, who tried to impose conditions so extreme that M. Ferry's friends could not but refuse them. The real aim of the General's partisans is to fill the public eye and ear with their idol, and to keep up by artificial means the senseless infatuation about him, so as to have it ready for the next crisis. But the public tires of this sort of importunate puffing (in French slang they call it a "scie");

and I doubt if there is a single man in France at this moment—not even M. Clémenceau—who would venture to take M. Boulanger for his colleague; and this, not because his name means war, but because it means a Radical Dictatorship.

But while the Government has been carrying on this double warfare, within and without the walls of the Chamber, what has been its course of action since it came into office? What has it done?

In the way of finance, it has not had time to do much. It has, however, drafted a budget for 1888, which, while it makes no change in the general lines of the situation, effects a real saving of about seventy million francs, and an apparent saving of a hundred and twenty-nine. What is perhaps more to the purpose, the Government has shown itself resolved to put an end to the frauds so largely practised by manufacturers, with the connivance—or, to say the least of it, by the wilful negligence—of the Administration, which have robbed the exchequer of sums amounting to something between fifty and a hundred millions. It is proposed also to reduce the number of prefectural councils from eighty-six to twenty-six; and it is possible that means may be found to abolish this useless machinery altogether. In military matters, the Government has succeeded to the onerous legacy left it by General Boulanger—a trial scheme of mobilization which almost all the officers declare to be as useless as it is costly, but which must needs be carried out under penalty of appearing to yield to foreign pressure—and the fatal Recruitment Bill. This Act has been passed by the Chamber with the support of the Government; and both the Government and the Chamber are relying on the Senate to alter it and to change it utterly. We have discussed it often enough in these pages already, and need not go over the ground again. By making it compulsory for all Frenchmen without exception to spend three years with the colours, it must, if it is carried out, put an end to the higher studies in France. But it cannot be carried out. The committee itself saw this, and surreptitiously converted the three years' service into two years' service, by the simple expedient of allowing qualified men to leave at the end of the second year. The Chamber, to make the more sure of its rejection by the Senate, has suppressed this clause, which lightened the pressure of the Act both socially and financially, and insisted on the full three years' service, which is financially impossible and morally disastrous. M. Ferron, while awaiting the completion of this Penelope's web, has had the sense to carry some provisional measures for consolidating our cavalry and infantry; and he is going, in the exercise of his administrative powers, to apply the three years' rule in the case of the men at present under arms, which will diminish the utility of the Act. It is only by measures of detail like this that reforms can be carried in a Parliament so divided as ours is. Any great organic measure is sure to break down half-way, for want of a guiding authority to carry it through.

The Parliamentary system can only work well by means of a compact majority which leaves all initiative to a Ministry taken from its own ranks. In France we are far from reaching this ideal. A democracy founded on universal suffrage is hardly compatible with Parliamentary institutions and political liberty. M. Lafitte has shown this admirably in a substantial little book called "*Le Paradoxe de l'Egalité*." He traces through each separate region—the franchise, the army, public

education, and so forth—this paradox of absolute equality, and shows it to be the outcome of an overweening individualism, and the negation of all real and healthy social order. It may be questioned, moreover, whether the excessive military development which the present position of things in Europe has imposed on this country is compatible with Republican Government. Any war—certainly any successful war—is almost fated to bring in its train a military despotism. Cæsarism is as much the natural form of a military democracy as Swiss or American federalism is the natural form of a liberal democracy. How is France to escape from this dilemma? At any rate, she will, if she is wise, beware of using her army in any other way than to give weight to the representations of her diplomacy.

And what is to be the foreign policy of the present Ministry? We cannot as yet speak with certainty. The malicious accusation brought against M. Rouvier of being the creature of Germany has made his relations with that Power somewhat difficult; and they have been rendered still more so by the attitude of Germany for the last seven months, and especially by the brutality with which she has acted in Alsace, reopening the unhealed wound, and destroying all the results obtained in the annexed provinces by the wise moderation of General Manteuffel. The force of circumstances has brought about a *rapprochement* between France and Russia, and—with the exquisite simplicity which characterizes a portion of the French press—the interested advances of Russia have been taken for the expression of a real and permanent sympathy. These journals have heaped their eulogies on the memory of M. Katkoff, forgetting or ignoring his abhorrence of all our republican and revolutionary ideas, and his Germanizing policy from 1863 to 1871. This friendliness with Russia has increased the misunderstanding which separates France and England. I say misunderstanding, because in my opinion the disposition of England to look on France as an adversary, and to counteract her objects everywhere, is due to diplomatic and sentimental traditions which are altogether blind and ill-considered. England can but be a gainer by any acquisition of strength on our part; and in the matter of Egypt, in particular, she ought to endeavour to find a solution compatible with the honour and the interests of France. She considers that we have treated her with harshness and ill-will in the matter of the Egyptian Convention. She might rather ask herself whether in that Convention she had taken any account at all of the susceptibilities and the reasonable requirements of France. In my opinion we should do well to return to the course pursued by M. Jules Ferry—to refuse to make our foreign policy the tool of that of any other Power, and to endeavour to frame it in accordance with the general interests of Europe. There is room just now for a clear-sighted and resolutely pacific Power to exert a really great and useful diplomatic influence on a situation in which we see Russia and Germany so profoundly disunited, Russia and Austria separated by hostile traditions which it might be possible to modify, and the Triple Alliance as a whole so little disposed to make common cause in matters of the gravest importance. If France possessed a Government capable of far-reaching views and continuous action, she might be of all European countries the one most fit to exercise a real diplomatic influence; for she is perhaps, with the exception of Italy, the one who has least to

fetter her. But she must beware of trusting to anybody's disinterested friendship, and she must guide her policy by other motives than either love or hate. So far, the most obvious result of her new relations with Russia has been to give Russia a free hand in the East. It is easy to see that France has been of use to Russia; it is not so easy to see in what way Russia has been of use to France. However, we must not be unfair; the attitude of Russia may have done something to make Germany recoil from the prospect of a war, as she did in 1875. The full account of that episode of 1875 by General Le Flô, then Ambassador at St. Petersburg, has settled a point of history which till then was known by very few. It is to be regretted that the rivalry between England and Russia, and their selfish preoccupations, did not allow of their perceiving as early as 1870 what they saw clearly enough in 1875—that a powerful France is necessary to the balance of forces in Europe.

But affairs of State, and the apotheosis of General Boulanger, and the Schnaebeli incident, and the Leipzig trial, have not been the only interests of the French public. These last months have been rich in dramatic incidents. There was first the frightful explosion at St. Etienne, then the earthquakes which on Ash Wednesday desolated all the coasts of Provence and Liguria, and carried terror into the midst of those gay little winter colonies which gather every year at Nice and Mentone, to forget under the southern sun the sad realities of winter and of life. Then came the fire at the Opéra Comique, with the loss of a hundred and fifty lives. This fire, which had been foretold some days before from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, was the result of the most unpardonable negligence. It was a great mistake not to deal more severely with those on whom the responsibility lay; but the catastrophe will at any rate have had the effect of enforcing the general adoption of better means of safety, and the use of electricity instead of gas for lighting theatres. Finally, the Pranzini murder occupied for the moment everybody's thoughts and conversation. Accused of the murder of three women, found at Marseilles in possession of the jewels of one of them, and unable to show where he had passed the night of the murder, Pranzini stimulated public curiosity by the obstinacy with which he shut himself up in a system of absolute denial even of the most evident facts. He was a thorough specimen of a Levantine—a man who could speak any number of languages, who had lived in Egypt and travelled in India, handsome and well dressed, educated and attractive enough to seduce women and girls of good position; and with all this, a thief, a liar, and given to the grossest debauchery—a consummate type of conscious and deliberate corruption. His trial afforded an interesting case of criminal psychology, and in many respects deserved the attention it excited.

This crime, the author of which was discovered only by the merest chance, brought the police question into prominence once more. It is quite certain that the number of unpunished crimes has of late been very considerable; and it is quite possible that the weakening of governmental authority has reacted on the humbler departments of the administration. The men have felt themselves imperfectly supported by their chiefs, and have done their work with less zeal. M. Macé, a former head of police, has published three volumes on the police

of Paris, recounting his own exploits and criticising the present system, and at the same time giving some very curious sketches of the criminal classes. The Abbé Moreau, then an ex-chaplain of the Roquette, narrated his experiences in "Le Monde des Prisons." We are trying now to thin the ranks of crime by applying to habitual criminals the punishment of transportation to a penal colony. It will take years to show whether this harsh remedy will have the desired effect. An attempt has also been made to free Paris and its suburbs from the brutal rabble who haunt the race-courses for purposes of gaming and swindling. But the laudable efforts of M. Goblet against the bookmakers met with a formidable opposition on behalf of customs already rooted, and he was obliged to relax the severity of his original propositions.

We must also place among the sensational events of these last months the representation of "Lohengrin," which was to have been simply an artistic solemnity, but which the stupidity of a few blackguards and the malice of a few agitators almost converted into a political crisis. "Lohengrin" was to have been played last year at the Opéra Comique; but M. Carvalho was obliged to give way before the threats of a formidable cabal. Some persons, whose patriotism consists in trying to incarcerate France within a sort of Chinese wall, and condemning her to know nothing of what passes outside, maintained that it was not proper for a theatre subsidized by the State to play anything by an author who during the war of 1870 had thought fit to make game of the Parisians in his silly little farce of "The Siege of Paris." A certain number of composers, who saw with disgust that Wagner's music was bidding fair to hold the place they had reckoned on for themselves, secretly encouraged the opposition. Nevertheless, the number of Wagner's admirers in Paris is very great indeed. There is not a classical concert where his works do not form the chief attraction. M. Lamoureux, in particular, has had whole acts of "Lohengrin," "Parsifal," and "Tristan and Iseult" performed by his magnificent orchestra with splendid success. M. Lamoureux's object in forming this orchestra—which is now the first in Paris, ranking even above that of the Conservatoire—was to create a theatre where the representation of the operatic works of Wagner, Berlioz, and other modern musicians, both French and foreign, should be carried in every point to the highest possible perfection. "Lohengrin" having been dropped by M. Carvalho, M. Lamoureux resolved to take it up himself at the Eden Theatre, and he set to work at it with his usual determination and artistic thoroughness. But ill-luck dogs every attempt at producing Wagner's music in France. The heated feeling against Germany which prevailed in the beginning of the year was turned against M. Lamoureux by the rivals who dreaded his competition, and this ill-will found expression in the newspapers in covert insinuations and indirect attacks. Just at the moment when the perturbation of feeling had settled down, and everything was ready for "Lohengrin," the Schnaebéle affair broke out; and, much to his private disadvantage, M. Lamoureux had the good feeling to postpone the performance *sine die*; nor did he resume his project till M. Schnaebéle had been set at liberty. The concluding rehearsal and the first performance were a complete triumph. Finer decorations and more extraordinary singers may have been seen and heard elsewhere; but never had Paris witnessed a performance so perfect as a whole. Even in

Germany the orchestral and choral execution has never been brought to such a point of finish. The victory seemed won; but no; there were the riot-mongers to reckon with. Two or three journals—*La France*, *La Revanche*, *La Lanterne*—obeying I know not what secret suggestion or word of command, called on the mob to put an end by its violence to an artistic achievement which was doing honour to our country. From the very first night a brawling crowd beset the doors, and insulted, under the indulgent eyes of the police, all who came out of the theatre. Next day, though no performance was going on, they again came hooting at the doors, and threatening to attack the German Embassy. The journals promised worse things for the night of the next performance. M. Lamoureux was not disposed to take the responsibility of a riot which might lead to international consequences, and he gave way. Thus it appears that two or three scandalous newspapers and a handful of rioters—and, we must add, the incompetence of the authorities who should have maintained order—have been able to deprive Paris of the enjoyment of an incomparable work, and to disappoint M. Lamoureux of his ambition to found a high-art theatre in France. These self-styled patriots have simply covered their country with ridicule, and served no one but its enemies. Sympathy has not been wanting for the gallant manager, who has lost two or three hundred thousand francs in this generous attempt. Some day yet he may be able to resume his broken task. Truth and common-sense always have the best of it in the long run, if only they are backed up by pluck and perseverance.

As to the Opéra Comique, it seems to have had nothing but ill-luck since it gave up "Lohengrin." The "Proserpine" of M. de Saint-Saëns, though it has all the great qualities of that master-symphonist, did not succeed in "drawing" the public; and the unequal and eccentric work of M. Chabrié, "Le Roi l'a dit," was having but a moderate success, when costumes, decorations, and all the rest, became the prey of the fire. M. de Saint-Saëns has been a little compensated for the cold reception of his "Proserpine" by the very great success of the symphony performed at the Conservatoire during the winter.

The prose theatre has had no striking success since "Francillon"; but we must not pass without notice M. Theuriet's deliciously written and charming idyll of "Raymonde," given at the Théâtre Français; nor M. Barbier's "Vincenette," at the same theatre—a clever and vigorous adaptation of M. Jean Aicard's fine poem, "Miette et Nore"; nor M. Daudet's "Numa Roumestan," which has been deservedly successful at the Odéon. The "Arlésienne," the "Sapho," and the "Numa Roumestan" of M. Daudet, together with the more powerful but less attractive pieces of M. Becque, are perhaps the most original dramatic efforts produced in France of late years. M. Daudet puts on the stage characters which fit into none of the recognised types of the modern drama: he makes them act without any regard to what the audience is accustomed to; he ventures on a finer and more intimate study of them than is commonly judged conducive to stage effect; he despises the traditional *denouement*; in short, he brings to his work both more realism and more fancy than his fellows do. If he has not a high degree of dramatic power, he has warmth and life; and he has this supreme distinction—that his people are all real and all interesting.

M. Zola, on the other hand, who in the theatre as elsewhere considers himself the apostle of realism, betrays in his dramatic pieces the real poverty and feebleness of his invention. In a novel he can give free course to his marvellous powers of description; on the stage he cannot describe, he can only make people act, and he must have real live people to do it. But this is just where M. Zola fails; he produces nothing but what is at once vulgar and false, and sinks into the crudest and dullest of melodrama. It takes all the splendour of the scenery to veil the poverty of the piece. His two experiments of last winter, the "*Ventre de Paris*" and "*Renée*," were not fortunate, and the second the less so. M. Zola thought fit to lay the blame on the critics, and violently attacked M. Sarcey in an article in which he pronounced himself a great dramatist as well as a great novelist.

This inordinate vanity must end by damaging even the talents he has. Already there are not wanting those who prefer M. Guy de Maupassant, a better writer and a finer observer. His last story, "*Mont-Oriol*," is at once a love story and a picture of life at a watering-place in the Auvergne. The landscape is painted in with that broad, sober, decisive touch familiar to the readers of M. de Maupassant; and his personages stand out in powerful relief, especially those of the second rank. The wily old peasant, Père Oriol, is a creation you cannot forget. The principal characters are less patiently studied; and here again we find that pessimist conception of life and men which gives so sad a stamp to M. de Maupassant's work; but if the hero of the love affair is a worthless fellow, the heroine at least is not without a touching grace, and her character strikes an emotional chord which is absent from the works of M. Zola.

Amongst the other works of imagination we have before us we must notice first of all that of a *débutant* in literature—a young engineer, M. Marcel Prévost. His "*Scorpion*" is a very vigorous delineation of the moral conflicts of a young priest, driven against his will, partly by circumstances and partly by the influence of a friend, to enter the Order of Jesuits. An old pupil himself in the Jesuit establishment in the Rue des Postes, M. Prévost describes it with impartial fidelity. It is this impartiality which gives its peculiar character to the novel. The clerical life is depicted with force and freedom, and without the slightest prejudice for or against. The style is as yet that of a beginner, occasionally awkward and incorrect; but it has force and originality, and it is without affectation. M. A. Theuriet gives one of his best novels, "*L'Affaire Froideville*," to the describing of the ways and manners of Government officials. M. Theuriet has been an official himself for many years, and he has taken his scenes from the life. "*Le Cavalier Miserey*," a study of garrison life by M. Hermant, runs down into caricature, and is too much an imitation of Daudet and Zola. It is full of faithful and minute detail, but it is wearisome and lifeless, and without real interest. With M. de Bonnières and M. G. Duruy we leave the novel of mere observation for the novel of character and imagination. The "*Jeanne Avril*" of the former is a very subtle and true analysis of an exquisite girl's character. M. Duruy's "*L'Unisson*" is the best thing that has yet been done by this young writer. The *bourgeoise* girl, with her practicality and her worldliness, and her dreamy, sentimental, chivalrous husband, are realized with great penetration; and the

slow process by which the two are first estranged and then gradually draw near each other again, to end in perfect unison, is told with infinite grace and sweetness. M. Duruy is now master of his pen, and may take his place among our best novelists.

But how the interest of fiction pales before that of real life, when by chance it is given us to see a living soul laid bare! It is this pleasure, so different and so intense, which melts us as we read the two volumes of the journal of Mdlle. Baschkirtseff, the young Russian artist, taken from us some two years ago, when her powers and her reputation were just beginning to be established. It was no common nature, that of this young Russian, who from her childhood had been dreaming great things, whom between thirteen and seventeen we find aspiring to an ideal love for a rich, noble, and heroic being, and who, from seventeen upwards, has no ardour left except for fame. The fame of the singer attracts her first; then the more durable fame of the artist. She flings herself into the study with reckless enthusiasm, and literally kills herself with work—or rather, perhaps, it was the fervid soul burning its way through the flesh. Meanwhile, this girl, who had travelled all over Europe, and who knew all the languages, even the dead ones, was keeping a voluminous journal, in which, with absolute sincerity, she put down everything—all her thoughts, her feelings, her vaguest aspirations. The journal is in its way a unique piece of documentary evidence on the feminine mind. You find in it “interiors” worthy of Tolstoï, bursts of eloquence worthy of Rousseau, and a power, description, and analysis that might rival Daudet’s; but all with a marked personal accent of her own. The concluding pages—the account of her relations with Bastien Lepage, ill like herself, and the story of her own illness—are extremely beautiful. They have a sort of touching, indescribable sweetness, which is wanting in the rest of the journal, with its impetuous passion and heat.

Another history of a soul—a far less simple and more literary soul—is to be found in the correspondence of Flaubert. He, too, was a singularly precocious young person. At eight years of age he was busy writing stories and plays, and at thirteen he had read everything, and was beginning to be *blasé*. Nevertheless, the boy-*blasé* of thirteen remained an enthusiast to the end of his days, a worshipper of art, of his mother, his sister, and his friends, and the oddest possible mixture of wild brutality and æsthetic aspirations. His love-letters to Mme.* Louise Colet in this volume are absolute masterpieces. His characteristic style is there in all its purity and harmony, and with a freedom, warmth, and abundance which was not possible to him in his published works, from his exaggerated idea of the impersonality of art. This great writer was all his life trying to minimize himself and to freeze himself up. He had friends about him who exercised over him the most unfortunate influence—the Goncourts in particular, whose journal has come out at the same time with his letters. The Goncourts represent that type of literary men which is resolved to be nothing but literary, which makes an idol of its pen, and dedicates itself to the service of literature as the hermit to the service of God. These men are neither citizens, nor lovers, nor friends; on the 2nd of December 1851, when the liberties of France were dying under the heels of the soldiery, the only thing they thought of was that their book could not come out; they

abominate Nature because she is natural and not literary; in art their preference is for elegant trifles, and in literature for style as style. Reading this journal would make one ready to hate literature and all things literary, if one did not reflect how very small a place the Goncourts have in it. They have had a great and a malign influence, nevertheless, and no future historian of French society can ignore them. Their journal gives significant proof of the moral depravity in which such an exclusive devotion to art may land the devotee.

But the school to which the Goncourts belonged—the school of the Gautiers, the Banvilles, the Baudelaires, the school of art for its own sake—has had its day. This is proved by the severity with which the critics fell upon Baudelaire when his journal and unpublished works were brought out by M. Crépet. This end of the century is beset with too grave cares to amuse itself with the frivolous pastimes and selfish pursuits in which the literary Sybaritism of the Second Empire took its pleasure. History gains by this redoubled earnestness of mind; and we have, as always, several remarkable works to notice in this department. M. Taine stirred up a profound sensation in the spring by contributing to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a portrait of Napoleon I., which will form a part of the last volume of his great work, “*Les Origines de la France Contemporaine*.” The portrait is one of the most powerful productions of this powerful mind. It is made up of an infinite number of instances, of testimonies, of details, brought together with extraordinary patience and erudition; but all this mass of material is disposed, arranged, co-ordinated with a force of concentration and of living passion which makes the whole thing glow with vivid colour and enchanting eloquence. This all-learned, philosophic, scientific analysis is the most overwhelming of indictments. Never has Napoleon been judged with such crushing severity. His genius is represented in all its force and grandeur, but not a single moral virtue appears to ennoble this purely intellectual greatness. Napoleon is nothing but a *condottiere*, who sacrifices everything present and future to the gratification of his selfish instincts and his lust of fame. M. Taine’s verdict is too absolute, he does not take sufficient account of dates, and there are some aspects of the work and the man with which he deals too slightly; but when every deduction is made, his Napoleon is the true Napoleon, and will be, with small modification, the Napoleon of history.

M. Chuquet’s “*History of the Campaign of 1792*” offers a more consoling spectacle. In these three volumes—the Invasion, Valmy, and the Retreat of Brunswick—M. Chuquet has vividly reproduced that memorable campaign, which owes its greatness, however, less to the events themselves than to the spirit which animated the combatants and the consequences which it entailed. It is wonderful with what skill he gives an interest, as of things actually seen, to his accounts of strategical movements, how he resuscitates all the actors in the drama, and sets them up upon their feet with all their old dead passions and ideas. When you have read these three volumes you feel as if you had lived in those days.

In M. Rothan, with his work on “*France and her Foreign Policy in 1867*,” we have to do with an eye-witness and almost a participator in the action. Little by little M. Rothan is giving us the whole history of the preliminaries of the Franco-German War, and striking the wretched balance of the blunders, the illusions, and the sins of the imperial policy

He has the better right to do so because from his post at Frankfort he was unsparing of advice and admonition to the Ministers of the day. But, like the prophecies of Cassandra, which seemed only to impel the victim towards the fate which awaited him, the warnings of M. Rothan only excited the Government to an anti-Prussian policy, without inducing it to take any of the measures which might have prepared it for the contest. Having brought before us in his two former volumes the negotiations which preceded and followed Sadowa, and the whole affair of Luxemburg, M. Rothan gives these two new volumes to the Paris and Salzburg interviews in 1867, and the lamentable adventure of Mentana, which was to alienate Italy from us for many a long year. M. Rothan adds to his diplomatic experience the philosophic temper of the historian in the best sense of the word; and he writes well. His book has already received the most flattering of all tributes: the author, an Alsatian by birth, and accustomed to spend some part of every year on his Alsatian estate, was brutally expelled from it some two years ago. Prince Bismarck confessed that he had struck home.

M. Boutmy's book on "The Development of the English Constitution and of Political Society in England" will, we hope on both sides of the Channel, meet with the success due to a work which has been long preparing, and which is both carefully and boldly written. M. Boutmy is one of the most distinguished thinkers of the day. He looks like a dreamer; but he has in a very unusual degree the gift of action. He has created an establishment for the higher education which does honour to the country, the *Ecole des Sciences Politiques*—one of the very few institutions in France which owe their origin entirely to private enterprise. He wrote a charming book some time ago on Greek architecture; and this book on England seems to us the most luminous and solid account there is of the development of the English Constitution. Frenchmen may learn from it why it was that feudalism, which produced liberty in England, produced despotism in France; and how the very strength of the royal prerogative in England led to the limitations which have been imposed upon it; while Englishmen may see how the abandonment of the principles and usages which in the Middle Ages prevented the nobility from ever becoming an exclusive caste, brought about in the eighteenth century the formation of a landed oligarchy, while the progress of industry was creating a new English people opposed to the habits and interests of that oligarchy. Nowhere have I seen explained with such force and clearness the causes of the political uneasiness from which England is at present suffering. The author is a friend of English institutions, and his book will, I feel sure, be valued in England by all thoughtful and unprejudiced minds.

English readers will also appreciate a collection of critical biographies of the "Great French Writers" which Hachettes are just bringing out under the editorship of M. Jusserand, in imitation of the English series, "English Men of Letters." M. Jusserand is well known in England by his work on the "English Theatre down to Shakespeare," and his "Routes and Nomads of the Fourteenth Century." He has also just published a volume on "English Romance in the Time of Shakespeare"; and he is now completing a "History of English Literature." Three volumes of the new series have already appeared—a very clever sketch of Victor Cousin by M. Jules Simon, a charming essay on

Mme. de Sévigné by M. G. Boissier, and a little work on Montesquieu by M. Albert Sorel, which, brief as it is, is both complete and profound. Soon we may look for Turgot by M. L. Say, and Georges Sand by M. Caro.

This sketch of Georges Sand must have been the last labour of M. Caro. He is dead, in the prime of his life and the midst of his work, worn out by the double strain of literary and social life. Not that his life was stained by any irregularities; but M. Caro was the most brilliant of talkers; he was everywhere sought for in elegant society; he had made himself for years past the adviser of the ladies, a sort of lay director of consciences; he was asked to all the entertainments, all the dinners, all the "first nights," and he could not bring himself to stay away. In addition to all this, he poured himself out in his lectures, warm, eloquent, delightful, and these he kept up without a failure to the very end. And he published books upon books. It was not possible to keep pace with such an expenditure of vital force. Yet the books he leaves behind him will do little to account for his brilliant reputation. His genius had more surface than depth, his style more amplitude than solidity. His best book is the one on Goethe's philosophy; and he did not know German. His most ambitious book, the one on "The Idea of God," is less philosophic than rhetorical. The thing that most touches one about M. Caro, apart from his geniality and his personal charm, is the eager interest he took in social and moral problems. He was always endeavouring by word and pen to fight against evil and to do good. He only ought not to have let himself be spoilt by the adulation of women of the world, who were all the while laughing in their sleeves at his simplicity. If he had been a little more on his guard against them, he would not have had to suffer the annoyance of being put on the stage by M. Pailleron in "*Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie*," and he might still be teaching us by voice and pen.

At the same time that the University was lamenting the death of M. Caro the world of art had its own losses to deplore. M. Guillaumet, the poetic and emotional painter of Eastern manners and of Algerian landscape, put an end by a tragic suicide to the secret drama of his life. M. de Ronchard, the Director-General of Museums, a man of deep artistic feeling and of the noblest character, who had given us quite lately an exquisite essay on the Parthenon and a volume of poetry, also died suddenly. He will be difficult to replace, for if he had not all the energy to be desired in an administrator, he had in the highest degree the authority of commanding talents and character. The national museums have certainly made great progress under his direction; and this has been especially due to the care with which he chose his subordinates. Little by little the *personnel* of our museums will come to consist entirely of competent men, who are at once scholars and artists. We have only to look at what M. Reinach has done at St. Germain, in the little time he has had there, to learn how much may be gained by a judicious selection of persons.

Art holds so high a place in France that the management of our museums becomes a very serious matter, since they form one of the most important branches of public instruction. All that can be done in this direction will be thoroughly appreciated by the public. People in France care more for painting than for poetry. How many Frenchmen

are there who know that M. François Coppée has produced a very pretty volume of verse called "*Arrière-Saison*"? How many are there who do *not* know, and have not an opinion of their own on, the picture which took the medal at the last Salon?

The real lovers of painting care less for a miscellaneous picture-fair like the Salon, than for those other collections which exhibit the works of a single painter or a single group of painters. This spring we have had the privilege of seeing the works of M. Millet, the painter of peasants, the man who has best understood the life of the fields, with its prose and its poetry, and who has best known how to reconcile the classical feeling for design with the most scrupulous reverence for fact. Nobody's skies are so transparent, so luminous as his; there is something mystic, almost religious, in these diffused and golden sunshines, half veiled in cloud. The genius of Millet owed nothing to any one except himself and Nature, which he loved; and he is great among the greatest. A great heart made him a great artist.

At the Water-Colour Exhibition we find another painter of peasant life, less poetical, no doubt, than Millet, but robust and honest, and an unrivalled draughtsman—M. L'hermitte. His oil paintings are a little crude and spotty; but his water-colour and charcoal drawings are superlative. Next to his, the best water-colours were M. Yon's. His landscape colouring is very sweet and bright.

At the International Exhibition another landscape painter—a real poet this time—M. Cazin, held the first place. He strikes always the same notes, always muffled and cautious; but then he modulates and groups them with such consummate skill; he is so thoroughly master of his effects, and he speaks to the very soul. Alongside of M. Cazin there were popular scenes by Raffaelli (the Raphael of the suburban tavern), who has brought some curious studies from London; pictures by two Swedish artists of very brilliant and original powers, Edelfelt and Heyderdahl, and the great Norwegian sea-painter, Kroeyer; and some etchings by that eccentric portrait-painter, Whistler—etchings as clear and precise as his portraits are dim and sombre, and giving ample testimony to his marvellous faculty of design. M. Rodin also contributed a few designs in the rough, in which one recognized the bold chisel of that eminent sculptor.

The Salon has been unusually interesting this year, but not for the sake of M. Cormon's big canvas, "*The Victors of Salamis*," which took the medal of honour. This is a very commonplace affair, such as we should hardly have expected from an artist to whom we owe so much strong and original work. Nevertheless, there was one historical painting of the first class there—the "*Rebels of Cassel entreating the Pardon of Philip the Good in the Marshes of St. Omer*," by M. Tattégtrain. This is an historical spectacle that might compare with the finest pages of Michelet. The painter has so seen the spectacle, with its background of dreary landscape, that he has done it as if from the life. This is the true realism of art—historical, emotional, dramatic realism. M. Tattégtrain has dramatic feeling in the very highest degree; and he has, besides, the gift of seeing broadly and justly. His composition is never what you expected; it takes you by surprise; and yet you say, "*This is how it must have been.*" We knew he was a good painter before this picture; we must now, I think, admit that he is a great

painter. Are we to say the same of M. Besnard, who goes on producing now a good picture and then an absurdity without seeming to know which is which? His great decorative panel, "The Evening of Life," is one of the good pictures. The old couple seated at their threshold, lashed by the wind which brings the last leaves whirling down, and looking far away to the mysterious stars, are as touching and poetic figures as ever were put upon canvas. Opposite M. Besnard, M. Puvis de Chavannes exhibited one of his great allegorical compositions, noble and elevated as always, and intended for the new Sorbonne. Amongst the rising men who have made their mark this year I may mention M. Tanzi, who sent a vigorous portrait of M. Richepin, and also a landscape piece—a pool in the midst of a thicket of wood—the execution of which was wonderfully perfect. It was one of the best landscapes in the room, though both M. Japy and M. Damoye had painted their best. I may mention also M. Fourié, a young realistic painter—too realistic perhaps; but there is a good deal of truth and cheerfulness and light and action in his "Wedding at Yport." But I prefer those painters who know how to find their poetical effects in the common subjects of daily life. This is the case with M. Rixens, whose "Ironfounders" are men of magnificent mould; and with Mme. Desmont Breton, whose picture, "Bread," lends to a simple scene in a baker's shop the significance of an allegory of human life. Another thing that one remarked at the last Salon was that the medical schools were furnishing subjects to the painters. M. Brouillet sent a very bad Dr. Charcot among his patients in the Salpêtrière; M. Gervex a very remarkable Dr. Péan giving a lesson in his method of tying the arteries; and M. Laurent Gsell a very good picture representing M. Pasteur performing an inoculation with his anti-rabid vaccine. This pursuit of fact has nothing artistic about it. Still, our painters do well to try new paths. Real life is not without its artistic inspiration, if only they can find it. Millet and L'hermitte found it among their peasants; but it is rather in the workshop of the mechanic than in the dissecting-room and the surgical amphitheatre that such inspirations are likely to be found.

G. MONOD.

CONTEMPORARY RECORD.

* ORIENTAL HISTORY.

THE most interesting discovery made in the Oriental world since the beginning of the year is that of a series of Phœnician tombs about three-quarters of a mile to the north-east of Sidon. The discovery was accidentally made last February by a rich Mohammedan of the town, who reported it to the Turkish officials. Hamdi-Bey, the learned Director of the Museum at Constantinople, was accordingly sent to the spot to make further excavations, and to convey what was found to the Museum in Stamboul.

Like the Sidonian tombs opened by M. Renan some years ago, the newly discovered tombs are approached by a long shaft sunk through the rock. The first shaft found leads into four chambers. That to the east contained two white marble sarcophagi, on one of which a funeral procession is carved in the Greek style. That to the south also contained two sarcophagi, one of black basalt, the other of white marble. The latter is one of the rare sarcophagi termed Lycian, of which seven were previously known to exist. At the four extremities of the sarcophagus are seated two Greek sphinxes, winged and with human heads, and opposite to them two griffins with the heads of birds. The sides of the sarcophagus are ornamented with the figures of centaurs, as well as with the representation of a wild-boar hunt, and of two chariots driven by Amazons. The heads of the horses offer a magnificent example of Greek workmanship. The chamber to the west, which contained only a single sarcophagus of white marble in the form of a mummy, opened into a second chamber of larger size which served as the receptacle for four more sarcophagi. One of these is richly sculptured and painted, the famous purple of Tyre being especially conspicuous among the colours. The four faces of the sarcophagus are occupied by two subjects, each admirable specimens of Greek art. One represents a battle between Greeks and Persians, the Greeks being nude and the Persians clothed as in the well-known Pompeian mosaic of the battle of Issus. At the extremities of the tableau are the two chief personages of the scene, seated on horseback, one of them, richly clothed, being perhaps intended for the Sidonian prince, while the other, with his beautiful Greek head and lion's skin, reminds us of Alexander the Great. The four angles of the lid of the sarcophagus are adorned with lions.

The chamber to the north contained two sarcophagi, one of them

being in the shape of a mummy like the Phœnician sarcophagi now in the Museum of Palermo. Underneath this chamber were two others containing five sarcophagi, on one of which is a representation of a prince, stretched on his funeral bed. On his head is an Assyrian cap, while offerings of food and wine are being made to him, and a weeping woman is seated at his feet.

All these chambers had been entered and rifled in Roman times. Hamdi-Bey, however, had the good fortune to find yet another chamber with a sarcophagus of black marble in the form of a mummy which had escaped the early violators of the tomb, and contained the remains of a woman and a golden diadem. He had the still greater good fortune to discover a second shaft, six metres to the north of the first, leading into a large chamber, the rock walls of which were encrusted with stucco. In one of its corners he found two tall candelabra of bronze, with the stems ending in flowers. The floor of the chamber was formed of three layers of huge stones, and underneath them was an enormous monolith, measuring ten cubic metres, cut out of the rock and enshrining a magnificent sarcophagus of black stone carved into the likeness of a mummy. The carving, however, is Egyptian, and the hieroglyphics with which the sides of the sarcophagus are covered show that it originally belonged to an Egyptian of the age of the twenty-sixth dynasty. It had subsequently been transported to Sidon, there to serve as the last resting-place of a prince who had recorded his name in a Phœnician inscription at its foot. The mummy of the prince himself, partially decomposed, was found inside the sarcophagus by the explorers, along with a diadem of gold. The mummy had been placed in a coffin of sycamore-wood, furnished on either side with six silver rings. The inscription, of which photographs and squeezes have been sent to Paris, reads as follows: "I, Tabnit, priest of Ashtoreth and king of Sidon, son of Eshmunazar, priest of Ashtoreth and king of Sidon, lying in this tomb, say: Come not to open my tomb; there is neither gold nor silver nor treasure (here). He who shall open my tomb shall enjoy no prosperity under the sun, and shall find no rest in his own sepulchre." Tabnit was the father of Eshmunazar II., whose sarcophagus was discovered at Sidon by M. Renan, and is now in the Louvre, and he is perhaps the Tennês of Diodorus Siculus, who betrayed his city to Artaxerxes Ochus, and was afterwards put to death by the conqueror.

The sarcophagi have been conveyed by sea to Constantinople, their deportation having been accomplished without accident. The vessel conveying them stopped on its way at Beyrût and Mylassa, in order to receive on board other antiquities for the Museum, including a stone covered with curious characters not unlike the Hittite hieroglyphics.

The work done by Messrs. Naville and Griffith during the past spring on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund has not been of such general interest as that to which we had been accustomed in former years. At Tel-el-Yehudîyeh, "the Mound of the Jews," where the remains of the temple of Onias were in all probability discovered in 1870, a necropolis was excavated which proved to be of Jewish origin. Names like Eleazar and "Barchias the son of Barchias," were found among the Greek epitaphs, and we may now consider it to be clearly proved that the site is that of the city in which the Jews of Egypt

saw the "City of Righteousness" of Isaiah xix. 18. In another necropolis of earlier date, which cannot be later than the beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty, Mr. Griffith found a vase of the Mykenæan type. The discovery may throw light on the period down to which pottery of the kind continued to be used. Tel-el-Yehudiyyeh, however, turned out on the whole to be a disappointment, which was compensated by Mr. Naville's subsequent explorations in the mounds of Bubastis close to Zagazig. Here he has disinterred the remains of a magnificent temple—that of Pasht the cat-headed goddess—which go back to the time of the sixth dynasty, though the chief monuments belong to the reign of Ramses II. As no traces of the eighteenth dynasty have been met with either here or at Sân, Mr. Naville has suggested that the Delta still remained under the domination of the Hyksos throughout the period during which the dynasty lasted. The suggestion, however, cannot be reconciled with historical probability. The conquests of Thothmes III. in Asia would have been an impossibility in such a case, and the account of the final expulsion of the Hyksos given by "Captain" Ahmes at El-Qab leaves no room for a continuation of their rule in the Delta. That Sân, the Hyksos capital, should have lain in ruins while the kings of the eighteenth dynasty were reigning at Thebes, is easily intelligible.

It is not very creditable to English archæology, that while a few private individuals should have done so much towards throwing light on the obscurities of Egyptian history, less than nothing should have been effected by the English Government for the interests of science in that treasure-house of archæology, the neighbouring island of Cyprus. It is in Cyprus, if anywhere, that the problems presented by early Greek archæology will find their solution; and yet since our occupation of the island, not only has no attempt at systematic excavation been made, but foreign Governments, who might have undertaken the work, have been prevented from doing so. Such discoveries as have taken place have been made by private individuals, often working illegally and in secret, and seldom, if ever, possessed of the means or the knowledge requisite for that systematic exploration which alone is of service to the historian. Had it not been for the fortunate presence of a German, Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, in the island, our knowledge of Cyprian archæology would have been as scanty and misleading as it was ten years ago. Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter, however, has devoted himself enthusiastically to a work which ought to have been undertaken by Englishmen; besides excavating himself, he has kept a careful watch over the excavations which have been carried on by others during the last half-dozen years. The result of his labours has been not only the discovery of several important archaic sites, but the introduction of order and arrangement into the archæology of a country where all before was chaos. He has succeeded in assigning definite periods to the tombs and objects found in different parts of the island, and has thus furnished us at last with a criterion for deciding what is really to be considered as belonging to the Phœnician epoch. Many of the Cyprian vases quoted as Phœnician by Professor Perrot, in his magnificent volume on Phœnician art, now turn out to belong to an age earlier than that when the Phœnicians first settled in Cyprus.

Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter divides the archæological history of the island.

into two main periods, the Pre-Phœnician and the Phœnician. The first period is characterized as an age of bronze, or rather copper, since the bronze contains less than its proper amount of tin. Iron was unknown, while on the other hand the age of stone was already passed. Swords and lamps, candelabra and scarabs, porcelain and glass, all belong to a later epoch. The art of the period is represented by a few rude idols and hand-made pottery, imported varnished vases of the Mykenæan type first making their appearance at its close. The period is again subdivided by Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter into three others, beginning with that of the Hittites, who buried with their dead what he terms "milking-cups" with perforated rims, as well as "table-services" of earthenware, sometimes adorned with figures of doves or of a god and goddess. The ornamentation of the pottery consisted partly of incised lines, often filled in with white chalk, partly of objects modelled in relief. It is not until we come to the second subdivision that we meet with painted decorations as well as cylinders, which must have been imported from Babylonia. Sargon of Accad, whose date is now known to be as remote as B.C. 3800, crossed over to Cyprus at the close of one of his campaigns against Syria, and a cylinder bearing the name of his son and successor, Naram-Sin, was found by General di Cesnola in the island. These cylinders soon began to be imitated by native artists, though very imperfectly. The principal settlement of this early epoch seems to have been on the site of Nikosia; at all events it is in the ancient necropolis of Agi Paraskevi, close by, that Dr. Richter has discovered the most important remains of it. The third subdivision is one of transition leading on to the Phœnician age, when the "swastika" first appears upon the pottery; the goddess worshipped by the natives is represented naked in the Babylonian style, and horses, palms, composite animals, rosettes, sacred trees, and the symbol of the Paphian Aphrodite begin to be depicted on the cylinders. The older engravers contented themselves with disks and crescents, snakes and bulls, deer and moufflons, to which must be added the bull's head.

With the arrival of the Phœnicians in Cyprus a new era of art and industry began. The bronze spear-heads were provided with a tube into which the shaft fitted, instead of being tied or nailed to it as was previously the case: the double-headed axe of Asia Minor was introduced; and the lentoid gems or "Inselsteine" of Milchhöfer, which have been found in various parts of the Ægean, were manufactured in the island. In these gems Greek influence makes itself strongly felt, while Egyptian porcelain shows that trade was carried on with the Delta. The cylinder gradually became a cone, the under surface of which was alone engraved. The worship of the Paphian Astarte, with her doves and sacred symbol, spread widely, and an art grew up in which Greek and Phœnician elements were combined together. Gradually, however, the Greek element obtained the upperhand, and had it not been for the disasters of the Persian wars Cyprus might have produced a school of Greek sculpture worthy of taking its place by the side of those of the mainland.

The fourth volume of the magnificent "*Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*,"* by Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez, is now completed. The

* Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1887.

first half of the volume deals with the art of Sardinia and Judæa, the second half with that of the Hittites. Everything relating to the latter that is at present known has been brought together and marshalled into order with exhaustive learning and critical ability. Professor Perrot was the first to bring to Europe accurate drawings and photographs of the Hittite monuments at Eyuk and Boghaz Keui; he was also the first to point out in detail their characteristic features and resemblance to the famous image of the Pseudo-Sesostris near Smyrna. His conclusions differ from my own in one point only; he believes that Hittite culture spread rather from northern Syria than from Kappadokia, as I have maintained. The new series of monuments discovered by the German Expedition certainly goes to show that he is right in regarding the art of Kappadokia as belonging to a later and more developed period than that of the earliest known monuments south of the Taurus. But the exact relations between the two districts in the Hittite era will be finally determined only when we have succeeded in deciphering the hieroglyphics which accompany most of the monuments.

Such success has not attended Captain Conder's attempt in his "*Altaic Hieroglyphs and Hittite Inscriptions*,"* where he endeavours to explain the Hittite inscriptions by the help of Accadian. The Accadian words, however, which form the basis of his decipherment are incorrect, and it is therefore not surprising if the superstructure erected upon them proves to be unsatisfactory.

Professor Maspero has given us a charming volume on Egyptian archæology,† a subject upon which he is better qualified to speak than any other living scholar. The book supplies a want; we have books on Egyptian history, Egyptian religion, and Egyptian literature, but with the exception of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's "*Ancient Egyptians*" none which describes to us the everyday life of ancient Egypt. Professor Maspero is not only armed with the latest monumental information, his excavations have also made him practically acquainted with the objects which the Egyptians buried with their dead, or painted on the walls of their tombs. The traveller on the Nile will no longer be able to plead any excuse for his ignorance of early Egyptian architecture and art, or the objects of household use which he may buy from the natives.

Of my own Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians,‡ I can only say that they are an attempt for the first time to give a systematic account of Chaldean religion and to trace its development from the earliest epoch of which we know down to the age of Nabonides and Cyrus. Its close relation in so many points to the religion of the Israelites may excite the interest of students of the Old Testament.

A. H. SAYCE.

* London: Bentley & Son. 1887. I have entered into a detailed criticism of the book in the *Academy* of May 21.

† "*L'Archéologie Égyptienne*." Paris: Maison Quantin. 1887. A translation into English is being prepared by Miss Edwards.

‡ "*Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*," being the Hibbert Lectures for 1887. London: Williams & Norgate. 1887.

AFGHAN LIFE IN AFGHAN SONGS.

ON the night of the 7th of April 1886 (Wednesday, 11 P.M.), as I was sitting in the garden of my bungalow at Peshawer, gazing at the stars and the silver moon, &c. &c., I heard my Afghan *chaukidar*,* old Piro, of the Khalil tribe, muttering in a broken voice fragments of a song that sounded like a love-song. I asked him to repeat the song to me; this he modestly declined to do for a long time, but at last he gave way, and began:

“My love is gone to Dekhan, and has left me alone:

I have gone to him to entreat him.

‘What is it to me that thou shouldst become a Raja at Azrabad?’†

I seized him by the skirt of his garment and said: ‘Look at me!’”

Here old Piro stopped, and neither for love nor for money could I prevail upon him to go on: his *répertoire* was exhausted. But my interest had been awakened, and from that night I resolved to collect what I could of the Afghan popular poetry; the field was new and unexplored: English people in India care little for Indian songs.

I had gone to the border to study the Afghan language and literature, but I had soon to recognize that the so-called Afghan literature is hardly worth the trouble of a journey from Paris to Peshawer. It consists mainly of imitations and translations from the Persian, Arabic, and Hindustani. For a time, under the Moguls, an original and free spirit permeated those imitations, and Mirza Ansari, the mystical poet, or Khushhal Khan, prince of the Khatak tribe, would be accounted a true poet in any nation and any literature. But these are rare exceptions, and the theological lucubrations of the much-revered

* As life and property are not very safe at Peshawer, it is usual to keep an armed watchman, called *chaukidar*.

† Hyderabad, a favourite place of resort for Afghan adventurers and *soldats de fortune*.

Akhun Darveza, that narrow, foul-mouthed, rancorous, and truly pious exponent of Afghan orthodoxy, the endless *rifacimenti* of Hatim Tai, the most liberal of Arabs, of Ali Hamza and the companions of the Prophet, or the ever-retold edifying story of Joseph and Zuleikha, all seem as if they had been written or copied by mediæval monks or unimaginative children.

The popular, unwritten poetry, though despised and ignored by the reading classes, is of quite a different character. It is the work of illiterate poets; but it represents *their* feelings; it has life in it—the life of the people; it is simple, because the natural range of ideas of an Afghan is simple and limited; it is true to Nature, because it represents those ideas without any moral bias or literary afterthought. Sometimes, therefore, it is powerful and beautiful, because it renders simply and truly powerful passions or beautiful feelings.

During a few months' stay on the border I collected about one hundred and twenty songs * of every description—love-songs, folklore, hymns, romantic songs, and political ballads. If we want to know what an Afghan is, let us put all books aside and receive his own unconscious confession from the lips of his favourite poets. The confession, I am afraid, would not be much to their honour on the whole, but it will be the more sincere. This is the value of the wild, unpremeditated accents of these people: a poor thing it is, but it expresses their nature.

I. THE AFGHANS AND THE DUMS.

The Afghans† are divided into three independent groups:

1. The Afghans under British rule, or what we may call The Queen's Afghans, who inhabit the border districts along the Indus, Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu, Kohat, Peshawer, and Hazara. They were conquered in 1849, with the Sikhs, their then masters.

2. The Afghans of Afghanistan proper, or The Emir's Afghans; the only part of the race that forms something like an organized power.

3. The Afghans of Yaghistan, "the rebel or independent country"; that is to say, those Afghans who do not belong either to the British Raj or to the Emir, but live in the native national anarchy in the western basin of the upper Indus—Svat, Buner, Panjkora, Dher, &c. The Afghan of Yaghistan is the true, unsophisticated Afghan.

Our songs were collected in the British districts of Peshawer and Hazara, but most of them express, nevertheless, the general views of the Afghans to whatever part they belong; for though there is no real nationality amongst the Afghans, yet there is a strongly marked national character, and though nothing is more offensive to an Afghan

* To be published, with text, translation, and commentary, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of the French Asiatic Society.

† *Afghan* is their Persian name their Indian name is *Pathan*; their national name *Pukhtun* or *Pushtun*.

than another Afghan, still there is nothing so much like an Afghan as another. Moreover, many of these songs come from Yaghistan, or Afghanistan. Songs travel quickly; the thousands of *Powindas* that every year pass twice across the Suleiman range, bringing the wealth of Central Asia and carrying back the wealth of India, bring also and carry back all the treasures of the Afghan Muse on both sides the mountain; and a new song freshly flown at Naushehra; from the lips of Mohammed the Oil-presser, will very soon be heard upon the mountains of Buner, or down the valley of the Helمند.

There are two sorts of poets: the *Sha-ir* and the *Dum*. With the *Sha-ir* we have nothing to do; he is the literary poet, who can read, who knows Hafiz and Saadi, who writes Afghan Ghazals on the Persian model, who has composed a Divan. Every educated man is a *Sha-ir*, though, if he be a man of good taste, he will not assume the title; writing Ghazal was one of the accomplishments of the old Afghan chiefs. Hafiz Rahmat, the great Rohilla captain, Ahmed Shah, the founder of the Durani empire, had written Divans, were "Divan people"—*Ahli Divan*, as the expression runs. The *Sha-ir* may be a clever writer, he may be a fine writer; but he has nothing to teach us about his people. We may safely dismiss him with honour and due respect.

The *Dum* is the popular singer and poet, for he combines the two qualities, like our *Jongleur* of the Middle Ages. The *Dums* form a caste; the profession is hereditary. The *Dum* is despised by the people with literary pretensions, who fly into a passion when one of these ignorant fellows, flushed with success, dubs himself a *Sha-ir*. He is not a Pathan by race, though he has been *pathanized*; he is a low sort of creature, whom the Khans and Sardars treat as the mediæval barons might have treated the itinerant *Jongleur*—despised, insulted, honoured, liberally paid, intensely popular amongst the people.

The novice *Dum* goes to a celebrated *Dum*, who is a master, an *Ustad*; he becomes his disciple, his *shagird*. The master teaches him first his own songs, then the songs of the great *Dums* of the present and past generations. The *Ustad* takes his *shagirds* with him to the festivities to which he has been asked, private or public, profane or religious: he takes them to the *hujra*, the "common house" or town-hall of the village, where idlers and travelling guests meet every night to hear the news that is going round, and listen to any man that has a tale to tell or a song to sing. The *Ustad* pockets half the sum given by the host, and the other half is divided between the *shagirds*. When a *shagird* feels he can compose for himself and is able to achieve a reputation, he leaves his master and becomes himself an *Ustad*. I am sorry to say that *Dums* generally are not over-sensitive about literary honesty: plagiarism is rife among them. A *Dum* will readily sing, as his own, songs of the dead or the living. It is the custom that poets should insert their

names in the last line; you have only to substitute your own name for the name of the real author or of the former plagiarist: people will not applaud you the less, though of course the injured party may retort with a satire or a stab. A good *Dum* may die a rich man: Mira would hardly open his mouth anywhere under 50 rupees. He was an illiterate man; he could not read, but he knew by heart a wonderful number of songs, and could improvise. You would ask him for a song in a certain shade of feeling; then he would go out with his men, and an hour afterwards they would come back and sing a beautiful chorus on the rebab. His song of "Zakhmé" is sung wherever there are Afghans, as far as Rampor in Rohilkhand, and Hayderabad of Dekhan, and sets them a-dancing as soon as the first notes are struck. It was sung at the Ravul Pindi interview as the national song of the Afghans, though it is nothing more—or rather, nothing less—than a love-song. An Irish journalist—Mr. Grattan Geary, of the *Bombay Gazette*—was struck with its melody, and had it printed. It is, I believe, the only Afghan song that has ever been published.*

The people piously inclined object to song, among the Afghans as well as elsewhere; and the Mollahs inveigh against the *Dums*. There is only one occasion when even a Mollah will approve of the song of a *Dum*; it is when the Crusade, or, as the Anglo-Indians say, the Crescentade, has been proclaimed; then is the time for the *Dum* to rehabilitate himself, as he sings the glories of the Sacred War, the bliss reserved to the *Ghazi*, the roses that grow for him in the groves above, and the black-eyed houris that come from heaven and give the dying man to drink of the sherbet of martyrdom. But in spite of the Mollahs, the *Dum* is as popular in his profane as in his semi-sacred character. Song is a passion with the Afghans; in fact, one of the few noble passions with which he is endowed. Whenever three Afghans meet together, there is a song between them. In the *hujra*, during the evening conversation, a man rises up, seizes a rebab, and sings, sings on. Perhaps he is under prosecution for a capital crime; perhaps to-morrow he will be hunted to the mountain, sent to the gallows; what matters? Every event of public or private life enters song at once, and the *Dums* are the journalists of the Afghans. I fancy the *Dum* of to-day has preserved for us faithfully enough a picture of what the Bard was with the Gauls.

II. AFGHAN HONOUR.

The supreme law for an Afghan is honour: they have the idea, and have a word for it: *Nangi Pukhtāna*, or Afghan honour. But the word does not convey with them the same ideas as with us, and needs explanation. The *Nangi Pukhtāna* includes a number of laws,

* Two songs have been translated by Mr. Thorburn in his book on Bannu, and another by Col. Raverty in the Introduction to his Afghan Grammar.

of which the chief are *Nanavatai*, *Badal*, and *Maimastqi*; that is to say, Law of Asylum, Law of Revenge, and Law of Hospitality.

"By *Nanavatai*, or 'the entering in,' the Pukhtun is expected, at the sacrifice of his own life and property if necessary, to shelter and protect any one who in extremity may flee to his threshold, and seek an asylum under his roof." * As soon as you have crossed the threshold of an Afghan you are sacred to him, though you were his deadly foe, and he will give up his own life to save yours; as soon as you are out he resumes his natural right to take your life by every means in his power, fair or foul.

You know of the dramatic tale by Prosper Mérimée, of the Corsican father shooting his own child because he has shown to the gendarmes the room where an outlaw had hidden himself. The Afghans have the same tale, but a degree higher in dramatic horror, because here it is the son that does justice upon his father. It is the tale of "Adam Khan and Durkhani," a tale that has been popular for more than a century, has inspired, and still inspires, many poets; it is, in fact, one of the subjects that every poet must treat. There are of course an infinite number of versions; I give here the one that was sung to me, in September last year, at Abbottabad, by the poet Burhan, son of the poet Nadir.

Durkhani was in love with Adam Khan, and they had pledged their faith to one another; but Durkhani's father had promised her hand to the hated Payavai. The lovers determined to flee together:

"They left by night, and stopped in the house of Pirmamai. Of many villages, Pirmamai was the lord.

"Pirmamai's son, Gujarkhan, was the friend of Adam Khan: they had in days before exchanged turbans together.

"Gujarkhan's renown of prowess extended far and wide; there was no man in Mandan who was a match for him.

"Durkhani said: 'Uncle Pirmamai, take us under your guard; if Payavai carries me away, my life is ruined.'

"Pirmamai: 'Fear not, Durkhani! I shall not deliver thee without struggle unto the hands of Payavai.

"I have a hundred horsemen, covered with cuirass, all men of war; I have twelve hundred men, with their guns ready.

"They will all of them give up their lives under thy eyes; he shall not carry thee from me—what dost thou fear?"

"Durkhani said to Pirmamai: 'Thou art the master; I have entered into thy courtyard; thou art my father.'

"Pirmamai said: 'Durkhani, be not afraid. Between thee and me here is the Lord as witness.'

"Pirmamai took a solemn oath, and Adam Khan and Durkhani trusted him."

Payavai pursues them, and sends before him a messenger to Pirmamai. The messenger takes his seat tranquilly near Pirmamai, and says: "I am come from Payavai. He says to you: 'Give me up Durkhani:

here are six hundred rupees.'” Pirmamai tried the rupees, and treasured them in his house, and was one in heart with Payavai.

Adam Khan had gone to a hunting party; Pirmamai sends Gujarkhan to Mahaban; Payavai arrives; Pirmamai enters the room of Durkhani, and says: “Durkhani, quick, get up; the enemy is come; all my men have been hanged.” “For pity’s sake,” cries Durkhani, “give me not up. The Pukhtuns keep their word; they are under the law of honour.” “You speak in vain,” shouts Pirmamai; “Payavai is too useful to me.” She cries, she struggles, she curses him. “The man without honour will be despised: that word will be remembered to the day of Resurrection.”

“Gujarkhan was coming home from his journey: the skirts of his turban were floating from his shoulders.

“A man told him: ‘Gujarkhan, thy father, has given up Durkhani to Payavai: Payavai has carried her a prisoner.’

“Gujarkhan cried out: ‘Where is my father? Tell me: fire goes out of my body.’

“Pirmamai stood under the shelter of a wall; he himself heard these words.

“Quickly he sprang upon his horse and fled away; sweat ran down from his forehead out of fear.

“Gujarkhan galloped upon a white horse; he let him loose behind Pirmamai; he let the two reins lie on the neck of the horse.

“He ran ten miles. O my friends! the spittle grew dry in the mouth of Pirmamai.

“Gujarkhan reached him with the end of his lance, and Pirmamai’s ribs were pierced through from side to side.

“Pirmamai rolled down from his horse to earth: Pirmamai cried, and entreated Gujarkhan.

“Pirmamai said: ‘O Gujarkhan! I am thy father: the deed that I wrought was done out of sheer madness.’

“Gujarkhan said: ‘I swear it, I will not spare thee; thou hast covered with shame generations of Pathans.’

“He drew out his Iranian sword, and hewed him down: Pirmamai’s bones were ground into powder.

“Gujarkhan galloped back on his white horse, and disappeared: Pirmamai’s flesh was devoured by jackals.”

What are the feelings of an Afghan listening to the tale of horror? The poet himself, like the chorus of antique tragedy, gives expression to the verdict of public conscience in one word, without appeal. Burhán says: “Gujarkhan has done a Pathan’s deed.”

Badal,* or revenge, is the soul of Afghan life. All the history of Afghanistan, both public and private, is one continued tale of *vendetta*. However, it chances that I have not in my collection any song of vendetta illustrating this side of Afghan life in a manner sufficiently characteristic to deserve quotation. Suffice it to say, that

* *Badal*, or retaliation, must be exacted for every and the slightest personal injury or insult, or for damage to property. Where the avenger takes the life of his victim in retaliation for the murder of one of his relatives, it is termed *kisla*. (Bellew, *loc. cit.*)

vendetta is with the Afghans what it is with the Corsicans, the Albanians, all primitive mountaineers: it is hereditary and not to be prescribed.

Even on British territory the law is powerless against the *Badal*; it is one of the crimes for which no witness will be found to speak before the judge in *kachehri*. There is hardly an Afghan in the mountain who has not a foe who aims at his head, and at whose head he aims. It happens not seldom that an Afghan Sepoy from Yaghistan—many Afghans from over the border enlist in the native contingent—asks for leave for private business; that means that there is up there some wolf's head which he has to take. There is a story of an Afghan Sepoy, who, having not joined his *paltan* in due time, complained bitterly of the iniquity of his officer, who had dismissed him from service: "I had a duty of *Badal* to perform; I had a foe to kill. The scamp absconded for weeks: what could I do?"

Mailmastai is a virtue of a less stern character; it is hospitality in the widest meaning of the word. The Afghan is bound to feed and shelter any traveller who knocks at his door; even infidels have a claim upon his hospitality. The laws of *mailmastai* are binding on the commune as well as on the individual; the *hujra* is the home of those who have no home. Even in British districts the chief of the village, the *Malik* or *Lambardar*, raises a special revenue—the *malba*, or hospitality tax—for the entertainment of passing travellers. Whether rich or poor, the duty is the same for all. The poor entertain poorly, the rich richly. It happens not seldom that they run into debt, and fall a prey to the Hindu money-lender, for fear they should deserve the name of a *shúm*, a miser—the worst insult to an Afghan, especially to an Afghan of high rank. Old Afzal Khan, of Jamalgarhi, of the royal family of the Khataks, will be remembered for a long time amongst his people because he is a *shúm*, and poet Mahmud sang a cruel song of him. Here is his story; it is the old story of the end of a great name.

Afzal Khan was born in the first years of this century; he is descended in direct line from the prince of the Khataks, Khushhal Khan, the great warrior and great poet, who for years in his mountains defied Aurengzeb and the Mogul empire, and "who, as he boasts, was the first to raise his standard in the field of Afghan song, and subjugated the empire of words under the hoof of his battle-steed." About 1830 his cousin, Khavás Khán, received the investiture of Akora at the hands of Runjet Singh, the Sikh suzerain of the now British Afghans: Afzal Khan stabbed him with his own hand on his way home from Lahore. He rendered service during the Mutiny; his income was 3,629 rupees, 822 of which were a pension from Government for loyal service. Afzal Khan was a rich man; he had

a great name; he had in his house the original manuscripts of Khushhal Khan; he had his enemies' blood on his hand; he had everything necessary to deserve him the esteem of his own people; but he was a *shúm*, and Mahmud has made his name immortal in a satire. This satire is in the form of a dialogue between pupil and master, *shagird* and *ustad*:

PUPIL: At Jamalgarhi lives Afzal Khan.

MASTER: Tell me about him. He boastfully praises himself and his sons every moment.

PUPIL: No guest is welcome to him.

MASTER: May God, therefore, bring distress upon him!

PUPIL: Yes, ever invoke a curse upon a miser!

MASTER: He is evil-natured, evil-tongued, evil-mannered; there never was, never will be, a miser such as he.

PUPIL: When from a distance he sees a guest coming,

MASTER: He says to him: 'Wherefore do you come?'*

PUPIL: He kills him with questions from head to foot.

MASTER: He has no fear, no respect of the Lord.

PUPIL: He never lets a guest rest on a bed in the hujra.

MASTER: His mouth is always open as an empty well.

PUPIL: He has no teeth, his mouth is black as an oven.

PUPIL: He who will cut him into pieces,

MASTER: Will be a Ghazi, and it is a scamp he will kill.

MASTER: Let him vanish from my eyes; he sets all his kith and kin a-blushing.

PUPIL: There will never be such a shameless fellow as Afzal Khan.

MAHMUD says: I wag my tongue upon him freely in the bazaar."

The curse of the poet was not lost. Last year, in May, I saw the poor old scamp, in chains, pleading for his life before the Sessions Judge in Kachehri. He was charged with traitorous murder; his two sons and two servants were with him in the dock. As witnesses were speaking, the five accused men did not cease from muttering prayers and telling their beads, in order to make the depositions harmless and turn the heart of the judge in their favour. Afzal Khan was acquitted, but one of his sons and one of his servants were sentenced to death. When I left, the appeal was pending at Lahore. I am afraid by this time the grandson of Khushhal Khan has been dangling for a long time: the English in India have a foible for hanging big people: it sets a good example.

I must say that public opinion amongst the natives underwent a revulsion in favour of Afzal Khan. They would have welcomed with pleasure the news that the old *shum* had been stabbed by any man of his kith and kin; but it was hard to see justice done upon him by a Firangi. Besides, the murdered man had spoken slightly of Afzal Khan's daughter-in-law.† That murder was the only fine trait in his life, the redeeming feature.

* A question never to be asked from a guest until his needs have been attended to.

† "The abuse or slander of a man's female relations is only to be wiped out in the blood of the slanderer, and not unfrequently the slandered one, whether the calumny be deserved or not, is murdered to begin with." (Bellew, "Yusufzais," 214.)

III. AFGHAN HONOUR.

What the Afghan honour is, we know; the ballad of Muqarrab Khan will teach us what it is not.

Muqarrab Khan is the ideal of the Afghan politician in Yaghistan. He was the chief of the Khedu Kheil, an important tribe, divided into two clans, the Bam Kheil and the Osman Kheil. He succeeded his father, Fattah Khan, in 1841, at Penjtar, and helped the English during the annexation of Penjab. He took refuge with them in 1857, as his subjects had expelled him on account of his tyranny. He lived a long time at Peshawar on an allowance of three rupees a day. Then he entered into negotiations with the Amazai tribe, and with their help retook Penjtar in 1874. His enemies submitted; the *Jirga*,* composed of eighty men, came to receive him. The Coran was brought for them to take their oath upon it. Just at that moment the Amazais broke into the hall, and all the *Jirga* was massacred. After many vicissitudes, again an exile and a conqueror, turn by turn, he came once more, two years ago, to sit a refugee at the hearth of the English. The Commissioner, Colonel Waterfield, gave him a plot of ground on free rent. "The old man is so old," said the Commissioner to me, "that it will not long be a charge upon the budget of India."

Here is the tale of the massacre, as told by the poet Aarsal:—

"Firoz † said to the *Jirga*: 'We will make peace at present for policy's sake. We will send away the Amazais, the Khan will remain alone, and then he will hear what we have to say.'

"The *Jirga* made peace; but a thought of treason lay in the heart of each of them: 'We will sack Ghazikot.' Ghazan was a partisan of the Khan; he informed him of the plot.

"Ghazan informed him to the full of all that was going on; he told him: 'Put not thy trust in them; the *Jirga* has decreed thy death. Slaughter them each and all, that thou mayest have no longer to weary thyself concerning them!'

"The *Jirga* and the Khan met together. My support is in the merciful God! With them were Ghulām and Sheik Husein: may their face be black before the Lord!

"The Khan said: 'Firoz! Thou committest treason every day. Take me to Penjtar! I, the prince of this land, go from door to door as a beggar.'

"Firoz answered: 'Thou art our Khan. Come, make no havoc amongst us. We will bring back prosperity to thy house. We will give thee Penjtar. Between us and thee here is the Coran.'

"The Khan said frankly: 'You take oath in my hands now, and yet you will afterwards conspire against me. You will betray me when my army is dispersed.'

"The *Jirga* answered: 'Why should we play the traitor? Thou art our Khan for ever.'

"The two chiefs kissed one another, they sat down in the midst of the *Jirga*. . . . The Amazais broke in, a tumult arises, all disperse. The Khan has

* The Council of the Elders.

† The Chief of the Anti-Muqarrab party.

broken his promise, belied his own word. It has made all the world deaf and blind.

"The Khedu Kheil had been taken unawares; they did not understand what was being done; they were put to the sword, O my friend. *This was written in their destiny.*

"With the help of the Amazais, the Khan slaughtered the Khedu Kheil. There was mercy for no one; no one escaped. Amongst the victims was Mairu, who was the *malik* of the Mada Kheil; he was cut to pieces with the Persian swords.

"The night went. In the morning the news spread. *Some were indignant, some were glad.* It was a great sorrow with the Osman Kheil; their time has passed away."

The poet does not precisely approve of Muqarrab; but, if you look coldly at things, who is the good Afghan who in his stead would have not done the same? In the struggle for life, a man's word is only a weapon, and an oath is a hunting net as good as any other or better. The Jirga of the Khedu Kheil had forgotten that terrible maxim of their nation: "When thou hast reconciled thyself with thy foe, then beware of him."

IV. THE KLEPHT.

The Afghans have a noble maxim, worthy of any Stoic: "If thou hast, eat; if thou hast not, die." * Unfortunately they do not live up to it, and in practice it becomes: "If thou hast, eat; if thou hast not, take." The ideal of a man is to live upon his neighbour. The Afridis of the Khaiber Pass lived for centuries upon the plunder of the caravans, till the British Government enlisted these hereditary robbers as regular gendarmes, and compounded for their right of plunder by a regular annuity. The Ghilzais, who are just now making life rather uneasy to the Emir, proudly interpret their name as "Son of robber," and live according to the etymology. When a child is born, his mother bores a hole through the mud wall of the hut, and makes it pass through, saying: "*Ghal zai*—be a good robber, my child." The Kashmiris, who were for seventy years under the Afghan yoke, have described in one line the morals of those strictest among Musulmans, and the worst amongst plunderers: "To pray is piety (*garz*), to prey is duty (*farz*)."

In the British territory, though the idea of law and order has made remarkable progress, and people, who formerly were wont to settle their quarrels according to the prescriptions of the Nangi Pukhtāna, are not seldom willing to have them brought to Kachehri, yet the Klepht is still a national hero, and a favourite subject with popular poets. One died three or four years ago, whose name is still on the lips of all. This is his story as it was told to me.

* Naim Shah was born near Cherat, a military station in the Khatak mountains. His brother was insulted by the Sikh Phul

* Thorburn, "Bannu."

Singh, who was *Kotval*, or chief of the police-station, at Naushehra, an important cantonment on the Kabul river, with two regiments. He lodged a complaint with the British commandant; the complaint was discarded; then he applied for justice to his brother. Naim Shah wrote to the Kotval, saying: "You have harmed my brother, I will harm you." The Kotval and the General laughed; but on the same night Naim Shah broke into the town with a hundred men, looted it, entered the *Kotwali*, sat as a judge, had time enough to have one of his enemies sentenced and shot. The noise awakens the commandant, who arrives from the distant cantonment just in time to see him fleeing down the river. He pursues him there for hours in vain. "Naim Shah was not a fish to hide himself in the river;" he was a man of the mountain, and was already safe in his Khatak den, while they were still hunting him down the river.

Once upon a time Naim Shah met "the General Sáb."* The General was one of his great admirers; he said to him: "Will you enter my service?" "With pleasure," was the answer; "but you must first put to death the Kotval of Naushehra." The General objected to the condition, and the negotiation was stopped; but he sent him, as a token of esteem, a gun, a sword, a pistol, two hundred rupees, and a milch cow. Naim Shah was touched with the proceedings; but this did not prevent his slaughtering an entire picket at Chahkot: he retired peacefully, carrying with him some twenty Martini guns—quite a fortune for a poor Afghan robber.

The Government at last had recourse to the unfailing method: they put a prize of 3,000 rupees on his head. Naim Shah, taken by surprise while asleep, at Kohi, was wounded to death before he could defend himself. All the poets mourned his death: here is one of their songs, equal to any of the Klepht songs in Fauriel:

"They fell down upon him unawares, he was captured;

Náim Sháh was the falcon of the black mountains, he was the man of the great heart. The report of the guns burst unexpectedly upon him.

It was the hand of God that fired the guns, for *he* was stronger than a Nawab. He opened his eyes from his sleep, and this time the Tiger's shot missed.

The Tiger spoke in this manner: 'O that the fight were in the open field! This is the regret left in my heart.' Death had taken him to Kohi: who could help him?

Death said: 'Go not further: here is the place, under this vine.' The foes came upon him from above, from below; they were men without the fear of God. He gave up the ghost.

What Fate has written cannot be altered: they were men without the fear of God. May curses rain upon them!

As he had still breath left in his body, the Thánadár † came by.

The Thánadár said to him: 'Tell me, why did you sleep untimely? So did the guns devour thee from afar.'

* Sáb, the popular pronunciation for Sáhíb.

† The chief of the police-station.

He expounded the matter to the Thánadár, and breathed his last.

He expounded all the matter as it stood. They took him to the *koti** at Peshawer. All people heard the news: they looked at the face of Náim Sháh:† all the people of the town were there.

All the people met at the *koti*: Ó hero, thy house is empty! No hero ever will appear who is like unto Náim Sháh. The Engriz Government was sorry for his death.‡

His mother came out of the house,§ she stood before the Engriz, barcheaded.

I am sorrowful for it; black, black is my grief!

YASIN says: they heaped the earth above him."

V. LOVE AND FAMILY SONGS.

Love-songs are plentiful with the Afghans, though whether they are acquainted with love is rather doubtful. Woman with the Afghans is a purchasable commodity; she is not wooed and won with her own consent, she is bought from her father. The average price of a young and good-looking girl is from about 300 to 500 rupees. To reform the ideas of an Afghan upon that matter would be a desperate task. When Seid Ahmed, the great Wahabi leader, the prophet, leader, and king of the Yusufzai Afghans, tried to abolish the marriage by sale, his power fell at once, he had to flee for his life, and died an outlaw. There is no song in the world so sad and dismal as that which is sung to the bride by her friends. They come to congratulate—no, to console her, like Jephthah's daughter: they go to her, sitting in a corner, and sing:

"You remain sitting in a corner and cry to us.

What can we do for you?

Your father has received the money."

All of love that the Afghan knows is jealousy. All crimes are said to have their cause in one of the three *z's*: *zar*, *zamin*, or *zan*—money, earth, or woman; the third *z* is in fact the most frequent of the three causes.

The Afghan love-song is artificial; the Afghan poet seems to have been at the school of the Minnesinger or the troubadours. It is the same *midvrerie* which seems almost to amuse itself with its love—more witty than passionate, a play of imagination more than a cry of the heart. They would have felt with Petrarch or Heine, *si parva licet componere magnis*. There is much of the *convenu* and of the poetical commonplace in their songs, as there is in those of their elder brothers in Europe. You will hardly find one in which you do not meet the clinking of the *pezvan* (the ring in the nose of the Afghan beauty), the blinking of the gold *muhurs* dangling from her hair, the radiance of the green mole in her cheek; and the flames

* Police-station.

† "Nequeunt expleri corda tuende,

Os hominis," &c.

But here even Hercules feels with Cacus.

‡ Of course they would have liked to keep him alive for the gallows.

§ A thing which an Afghan woman never does.

of separation, and the begging of the beggar, the dervish at her door, come as pilgrim of love; and the sickness of the sick waiting for health at her hand; and the warbling of the *tuti*,* sighing by night for his beloved *kharo* bird. Yet, in the long run, one finds a charm in these rather affected strains, though not the direct, straightforward, all-possessing rapture of simple and sincere emotion. It is difficult to give in a translation an idea of that charm, as it can hardly be separated from the simple, monotonous tune ever recurring, as well as from the rich and high-sounding rhyme for which the Afghan poet has the instinct of a modern Parnassian. The most popular love-songs are those of Mira of Peshawer, Tavakkul of Jelalabad, and Mohammed Taila, of Naushehra. Here is the world-known "Zakhmé" of Mira :

- "1. I am sitting in sorrow, wounded with the stab of separation, low low!
She carried back my heart in her talons, when she came to-day, my bird
kharo, low low!
2. I am ever struggling, I am red with my blood, I am your dervish.
My life is a pang. My love is my doctor; I am waiting for the remedy,
low low!
3. She has a pomegranate on her breast, she has sugar on her lips, she has
pearls for her teeth:
All this she has, my beloved one; I am wounded in my heart, and there-
fore I am a beggar that cries, low low!
4. It is due that I should be your servant; have a thought for me, my soul,
ever and ever.
Evening and morning I lie at thy door; I am the first of thy lovers, low
low!
5. Mira is thy slave, his *salâm* is on thee; thy tresses are his net, thy place is
Paradise; put in thy cage thy slanderer.
6. He who says a ghazal and says it on the tune of another man, he can call
himself a thief at every ghazal he says.—This word of mine is truth."

I shall give only one other ghazal, which derives a particular interest from the personality of its author, as well as from a touch of reverie and quaint lunacy, rarely met in Afghan poetry. As I visited the prison of Abbottabad, in company with the assistant-commissioner, Mr. P., I saw there a man who had been sentenced to several months' imprisonment for breaking a Hindu's leg in a drunken brawl. The man was not quite sane: he told Mr. P. that he was not what he was supposed to be; that he was a king, and ought to be put on the *gadi*. His name was Mohammadji. Next day, I was surprised to hear from a native that Mohammadji was a poet, an itinerant poet from Pakli, who more than once had been in trouble with justice, for he was rather a disorderly sort of poet. Here is a ballad, written by the prisoner, and which is quite a little masterpiece, "in a sensuous, elementary way—half Baudelaire, half Song of Solomon":

* The *tuti* is the Indian parrot; he is supposed to be in love with the *Maina* bird, whom the Afghans called *Kharo*.

"Last night I strolled through the bazar of the black locks ; I foraged, like a bee, in the bazar of the black locks.*

Last night I strolled through the grove of the black locks ; I foraged, like a bee, through the sweetness of the pomegranate.

I bit my teeth into the virgin chin of my love ; then I breathed up the smell of the garland from the neck of my Queen, from her black locks.

Last night I strolled in the bazar of the black locks ; I foraged

You have breathed up the smell of my garland, O my friend, and therefore you are drunken with it ; you fell asleep, like Bahráṁ on the bed of Sarasia.† Then thereafter, there is one who will take your life, because you have played the thief upon my checks. He is so angry with you, the *chaukidar* of the black locks.

Last night

"Is he so angry with me, my little one ? God will keep me, will he not ?

Stretch out as a staff,‡ thy long black locks, wilt thou not ?

Give me up thy white face, satiate me like the Tuti, wilt thou not ?

For once let me loose through the granary of the black locks.

Last night

"I shall let you, my friend, into the garden of the white breast.

But after that you will rebel from me and go scornfully away.

And yet when I show my white face the light of the lamp vanishes.

Oh Lord ! give me the beauty of the black locks.

Last night

"The Lord gave thee the peerless beauty. Look upon me, my enchanting one ! I am thy servant.

Yesterday, at the dawn of day, I sent to thee the messenger. The snake bit me to the heart, the snake of thy black locks.

Last night

"I will charm the snake with my breath ; my little one, I am a charmer.

But I, poor wretch, I am slandered in thine honour.

Come, let us quit Pakli, I hold the wicked man,§ in horror.

I give to thee full power over the black locks.

"MOHAMMADJI has full power over the poets in Pakli.

He raises the tribute, he is one of the Emirs of Delhi.

He rules his kingdom, he governs it with the black locks.

Last night I strolled through the bazar of the black locks ; I foraged, like a bee, through the bazar of the black locks."

Poor Mohammadji, as you may see from the last stanza, was already seized with the mania of grandeurs before he entered the prison at Abbottabad, though he dreamed as yet only of poetical royalty. If these lines ever reach Penjab, and find there any friend of poetry amongst the powers that be, may I be allowed to recommend to their merciful aid the poor poet of Pakli, a being doubly sacred, a poet and a *divana*,|| and one who thus doubly needs both mercy for his faults and help through life.

* See Baudelaire, "La Chevelure" ("Les Fleurs du Mal," xxiv.).

† An allusion to a popular tale of Bahráṁ Sháh-záda.

‡ To protect me.

§ Her husband.

|| A lunatic.

There is a poetical *genre*, peculiar to Afghan poetry; it is the *misra*.* The *misra* is a *distique*, that expresses one idea, one feeling, and is a complete poem by itself. Poets, in poetical *assaults*, vie one with another in quoting or improvising *misras*. They refer generally to love and love affairs, and some are exquisitely simple :

"My love does not accept the flower from my hand ; I will send her the stars of Heaven in a *Jirga*."

"Thy image appears to me in my dreams, I awake in the night and cry till the morning."

"I told him : There is such a thing as separation, and my friend burst into laughter till he grew green."

"When the perfume of thy locks comes to me, it is the morning that comes to me and I blossom like the rose."

"O letter, blessed be thy fate ! Thou art going to see my beloved."

"My honour and my name, my life and my wealth—I will give everything for the eyes of my beloved."

"Strike my head, plunder my goods, but let me see the eyes of the one I love, and I will give my blood."

"Red are thy lips, white are thy teeth, so that at thy sight the angels of heaven are confounded."

"—Red are my lips, white are my teeth : they are thine. To the others the dust of the earth !"

"O my soul ! at last thou wilt become dust ; for I have seen the eyes of my friend, and they were friendly no more."

"Were there a narrow passage to the dark niche in the grave, I should go and offer flowers to my love."

"O master builder ! his grave was too well made ; and my friend will stay as long as time lasts."

Of the inner family life popular song is rather reticent. Of the brutality of man, the slavery of woman, the harsh voice, the insult, the strokes, the whipping at the post, the fits of mad jealousy without love, it has nothing to say. Women, however, have also their poetry and their poets, the *duman* ; but that poetry goes hardly out of the walls of the harem. I was fortunate enough to gather some fragments of it, though less than I should have liked. A child is a child even to an Afghan mother :

"Your two large eyes are like the stars of heaven :
Your white face is like the throne of Shah Jahan :
Your two tender delicate arms are like blades of Iran :
And your slender body is like the standard of Solomon.
My life for you ! Do not cry !"

* A friend points to the remarkable similarity of the Afghan *misra* with the *stornello* in the popular poetry of Italy.

"O Lord! give me a son who says: 'Papa! papa!
 Let his mother wash him in milk!
 Let her rub him with butter!
 They will call him to the mosque.
 The Molla will teach him reading,
 And the students will kiss him."

"Dear, dear child! a flower in your hat!
 It shines like a sprig of gold!"

The following is a nursery rhyme which I believe is unparalleled in the whole of the nursery literature: it is history as well as a lullaby.

In the time of the Sikh domination, I am told, a Sikh carried away by force a Yusufzai girl, and took her to Lahore. Her brothers went in search of her, and found at last, after a year, the place where she lived. She had a child by the Sikh. She recognized them from the window, put the child in the cradle, and while her husband was drunk asleep, she rocked the child with a lullaby in which she informed her brothers of all they had to do. The Sikhs are gone, but the lullaby is still sung:

"*Swing, swing, zangutai!** Come not, ye robbers. Come not by the lower side:
 come by the upper side, sweet and low.

Swing, swing, zangutai! There are two dogs inside; I have tied them with
 rims.

Swing, swing, zangutai! There is a little basket inside, full with sovereigns.

Swing, swing, zangutai! There is a bear † asleep; come quickly therefore.

Swing, swing, zangutai! If he becomes aware of you, there will be no
 salvation in your distress.

Swing, swing, zangutai! The infidel is a drunkard, he does not perceive
 the noise.

Swing, swing, zangutai!

But every life must end with *voceros*.

During the agony all the family surround the dying, and repeat the sacred formula, *Ashhadu*: "I bear witness that Allah is God, and there is no other God. I bear witness that Mohammed is his servant and apostle." Thus the dying soul is kept in the remembrance of God, and brought to repeat the *Ashhadu*, and dies in confessing God, and is saved. In the moment when his soul goes, an angel comes, and converses with him, questions him, and, recognizing a good Mussulman, says: "Thy faith is perfect." Then the men leave the room; the women sit around the dying bed; the daughter, sister, or wife of the deceased, standing before the dead, repeats the *vocero* for an hour, and at each time the chorus of women answer with a long, piercing lamentation, that thrills through the hearts of the men in the courtyard, and creates the due sorrow.

Here are some of the *voceros*: a mere translation cannot of course render the effect of those simple plaints, which derive most of their

* *Zangutai*: berceausette in English.

† Her husband.

power from the accent and the mere physical display of emotion.

For a father :

“ Alas ! alas ! my father !
I shall see you no more on the road.
The world has become desolate to you for ever.”

For a mother :

“ O my mother ! the rose-hued,
You kept me so tenderly,
I shed for you tears of blood.”

For a husband :

“ You were the lord of my life :
Then to me a king was a beggar :
This was the time when I was a queen.”

For a daughter :

“ O my daughter ! so much caressed,
Whom I had kept so tenderly,
Now you have deserted me,
This world is the place of sorrow.”

VI. AFGHAN POLITICS—THE AMBELA CAMPAIGN—THE AFGHAN WAR.

About the romantic and religious literature of the Afghans there is too little or too much to say. I come at once to a subject of more particular interest: What is the echo of political events in the popular literature?

The history of Afghanistan could be traced in songs from our days back to the days of Ahmed Shah, the founder of the Durani empire; even further, to the time of Akbar. Not all those songs are contemporary with the events, but they embody at least an old tradition, and sometimes, through the happy habit of plagiarism, are authentic relics of the past. The wars with the Sikhs, the quarrels of the Barukzai Sardars, the crusade, miracles and death of Seid Ahmed, have all left poetical records, still preserved in the memory of the older poets of the day and soon to be buried with them. I leave these older songs of mere antiquarian interest and come to the question of actual interest: What have the poets of the more recent period to tell the people in the British districts, Afghanistan and Yaghistan? or better, What do these people expect their poets to tell them about their masters, allies, and foes, the English?

It is characteristic of the one-sidedness of the English, that neither Kaye, the author of that otherwise beautiful and thorough history of the first Afghan war, nor Mr. Hensman, of the *Pioneer*, the reporter of the last Afghan war, seems to have had the slightest suspicion of the all-powerful influence of popular poetry in either case. Imagine

a German writing a history of the French Revolution without mentioning the "Marseillaise." Songs, moreover, with singing, non-writing people, are the only reliable documents which remain to prove their true feeling. Mohammed Hayat, the assistant political agent in Cabul during the last war, who knows the Afghans well, was not mistaken when he ascribed the rising of the Afghans in 1839 to the preaching of the Mollas and the songs of the poets. What the Molla preaches the poet sings; and when the Molla has preached and the poet sung, the turn of speech goes soon to the gun.

I could unfortunately procure no songs of the first war: I must pass at once to the most popular cycle of historical ballads now in existence—the cycle of the Ambela campaign. That campaign, not much known to the general English reader, I suppose, is not yet forgotten on the Punjab border, and has left amongst the Afghans more vivid recollections than even the last war, though more than twenty-five years have elapsed since then.

In 1824, as the Sikh infidels were holding the Punjab, a Seid from Bareilli, Seid Ahmed, preached a return to the primitive purity of Islam; he established himself amongst the tribes of Yaghistan with a small band of devoted men from Hindustan, and on the 20th of December, 1826, preached the Sacred War, and the conquest of the infidels from the Sikhs to the Chinese. After wonderful successes, he perished in an encounter with the Sikhs. But the colony of "Hindustani Fanatics," as they are called, which he had brought with him, remained there, receiving recruits, arms, and money from their brothers in Bengal, ever ready to fight the good battle. In 1849 the British took the place of the Sikhs in the hatred of the Hindustanis as well as in the empire of Punjab. From 1850 to 1857 they had to send sixteen expeditions against the rebel camp at Sitana, whence plundering raids were continually directed across the border. In 1863, after new outrages, it was decided that an expedition should be sent to expel them from their den, and on the 19th of October a well-equipped force of 7,000 men entered the then unknown Ambela Pass, under the orders of General Chamberlain.

The Ambela Pass turns round the inexpugnable Massif of Sitana, but it belongs to neutral tribes. Chamberlain thought it inopportune to inform them of his plans, lest the Hindustanis should have time to prepare for resistance; he hoped he could reach Sitana in a day or two, burn it down, and then retire at once into British territory. The Afghans did not view things in that light: when they saw 7,000 men, with 4,000 mules of baggage, draw near the pass, they took fear; they believed their own independence was in danger, and blocked the road. Chamberlain was obliged to stop: four days later, the 12,000 fighting men of Buner took the gun; and the Sahib of Svat, the highest religious authority of Indian Islam,

though a bitter foe to Seid Ahmed's doctrine and party, which to him smacked of Wahabism, proclaimed the Sacred War. For two months all Yaghistan came pouring upon the pass; and in spite of repeated reinforcements, Chamberlain remained for weeks at the entrance of the pass without advancing a step: the English historians speak of a point that was taken, lost, and retaken three days together; it is known still amongst the Afghans by the name of *Katal garh*, the Castle of Slaughter. The Afghans charged the gunners with sticks, and stopped with their mantles the mouths of the guns. British pluck and diplomacy at last exhausted the constancy of the allies; jealousy crept in; the coalition melted like snow; "double rupees" hastened the decomposition; and at last the Jirga of the Bunervals volunteered to guide the British army to the Hindustani camp. Chamberlain, with his new unexpected allies, went to Sitana, burnt the camp, and came back through the fatal pass without firing a gun. But he had left at the entrance one-tenth of his army.

That campaign ended officially in a success—not a very decisive one, since the Hindustanis are still at the door, waiting for the time; but to the Afghans it was a victory of the Afghans and Islam, and they sang triumphant songs, of wild and epic eloquence, which after twenty-five years still fill the echoes of the mountain:

"On the top of Katalgarh the Firangis came to long grief: there were cries of terror. Night came upon them: when they saw the Ghazis, despair fell upon them.

"On the top of Katalgarh the Firangis had collected their troops; from afar the Bunervals pounced upon them like falcons; I was astounded with their rush.

"The youths wore red girdles and two-coloured buckles; cries rose from every side; rifle bullets rained like rain.

"Rifle bullets rained as fine rain. The Deputy said to the Commissioner: 'They have with them a powerful Fakir,* against whom there is no fighting.' The regiments of the White† cried aloud, on account of the Pir:* 'When shall we be delivered? They storm our ramparts; we cannot stop the Ghazis; the sword leaves no trace upon them.'

"O Master! I say unto thee: 'Blessed be thy native place, the sacred land of Buner and Svat!'

"The General cried out: 'I have no breath left in my body. O disaster! My army is cut to pieces. I shall not endeavour again. Where is the use? In vain have I tried to reduce Svat.'

"O Lord! make there a *carion*‡ out of that recreant from Lahore: he will be thrown back and broken. Some fled away on all-fours: the Ghazis butcher the others, they will not reach Chimla.

"They plunge into the thickets, but they will not be saved for all that, the ruffians, the snakes. They do not dare to face the Ghazis in the fight; the Ghazis have made them flee along the valley. Islam has made a great feast upon them.

"For six months§ the Firangis have fought on the banks of Surkavi; they

* The *Sáhib* of *Svat*.

† The *Gaurá*, or British troops; the native contingent are called *Kálá*, the black.

‡ A *murdar*. The Infidel dies a *carion*; the Faithful one dies a *sháhid*, a martyr.

§ In fact, for two months.

have perished wholesale. From the top of a high rock the Master has pronounced the *tekbir*, for he is the butcher that slaughters them."

To realize all the frantic eloquence of the last line, one must remember that every head of cattle that is slaughtered is supposed to be a sacrifice to Allah, and is made sacred to him with the *tekbir*—*Allah Akbar* ("God is great").

The old Fakir, the Sahib of Svat, was the ideal centre of the struggle. It was said that he had come riding on a horse at the head of forty thousand horsemen. As he most prudently kept at safe distance from gunshot, they said that he had the gift of making himself unseen :

"The shadow of the hero's gown overshadows the Ghazis.

"Flee away, O Firangis! if you want to save your life. The Sahib comes riding and the Akuzais follow. In the Ambela ravines lie the White with their red girdles and their dishevelled hair.

"The mercy of the Lord was on the Babaji,* for he threw back the Firangis as far as Calcutta!"

Unfortunately traitors have crept amongst the Ghazis :

"Through the intercession of the Prophet and Master, accept this prayer of mine: make lane in both feet whoever makes war upon me, throw illness on his family, call calamity upon him.

"Let Zaid Ullah Khan,† of Dagar, tremble before Dagar, O Lord. It is well known in Dagar that Zaid Ullah's name is *Nihang*.‡

"As the Ghazis had met, he went in the dead of night and made it known to the Firangis. He told James:§ 'To-day thy life is in great danger.'

"James answered: 'Zaid Ullah, I will heap thee with favours. Thou shalt have from me in perpetuity fivepence a day.'

The last Afghan war produced also a plentiful crop of songs, though I do not find any in my collection that can compete with the savage eloquence of the Ambela songs. They breathe hate and scorn enough, but hardly anything better. Here are fragments that may give an idea of the general tone :

"The Firangi set out in a rage; he wants to wage battle; he has collected an army. But Havás|| has received their money, and he serves loyally the Engriz.

"Havás let himself be bought; he is not ashamed of his bad renown. Before the Lord his forehead is black. He told Kamnari: 'I shall serve thee loyally.'

"Havás is a traitor; he nourishes treason's self in his veins. Great is the glory of the Ghazis. Glory to the Ghazis! who have solidly seized the sword.

"The *Lat*¶ has spread rupees with full hands; the Ghazis cried with shame. He has filled with them the Afridis, who feed on the flesh of the dead.

"The Mohmands are numerous, like dust; the Ghazis have hurried forward with forced marches and I have sung.

"But there were no chiefs, no munitions. Had they been all of one accord,

* The father, the Sahib.

† One of the first who deserted.

‡ A crocodile; a hypocrite.

§ The Deputy-Commissioner.

|| The *malik* of the Afridis, who opened the Khaiber Pass for the English.

¶ *Lat*, Lord; the commander-in-chief.

had they all met on one point, had they camped at Bash Balag, the Firangis would not have taken Lalpura.

"But some went over to the worship of the recreant; they received money from him, they became the foes of the Prophet.

"For five farthings they denied Islam: their forehead is already black for the day of doom.

"Whoever is a Mussulman, whoever is of good faith in Islam, goes to the sacred war, gives up life and goods for the law of the Holy Prophet, and is not afraid of the impious."

The murder of Cavagnari—or, as they pronounce it, Kamnari—is often alluded to, generally as a fine feat of Islam. The current native report is, that an Afghan regiment came to ask their arrears of pay from the new Emir, Yaqub Khan, who directed them to Cavagnari, as being the real master in Cabul. They were sent back by Cavagnari to the Emir, and again by the Emir to Cavagnari, who ordered his men to fire at them, though they were disarmed; then all the city rose, and the massacre followed:

"Mohammed Yaqub Khan was the son of the Emir; he was not a child—he was great, clever, and learned.

"He called for Kamnari; he gave him Bala Hissar; * Kamnari stayed there for a few days.

"A band of *ardel* † came to the castle to present a petition to Yaqub: 'Our pay has been left near your father,‡ we are in urgent need of it.' Yaqub cursed them with anger. They went to Kamnari, the Infidel. The true Ghazi, it is with the sword he fills his hunger.

"There was a tumult; the Firangis were slaughtered in Cabul; the Emir did not know of it.

"The Emir was angry; he called for the soldiers; the soldiers said: 'The massacre was done by Mohammed Jan Khan.'

"Mohammed Jan Khan said: 'I confess it; I have killed that madman with my own hand. I cut his throat; my knife grew blunt.'

"The news came to Company.§ He flew into a passion, and said: 'Laf Rapat,|| go at once.'

"Rapat went through the Kurum valley towards Cabul. May God save us from that reptile!

"Rapat, like a reptile, entered the heart of Yaqub Khan; Yaqub left Cabul. Mohammed Yaqub, to save his life, went to Rapat, turning his back to Islam.

"He made Yaqub a prisoner, he sent him down to the plain. Hindustan became his country, and he forgot his native place. Was he drunk with wine or drunk with blang? ¶ no one knows.

"But the Ghazi Mohammed Jan Khan collected the Ghazis. He went into the open field and pursued Rapat. Rapat was lost and all amazed, and he said to Mohammed Jan: 'You are my lord, I am your slave.'"

This Mohammed Jan, whom the poet most gratuitously, I am glad to say, credits with the murder of Cavagnari, was a home-born

* The fortress in Cabul.

† *Ardel*, a corruption of the English *orderly*.

‡ Shir Ali, the former Emir, overthrown by the English.

§ John Company has survived himself in Afghanistan.

|| *Laf Rapat*, Lord Robert (Sir Frederick Roberts).

¶ *Khanazada ghulām*.

servant of Yaqub Khan,* and he was with the Emir's brother, Ayub, the sword of the nation, as the old molla of Ghazni, Marshki Alam, was its voice and soul.

"Mohammed Jan was the leader, and so was the Sāhibzadā Mushki Alam. Company had to mourn on that account.

"Whoever has courage to fight face to face, let him slaughter that ruffian.†

"Mohammed Jan Khan stretched out the hand against Rapat; he uncovered the locks of his head.‡ May God give him victory!

"They had many battles in Cabul—battles to the death—with gun and sword.

"When he had driven them from Cabul, he marched on Ghazni; he fought a great battle. There were white men, there were black men, but he made them all blood-red.

"Ayub Khan and Mohammed Khan encamped both of them in the field; they kissed one another in the battle."

Mohammed Jan fought to the last. However, when all was over and Abdulrahman was on the throne, he announced his readiness to submit and recognize the new Emir. But Abdulrahman trusts more to the dead than to the living. Mohammed, enticed by the unworthy son of the Sahib of Svāt, Miyan Gul Kalan, presented himself to the Emir, who had him put to death. But one day, as the Emir was riding through the bazar of Jelalabad, he heard these lines:

"The Ghazi Mohammed Jan Khan, martyr, has passed from this world. The Emir had him put to death. He was taken by treason.

"Since Emir Abdulrahman sits on the throne at Cabul, man has lost his faith in man."

The Emir, stung to the quick, alighted from his elephant and did not disdain to go to the poet and apologize before him. I wonder what sort of songs are ringing now in the bazars of Ghazni and Candahar.

I shall conclude with a Persian song that was sung at Cabul in the time when General Roberts was besieged in his camp at Shir-khan:—many of its lines have again an interest of actuality. To understand them one must remember that Ayub Khan, who is now again to the front, and has just left his prison at Teheran to try his chance, is the brother of the late Emir Yaqub, now a prisoner in India at Dehra Dun; that little Musa Khan is the son of Yaqub, and was proclaimed Emir in his place by Ayub and Mohammed Jan. If Abdulrahman falls, Musa will reign under the regency of Ayub. He has been for years the hope of the Ghazis, and popular legend is already busy about him. People from the exile court at Teheran, who come to Peshawar, tell in the bazar that he is always repeating to his uncle: "Uncle, let us declare war on the English; either they will kill me or I will deliver my father."

* When he put himself into the hands of Lat Rapat.

† "That ruffian" is Company.

‡ A great insult to a Hindu.

"Yaqub Khan is the man of Right,
Come, boy, and get the grapes! *
Musa Khan is the Emir of the Afghans, Come, boy . . .
Abdul Rahman is the child of the Russians,† Come, boy . . .
Cabul has become Hindustan,‡ Come, boy . . .
Shame will be the lot of our wives,§ Come, boy . . .
But there is still one great battle to be fought, Come, boy . . .
The signal will come from Iran, Come, boy . . .
The plain is all red with flowers,¶ Come, boy . . .
The red roses are the blood of martyrs, Come, boy . . .
Double rupees fly about on every side, Come, boy . . .
Herat belongs to Teheran, Come, boy . . . "**

Is Herat again the proposed price of Persian assistance? Will the next Afghan Frontier Commission have to draw the Perso-Afghan line east of Herat?

I must say here that not all the political songs of the Afghans evince such feelings of desperate aversion. Though in the songs from Afghanistan and Yaghistan there is no love lost on the British, the songs from the British districts are often in a rather different spirit. Mahmud, the author of the scathing satire on Afzul Khan, quoted above, is a staunch supporter of the British Raj, and has written a ballad on the justice of the English:

"The Sâhibs have the same law both for the weak and for the strong. They practise to perfection justice and equity, and make no difference in a lawsuit between the strong and the weak.

"The man of honour they treat with honour and they shield not the thief, the scamp, the gamester. They wield royalty as it becomes kings, and take tribute from Rajahs and Nababs."

It must be confessed that the loyal poetry of the Afghans has not the same go and swing as that which is not loyal. They are at their best in satire, which, however, can be loyal too. What indictment of the dilapidations in the Commissariat could be shorter and sharper than these lines, written after the last Afghan War:

"Everybody has bought the *tatoos* †† of the Commissariat; for four *annas* ‡‡ the camels of the Commissariat.

"In fine dress, boots on their feet, a cane in hand, strut about the *munshis* §§ of the Commissariat.

* Bullets. The boy is General Roberts.

† He is no longer so.*

‡ A British province.

§ English morality is supposed to be in Afghanistan what French morality is supposed to be in England. The rising of 1839 is ascribed by native tradition to an "English lord" having debauched the wife of one of the first Afghan chiefs, Abdullah Achakzai. Abdullah killed them with his own hand, and called his people to revenge. An *ordre du jour de moralité* by General Roberts recommends the soldiers to avoid the indiscretions committed during the first occupation of Cabul, in order to remove the prejudice of past years, and "cause the British name to be as highly respected in Afghanistan as it is throughout the civilized world" (H. Hensman, "The Afghan War of 1879-1880," p. 68). ¶ Grown out of the blood of martyrs.

** This song was published in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore as an "Afghan Nursery Rhyme" (April 15, 1880).

†† *Tattoo*, a pony.

‡‡ Five pence.

§§ Clerks.

" Their fathers and grandfathers did not know what an ass is, and here they are driving in *tam tam*,* the rich men of the Commissariat."

It is time to conclude. The reader may already have drawn his conclusion for himself. The songs, on the whole, confirm, by the Afghans' own confession, the rather unfavourable estimate which was suggested by their history in the last fifty years. A strong race, nothing like the mild Hindoo—of a strong, but mixed metal; a sense of honour, that can do without truth; the half-conventional virtues of the savage; real love ignored; the respect of the weak, a weakness. A sense of religion that teaches no charity, no self-control, no self-improvement, and is best gratified in the damnation of alien creeds. As to the intellectual side, no high imagination, a limited range of ideas, but, at the same time, one of the highest of all gifts—one which effete Europe has lost—simplicity and directness of expression. Politically, none of the virtues that make a nation, the clan and the family divided against themselves, and the word cousin† meaning "deadly foe;" the foreigner hardly worse hated than the countryman, and played off against him. The Englishman hated as an infidel, despised as unreliable and immoral;‡ in the impending struggle for the Empire of Asia no help to be hoped except for cash, no promise to be trusted except on bill of exchange; in fact, no permanent and sincere support to be expected, because the fields for loot lie across the Indus, not across the Oxus. It must be said, in fairness to the tribes, that sixty years ago Christians could travel safely through Afghanistan, that the present desperate feelings were created in 1838 by the wanton aggression of Lord Auckland, the Liberal, and that, while they were slowly dying out,§ they were revived ten years ago by Lord Lytton, the Conservative, too intensely, perhaps, for any hope to be left of stemming again the current of hatred and distrust. It may be added however, as a reassuring symptom of a negative kind, that the name of Russia is not yet on the lips of the singing politicians of Afghanistan and that the "Divine Figure from the North" is not yet looming on the horizon of their hopes.

JAMES DARMESTETER.

* A light open carriage.

† *Tarbur*.

‡ This, of course, applies chiefly to the Afghans of Afghanistan and Yaghistan. Those of the British districts know more of the British and know better.

§ During the Mutiny the British Empire was saved by the neutrality of Afghanistan and the active support of the Afghan districts.

IN PRAISE OF THE COUNTRY.

IT is not many weeks since one of the most fascinating of all the writers who have ever set themselves to describe the sights, sounds, and occupations, the "Works and Days" of the English country-side was removed from us by death. The remarkable merits of Mr. Richard Jefferies, both as an observer of Nature and as a literary artist, have received many tributes since his decease. He has been praised, in fact, like *probitas* in the well-known line of Juvenal, and unhappily it would seem with much the same result. Mr. Jefferies died, it will be remembered, in very straitened circumstances, and left a widow and family so ill provided for that his friends were obliged to make an appeal to the public on their behalf. It is melancholy to think that a labourer of such rare excellence in a field so sparsely occupied should have been thus, apparently at any rate, deemed unworthy of his hire. No doubt it would be wrong to treat this sad business as exclusively a case of public neglect. The long illness which preceded Mr. Jefferies's death must have progressively diminished, and towards the end, may have entirely arrested his money-earning powers; and simple as appears to have been his manner of life, it is not surprising if, at his comparatively early age, he should have been unable to lay by anything out of an income derived mainly, it is to be supposed, from his contributions to the periodical press. Perhaps, too, the expression "public neglect" is not applicable with justice to the lot of any writer who can find a ready and fairly remunerative market for what he writes, whatever be the particular quarter in which that market has to be sought. The world of readers may decline to buy a writer's books, or to buy them in sufficient numbers to enable him to live; but if they hear him gladly in the daily or weekly press, as they often do—and it would be a bad

look-out for many authors if they did not—his friends may perhaps be considered ungrateful or unreasonable if they complain of his being “neglected.” What right, it may be asked of them, has a man to insist on being read in that form of publication which takes its place (as a rule) on the library shelves instead of in that form which goes (as a rule) into the waste-paper basket? If there is not enough demand for his books to make his fortune, let him thank his stars that there is enough demand for his “pot-boilers” to ensure the boiling of the pot. At the worst he will be better off than those writers whose whole time is occupied on what are called “monumental works,” perhaps with some allusion to the posthumous character of the only fame that is to be expected from them—works which may possibly be read with admiration a hundred years hence, but the sale of which will not buy their authors bread and cheese to-day. Such men are no doubt living among us at this moment, though not, I fancy, in such numbers as we have been recently asked to believe, and many, perhaps most of them, even if they could spare the time for the production of ephemeral literature, have not the self-adaptive faculty necessary to enable them to produce it of the quality which its light-minded patrons desire. Mr. Jefferies, it might be said by the kind of objector I am imagining, was unfortunate in the failure of his health, and in his early death; but he cannot be said to have been “neglected,” merely because, though a well-known, fairly-well remunerated, and, in one sense, popular writer, his books did not command a large enough sale to support him during enforced cessation of work, and to provide for his family after his death.

Looking at the matter from this hard common-sense point of view, it would no doubt be difficult to deny the justice of objections like these. At the same time it is equally difficult to restrain an emotion of that ancient and futile discontent which Coleridge rebukes in his “Complaint and Reproof.” It is not so much, one cannot help feeling, that a writer like Mr. Jefferies does not “obtain that which he merits,” or which we deem him to merit; but that others who seem to us to merit so much less than he did should obtain so much more. It is eminently natural, however economically unreasonable, to think that the literature which gives the most lasting pleasure to the greatest number of readers ought to bring, if not the largest, at any rate the steadiest and most lasting remuneration to its producers. If the proceeds of a single lucky hit with a “shilling dreadful,” which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the dust-heap, may occasionally enrich its author with the capital of a modest income, is it not hard that no such reward should ever be received for those volumes which no reader who appreciates them at all would ever think of throwing away? If the thrilling story which “you cannot put down till you have finished it” (but which when you have put it down you

will assuredly never take up again) may prove a gold mine to its author, is it fair that the man whose book, though you can indeed lay it down before you have finished it, can be taken up again with renewed delight a hundred and a thousand times, should almost want for bread?

These are old questions and as idle as they are old. They may be asked, of course, with as much point and as little profit in connection with plenty of other good literary work besides that of Mr. Jefferies. If in his case they appear to deserve a more sympathetic answer than they usually meet with from the "practical man," it is because his particular kind of good literary work is mocked, in this day of shams, with a semblance of popularity which it does not really profess. The English public, outside the coteries of culture, does not pretend to care for poetry except in "selections," or for philosophy or science except in primers, or for history in any larger doses than can be contained in manuals of two hundred pages foolscap octavo, or for æsthetics in any other form than that which best exhibits the eloquence of the critic under colour of describing the qualities of a work of art. But hardly any one, however great or however slight his pretensions to culture, will admit indifference to Nature, and to her world of living things, if not perhaps as they present themselves to the scientific mind, at any rate as they appear to the lovingly observant eye. There are comparatively few people in these days who would plead guilty to that inveterate Cockneyism of which many a man, by no means assignable to the category of the club-fogey, would have boldly boasted a generation ago. The "sweet shady side of Pall Mall" has still perhaps its votaries, who prefer it to any other spot in the world; but unless they are very old and hardened in their defiance of modern tastes, they keep their devotion a secret. As for the others, it is "the thing" to profess enthusiasm for "the country;" and it would shock them to be out of the mode. These are they—or rather these are some of them, for women here, as elsewhere, are more resolutely "in the fashion" than men—who are accustomed to fill the heated air of the drawing-room, to which nothing but their own wishes brings them in mid-July, with romantic aspirations for those woods and fields from which nothing but their own wishes keeps them. About as genuinely rustic as china shepherdesses, they add an exasperating touch to their imposture by their selection of the confidant of their imaginary regrets, pouring out perhaps their elegant lamentations into the ear of some unfortunate man who is chained to his labouring oar in the great city, and who, if he were master of his own movements, would be far enough away from it in a few hours. It is, I say, because so many people nowadays pretend to a passionate affection for Mr. Jefferies's subject, that one was apt at first to be more than ordinarily surprised at what now appears to

have been the comparatively limited circulation of Mr. Jefferies's works. It is now clear that an immense proportion of the professed admirers of "those sweet things, don't you know, 'The Gamekeeper at Home,' and 'Wild Life in a Southern County,'" had been content to read them "as they came out" in their evening paper, along with the "This day's proceedings" of the latest sensational trial, and thereafter to hand them over to the Promethean housemaid. In most cases, indeed, it may be fairly assumed that even this transitory kind of interest in these unique productions was not due to that peculiar quality of them which so endears them to the true lover of the country. They have much to say, as their titles indicate, not only about the fields and woods, but about the creatures that people them; and there are a large number of worthy persons languidly interested in what used to be called "natural history," who imagine that to like to read about the habits of the lower animals, who have all of them their "place in the country," and nowhere else, is the same thing as being fond of the country for its own sake. I need hardly say that it is nothing of the kind, and that a man is no more entitled by this taste to boast himself a lover of the country, than he would be by a fondness for the Zoological Gardens.

Of the real meaning and the real charm of "The Gamekeeper" and "Wild Life" it appears to me that the class of readers I am speaking of have never got so much as an inkling. To make anything of these books than mere collections of "Stories about Animals" or "Wonders of the Woods," or, at any rate, to get their full value out of them, and to recognize them as books to be kept by us, and read again and again, as we keep and read, or are supposed to keep and read, the works of our favourite poets, it is necessary that the reader should study them in that peculiar posture of the mind and will which, as I shall endeavour to show hereafter, is the sole, the indispensable, condition of finding an enduring charm in the country. And though it is, I know, the fashion to assume that the country has more charms for us of these days than it had for our fathers, I have no doubt whatever, for my own part, that, in spite of certain superficial and delusive phenomena which seem to favour this assumption, the very contrary is the truth. Indeed, I should have been prepared to say, were it not for the aforesaid phenomena, that it was the self-evident truth. Surely the contention that the love of the country is increasing at a time when the drift of migration from the rural districts to the large towns is assuming the proportions of an economical danger, must be admitted to partake of the nature of a paradox. Nor does it seem antecedently very probable that a growing desire for the repose and monotony of country life should concur with a progressive intensification of that feverish thirst for excitement and novelty which marks our age,

except, indeed, in the sense in which a growing desire for cooling mineral waters is observed to coincide with an increasing addiction to intoxicating liquors. No penetrating observer, however, would adduce this last coincidence as proof of the progress of temperance; and the multiplication of "country cottages," "bungalow" settlements, and "villas standing in their own park-like grounds," is a fact of a precisely analogous bearing on the question with which it is usual to connect it. The rush of townsmen into the country is not the sign of any genuine or settled longing for repose: rather it is a new and melancholy symptom of modern unrest. It is not quiet which is sought, but distraction; the quest is for novelty, which is itself one of the most potent sources of excitement; and the appetite, in this instance at any rate, is very quickly satisfied. Let those who are curious on that point consult any provincial or suburban house-agent in a sufficiently large way of business, and ascertain from him what is the average rate of rapidity at which these residences change hands. The statistics which he will get can hardly fail to convince him that all over the rural environs of London, out to a radius of twenty miles or so, a perpetual process of disenchantment is going on in the minds of emigrants from the metropolis; that these districts are continually receiving the influx of a stream of restless townspeople who think they long for a life of repose and quiet, and are continually sending back again an efflux of bored *suburbani*, who have found that all they really wanted was a "little change."

This rapid process of satiation among the particular class to which I refer, is a phenomenon for which the wise observer would have been prepared; he would have anticipated it from the very fact that these immigrants into the country are so fastidious about the *kind* of neighbourhood which they select for their rural retreat—so exigent in the matter of "picturesque surroundings." We shall do well, as a rule, to distrust his genuine love of the country who has much to say about "scenery;" for in all probability the root of the matter is not in him. If such an one stakes much upon his supposed predilection for this or that particular spot, disappointment is assuredly in store for him. He has yet to master the saving truth that the true pleasure of the country—the only pleasure that survives the excitement of novelty—is not an affair of the æsthetic sensibilities but of the contemplative faculty. It is not the glow and radiance of an emotion—for emotions are of their very nature transitory—it is the equable atmosphere of a permanent mental state. The author of *Endymion* has much to answer for in having penned the most often quoted of its lines. In declaring—or declaring without the necessary qualification—that "a thing of beauty is joy for ever," he incurred a very serious responsibility. The truth which the utterance contains is not to be

found in the meaning which lies upon its surface, and Keats ought to have foreseen that many persons, including some of the highest respectability, would put the superficial construction on it, and, upon the faith of such construction, would take villas "standing in their own park-like grounds," on three years' agreements, perhaps even on twenty-one year leases determinable at seven or fourteen years at the option of the tenant. He should have appended a footnote to the first line of *Endymion*—it might have checked the not too even flow of the verse to have introduced it into the text—to the effect that though "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever," it is not so to the same man at all times. Its potentiality of imparting joy to mankind at large, or even, with reservations, to the same man, is doubtless perpetual in the strictest sense; but its joy in actuality is perpetual only in the sense of being perpetually recurrent, not in that of being indefinitely continuous.* If we fancy that it is continuous it is only because we so rarely test the question by experiment. The Grecian Urn of which Keats sang, be it real or imaginary, was a thing of beauty; his own ode to it is a thing of surpassing beauty. But if he had lived in the perpetual contemplation of this urn and of nothing else, would his joy in it have been perpetual? If the lovers of his matchless ode were to pass their lives in reading it and nothing else, would *their* joy in it be perpetual? I greatly fear that Satiety—that skeleton at every feast of the emotions, be the fare never so ambrosial—would at last assert its claims. A "joy for ever," is indeed, except in the above defined sense of a "potentiality of joy," a contradiction in terms. One might as well talk of an "immovable wave." Joy is but a momentary uplifting of the waters of the soul, which flash for that moment in the sun of beauty, and then in obedience, as it were, to a mental law of gravitation, subside. Every subsidence of a pleasure is attended with a sense of loss; and a sense of loss is pain. Emotion, therefore, of any kind, as being a defiance of an ultimately irresistible force, must necessarily either be or tend to become pain: it is only on the mirrored calm of contemplation which, never rebelling against, has never to be subdued by that force, that it acts without any disturbing effect.

But it is only rarely that a solicitor or a stockbroker, whatever his eminence in his calling, attains to much proficiency in psychological analysis; and, as a rule, therefore, he accepts Keats's poetic dictum in a sense which it will not bear. He firmly believes that the

* It may be complained that this elucidation of Keats's meaning—or what ought to have been his meaning—is not in the metre of *Endymion*, and that it does not readily lend itself to a poetical form of expression. With that, however, a critic has nothing to do. His duty is discharged when he says that unless Keats had some reasons for wishing to increase the incomes of house agents and furniture removers, he ought to have explained himself more fully.

“extensive and delightful” views which so attracted him in the advertisement of his country residence, and so charmed him on his first visit, will never pall upon him, even as objects of perpetual contemplation. Great, therefore, is his disappointment when he discovers that only one-half of the advertiser’s description remains permanently true, and has to confess to himself that the views, while continuing to be extensive, cease to be delightful. It is a new and unwelcome revelation to him to find that he is capable of being just as much bored with the “Hog’s Back” as with Bartholomew Lane or Bedford Row, and that the space of a year or so, or perhaps only of a few months, suffices to make him as indifferent to waving woods and embosoming hills, as he was to forests of chimney-pots and avenues of lamp-posts. Then is the time to inform him that it is not beauty of scenery which makes or mars the country for him who really loves it; that picturesqueness does not constitute nor plainness diminish its abiding charm; nay even, paradox as it may sound, that there are certain forms of rural beauty which, as detracting from the *mental* effect of landscape, are apt to impair its permanent value for those true lovers of whom I speak.

The two qualities which are primarily essential to the production and maintenance of this mental effect are space and solitude. Quiet, of course, is an essential also, but that follows of necessity from solitude; and solitude and quiet, without space, will not avail—as many a stockbroker and solicitor has learnt to his cost—to give him that sense of freedom and repose which he associates, and very justly, with the rural life. An “eligible villa” at the foot of an abruptly rising hill and with, say, an impenetrable wood directly in front of it, may beget as distinct a feeling of confinement as you get in Lower Thames Street. Even the desirable residence “standing in its own park-like grounds,” will produce the same effect if this attractive description is applied, as it often is, to a house stuck down in the middle of a clump of trees, which not only intercept the view but go far towards excluding the light and air. It is an error to suppose that imprisonment within four walls of foliage is much less irksome and depressing in the long run than imprisonment within four walls of bricks and mortar. Andrew Marvell talks in “The Garden” about the mind

“Annihilating all that’s made
To a green thought in a green shade.”

That is all very well in the garden but not in the house—all very well for an afternoon but not for some sixteen or eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. In that case the “green thought” is only the Cockney’s innocent belief that he will like it.

Space and solitude, then, and *not* picturesqueness, are primary essentials to the production and maintenance of the true charm of the

country ; but it is evident that something else is required. Otherwise the appeal of the landscape and seascape would be one ; for the sea is space and solitude personified, and it would affect us, in its wilder moods, say, as the mountain and the ravine affect us, and in its calmer as we are affected by the open, sunny plain. I should hope it is not necessary to point out to any true lover of the country how monstrous a heresy it would be to affirm any such proposition as this last, and how wide, how emphatically generic is the distinction which separates the "feeling" of landscape from that of the sea. Which of the two is the superior from the contemplative point of view, which of the two makes more for abiding peace, and less for transitory joy, appears to me—though I am anxious to avoid all suspicion of dogmatism—to be a question which does not admit of a moment's doubt. I have nothing, at least that I am aware of, to gain by depreciating the sea, which indeed, if only in respect of its size and strength, it would ill become any one less presumptuous than that little prig, Charoba, in Landor's *Gebir*, to underrate. But without being prepared to say "coldly, with long-lashed eyes abased, Is this the mighty ocean, is this all?" one may be prepared to contend that the ocean has no such powerfully soothing or intimately searching influence for the human heart as has, for instance, a sweep of English pasture broken in the distance by lines of purple woodland, rising tier above tier, in dimmer and dimmer colouring, till they melt into the sky. I regard it as preposterous to say that the sea has a tranquillizing effect, or that it is or can be permanently satisfying to a mind which seeks tranquillity before all things, and long before the mere delight of the eyes. The sea is a stimulant, not a sedative as the phenomena of external Nature which we oftenest contemplate ought, in these days especially, to be. Who are the poets who have expressed themselves most strongly on the subject of the sea? Men like Byron and Victor Hugo—both of them in reality types of the restless man of action, both of them driven only by enforced exile to the contemplation of Nature, and both of them far more attracted by the life and stir of great cities. Byron died before his wandering impulse had spent itself ; but we may rely upon it that if he had lived beyond the age of fifty he would have settled down into an inveterate Londoner, with rooms in the Albany, and his own special table at the "Travellers." As for Victor Hugo, as soon as ever the culprit of "*Les Châtiments*" fell from power the exile of December returned to France, took a spacious "sky-parlour" in Paris to receive his worshippers in, and, roughly speaking, never set foot outside the fortifications to the day of his death.

These remarks, however, run some risk of being mistaken for a digression. My point is—or was—that space and solitude alone are not the sole constituents of the "feeling" of the country, inas-

much as the sea is excellently well-found in the articles of space and solitude, and yet cannot claim to exercise anything like the soothing and chastening charm of landscape upon a well-regulated mind. The differentiating element, that which the landscape possesses and the sea does not, is clearly the presence of *organic* life. It is the presence of organic life which gives to those open spaces of the earth on which such life abounds their strangely tranquillizing power. The spaces should not be too visibly bounded, because the sensation of the Infinite is undoubtedly an invariable ingredient in this mental calm; but it is a mistake to suppose that the sensation of the Infinite is in itself a tranquilizing force. On the contrary, as any one will find who thoroughly absorbs himself for a few minutes in the contemplation of the starlit heavens, it is essentially a disquieting, a disturbing agency, as fraught with unrest, an unrest of its own, as is a persistent gaze on that quintessential concentration of the finite—a crowded street. It is only in the synthesis of the two that the mind can repose—it is only where man beholds the finite clasped, as it were, and hushed on the bosom of the infinite, that his mind becomes conscious of the contact of finite and infinite in its own nature, and feels the deep submerging peace which the sense of that contact must always and necessarily produce. How should the landscape fail to arouse this sense of contact, or the sea succeed? The sea is infinity, impersonality, nay, in the deeper sense, unchangeability itself. It leans illimitable upon an illimitable sky. The form of the matter upon which its forces, kindly or terrible, exert themselves is nothing; the forces themselves everything. The form of its matter—the finite element in the sea—is so incessantly shifting, that for us it is as good as non-existent; we can take no more account of it than we can of the matter of the heavenly bodies, which to us are no more than points of light. A sense of unity, a sense of a common infinity with the sea is as impossible as it is with the stars.

To space then and to solitude must be added, in order to produce the distinctively tranquilizing effect of landscape, the felt presence of organic life. It is the total absence of this element which made the starlit heaven appear a “sad sight” to Carlyle; it is its almost total absence that makes the desert and the glacier unfitting objects of continual contemplation. And it is its presence which causes those vague longings that ocean, firmament, and desert only intensify, to be so instantaneously and mysteriously allayed by one glance at a Yorkshire moorland, or even at the misty flats, the long gaunt lines of poplar, the glimmering waterpools of a Flemish fen. The organic life of whose presence we are conscious may permissibly be human; but if human it must be rare and remote. It must be little in amount, and it must make its little go a long way off. The sight of a distant human figure in the road or on the hillside, and even the faint sound

of human voices will no doubt enhance the soothing influence of landscape, but they must be far enough away to raise the particular human being who excites these sensations from the level of the individual to that of the species. He must have ceased to be a man and have become merely Man. He must, in Schopenhauerian terminology, have become a simple "objectification of the Will in Nature," and must partake sensibly of the infinity and the impersonality of that Will from which he emanates. Bring him nearer, near enough for one to recognize dress and features, and the finite element in him is sure to bulk so largely over the infinite as at once to introduce into the scene before us an element of discord and unrest. For all you know the man may be a Radical while you are a Conservative, or *vice versâ*; but in any case his near approach can hardly fail to awaken in you a host of associations with the "World as Will," and to intercept to that extent your calm contemplation of the "World as Idea."

But having combined all these necessary ingredients—space, solitude, a sufficient presence of organic life, a sufficient distance between one's self and human life—having succeeded, I say, in obtaining a combination of all these things, and having sat ourselves down to contemplate it, are we even then sure that the true charm of the country will visit us, that the genuine message of the landscape will gain the ear of the soul? Alas! no. After everything has been done that can be done on the side of the Object, there is still the Subject to be reckoned with, and this is by far the more difficult matter of the two. The receptivity of the recipient—that is everything; and how is that to be attained? I fear there is no royal road to its attainment—none. How many persons are there—or how many, we may indeed ask, have there ever been—to whom Nature has spoken, once for all, her word of peace, and who thenceforth and for all time are at rest in her presence, and no more need to seek for beauty in her face than a child needs to seek it in the countenance of its mother? There are few indeed, I think, whether in the world of real life or in that of literature. Many a magic touch in Homer convinces us that he, beyond perhaps and above all poets who ever lived, had felt the kiss of Demeter on his brow. No one can read fifty lines of Lucretius and doubt that Nature spoke to him in her deepest, most solemn, most tranquilizing tones; but elsewhere among the ancient classics I am not sure that it would be easy to find it. No doubt an indignant plea will be urged for Virgil; and I could not, of course, complain if a certain famous passage in the Second Georgic—perhaps the whole poem itself would be "put in"—were to be flung at me with an air of triumph. Yet, even so, I think I should be hardened enough to contend that there is a touch of the townsman in "O fortunatos nimium," &c. It is all very charming that praise of "secura quies," and "latis otia fundis," of the "speluncæ, vivique-

lacus," of the "*mugitusque boum, mollesque sub arbore somni.*" But there is a note of the jaded and disappointed courtier about the lines which immediately precede these. We cannot help remembering that the poet himself must have often formed one of the "*mane salutantum unda,*" flowing forth into the street from the door of the patron; nor can we avoid the suspicion, possibly unjust in Virgil's case, that it is merely *ennui* and disgust with the life of Rome which has set him rhapsodizing on the delights of the country. Besides, why should a man who really loved the country require to be spirited up by Mæcenas, at least as tradition has it, to write a poem about agriculture, with the object of reviving the industry? Think of the *Georgics* having been written "with a purpose!" It is almost enough to spoil one's relish for them altogether. There is nothing, in fact, to show that Virgil cared much more, in any disinterested sense of the word, for the pastures and furrows of which he sang than Ben Jonson cared personally to "hear the loud stag speak" across the silent chase in the night watches, for all the apparent earnestness of the poetic address to Sir Robert Wroth in which that fine line occurs. As to Horace, there is surely no room for doubt. He was as arrant a little Cockney as any that ever was dandled to the chimes of Bow Bells. There is scarcely a line in his praises of Tibur and of Anio which is not saturated with the "suburban" spirit—a thing as different and as far removed from the rural spirit as it is possible to conceive.

The heretical proposition, in short, to which I am mustering courage to commit myself is, that it is the exception rather than the rule for the poets, even for those who have sung best of the country, to care—I will not say a pinch of snuff for the country, but enough about it to live out their lives in its midst. "Falsely luxurious! will not man arise?" asks Thomson from the comfortable recesses of his four-poster; and it is on much the same terms that plenty of English poets have extolled those rural charms which never attracted them save at brief and uncertain intervals. Mr. George Meredith and Mr. Alfred Austin are shining exceptions to what I am inclined to regard as a general rule. Each of these two poets has long made his abode amid that sweet English scenery which each describes with a magic of his own. But their preferences have not been very numerously anticipated by their predecessors, as how should it be by any "*genus irritabile*" of mortals? A wise indifference to the world, to its struggles, defeats and victories, to the noisy voices of to-day, and even to the hymns of a future which will only be to-day a little prolonged—to attain to this is the first and great commandment which Nature imposes upon all those who come to her for spiritual sustenance and calm. And how few are they that bring it with them! How few are they who are really content with the food which she gives them, who are satisfied to receive her message,

and if they *must* transmit it, repeat it simply, not tricking it out that they may revel in their own wealth of words, nor philosophizing too much upon it to exercise their subtlety of thought, nor lyrically subjectifying it to make it illustrate their own insignificant sorrows and unimportant joys! Is Keats never delinquent on the first count? Is not Wordsworth sometimes guilty on the second? Can Byron ever be acquitted on the third?

It is because of these shortcomings on the part of our greater poets, it is because they are so often wanting in the true surrender of the will, the due effacement of the striving Ego, that some few of us perhaps (I hardly know how many in these days it would be safe to reckon) may still discover in the verse of a writer long since deposed from the high place which he once occupied the purest and truest rendering of Nature's "Peace be still!" There is no trace in Cowper of that magical might or that hand of power which all our supreme poets from Milton down to Tennyson have alike revealed in their description of the visible world of things. Vigorously as he uses his favourite metrical form, it cannot compare for majesty with the blank verse of the former of the two poets whom I have just mentioned, nor in wealth of harmonies and variety of cadence with that of the latter. There is a certain courtly stiffness in the manner of his approach to the subjects of his verse and to the readers whom he is addressing. But through all the peculiarities of the tongue in which he speaks to us the voice of the poet's heart is plainly heard, and in every word he utters we are made to feel how absolute has been his self-surrender to Nature, how complete his self-effacement in her presence. Cowper's constitutional shyness and self-distrust, and his profound religious despondency, had conjointly extinguished the egoistic element in his character, and when he turned to the contemplation of the material world for relief and self-forgetfulness he did so almost in the spirit in which a mediæval penitent submitted himself to the monastic vows. It was thus that in his work as a poet he found peace for himself; and it is to this that he owes that indescribable calm which breathes through his poetic utterances, and lends weight and dignity to much which were otherwise tame and commonplace.

Strange indeed it were if this truest of all true lovers of the country had failed to penetrate and expound the secret of its only enduring charm. In many a line of the "Task" he sets it forth, and in one emphatic passage, after observing how many of those "who dream they have a taste for fields and groves" would, were it not for field sports and social gaieties, soon "find them hideous nurseries for the spleen"—he adds:

"They love the country and none else, who seek
For their own sake, its silence and its shade."

The "none else" is the point to bear in mind, and also the fact that only those will seek, and when they find them, be contented with its silence and its shade, who bring to them a mind and heart attuned to the reception of their influences. For this, you need not indeed be like Cowper, "a stricken deer that left the herd long since," and purposed never to return to it. But you must possess the power, much more often talked about than possessed, of self-detachment from the striving ambitions of life, and of self-surrender to that temper of contemplation which alone has power over the restlessness of the human heart. The world of woe and bliss must be for a time as though it were not: or if this be a counsel of perfection, your state of mind must at least be that of which Mr. Meredith speaks in that weird poem of his, the "Woods of Westermain." Your relation to the world must be that of one who is

"Sharing still its bliss and woe,
Harnessed to its hungers, no."

But if you would go on to realize the poet's promise that

"On the throne Success usurps,
You shall seat the joy you feel,
Where a race of water chirps,
Twisting hues of flourished steel.
Or where light is caught in hoop,
Up a clearing's leafy rise . . ."

you must, I hold, be able to dethrone the lust for Success in *all* its shapes, and subdue the longing, not only for mere material gains, but even for intellectual and artistic achievement. You must be able to look into the face of Nature without desiring to sketch it, or to rhyme upon it, or even to talk about it, before you can expect with any reasonable confidence to receive her embrace and benediction.

H. D. TRAILL.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE DATE OF THE PENTATEUCH.

IN the last number of the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* Mr. R. S. Poole argues that the "facts" of archæology are opposed to the "theory" of the date of the Pentateuch maintained by modern critics. His paper contains a good many things that have no necessary connection with this thesis. An elaborate parallel is drawn between the problem of the age of the Pentateuch and the Homeric problem, which serves to illustrate the archæological method of discussing the dates of ancient documents, but does not contribute anything to Pentateuch criticism. There are also some strictures on Wellhausen's analysis of the Book of Judges, which, whether justified or not, affect only details in the work of a single critic, and have no bearing—or at any rate a very indirect one—on the date of the Books of Moses. On these parts of Mr. Poole's article I do not propose to enter, but I wish to say a few words on his archæological facts and the use he makes of them. The facts, it may be observed at starting, are by no means recondite; they are, I make bold to say, perfectly familiar to all critics; and I think it will not be difficult to show why they have not produced the same impression on their minds as on that of Mr. Poole.

I. One of the critical arguments for the late date of that part of the Pentateuch and Joshua which is called by recent writers the Priestly Code is taken from the ordinance about Levitical cities. The critics maintain that what the Priestly Code relates of the setting apart by Joshua of forty-eight cities, with their pasture grounds, for the priests and Levites, is "in conflict with history and with the Deuteronomic legislation." Mr. Poole does not go into the evidence adduced in support of this contention: indeed he seems to suppose that it is all contained in a passage from Kuenen's "*Religion of Israel*," in which the Dutch

critic gives only one or two subordinate arguments, referring to earlier passages of his book for the main evidence—viz., the proof that the old history and the Deuteronomic legislation give quite another view of the way in which the Levites were settled. Had Mr. Poole looked back to the earlier pages of Kuenen's work, or carefully read the elaborate argument in Wellhausen's "Prolegomena," he could not have said, as he does, that the critics "start on *à priori* grounds." That *Deuteronomy* represents the Levites, not as gathered in cities and pasture-grounds which are their freeholds, but as sojourning up and down the country, "in the gates" of the ordinary Israelites; that the accounts in the older historical books agree with this; that of the cities which are said in Joshua xxi. to have been given to the Levites in the time of Joshua, some remained long afterwards in the hands of the Canaanites, or, if held by Israelites, were occupied by men of other tribes: all this is fact, not theory, and the charge of a-priorism, if made at all, ought rather to be brought against those who insist on explaining away every statement in the Bible that goes against the traditional date of the Pentateuch. Mr. Poole, however, turns all these difficulties by saying that the monumental list of Shishak's conquests proves that the Levitical cities had been constituted in his time. When an assertion like this is made, one expects to find that Shishak names certain places in Palestine as Levitical cities, and I am afraid that hasty readers of Mr. Poole's paper may go away with the impression that this is actually the case—*e.g.*, that No. 14 of the list on the monument actually reads "Taanach, Levitical, Manasseh, Israel." In reality the words "Levitical, Manasseh, Israel" are Mr. Poole's addition. All that is given on the monument is a bare list of 133 places in Palestine (according to Wiedemann, "*Aeg. Gesch.*" p. 549, twenty-three other names have disappeared), a certain number of which have been identified with places named in the Bible. Mr. Poole accepts seventeen of the proposed identifications, assigning eleven to Israel and six to Judah. If the identifications are correct, as they may very well be, the legitimate inference is that Shishak, in his Palestinian campaign, attacked the kingdom of Jeroboam as well as that of Rehoboam. The Biblical account of his invasion contains nothing inconsistent with this view, though, being evidently derived from the Temple records, it only tells how he plundered the Palace and Temple at Jerusalem (1 Kings xiv. 25 *seq.*). Mr. Poole, however, observes that of the eleven identified names of places in the northern kingdom, six occur in the list of Levitical cities in Josh. xxi. and 1 Chron. vi., and concludes, with Brugsch, that Shishak appeared as the ally, not the enemy, of Jeroboam, who allowed him to plunder the cities of the Levites, taking this method of expelling a class of men who were unfavourable to his religious innovations. It would seem, however, that Shishak must have been a very unruly ally, for there

remain five cities which are held to be identified with Biblical places in Jeroboam's country, and yet are not Levitical. Two of these, indeed (Shunem and Bethshan), Mr. Poole marks as uncertain; but it is not easy to see why they are less certain than others which he accepts as satisfactorily identified, and at all events their position in the list leaves little doubt that they belong to the Northern Kingdom, while they certainly do not correspond to names in the Levitical lists.

I leave it to the reader to judge whether these facts bear out the theory—for it is no more—that Shishak came into Palestine to help Jeroboam, and I also leave him to judge whether any ruler who was in his senses would have recompensed his ally by allowing him to march through the length and breadth of his land and pillage particular cities in all the various parts of it. But there is more against Mr. Poole than this. He claims to rest his theory on the statement of the Chronicler, that the Levites expelled from their functions by Jeroboam resorted to Rehoboam. "The list of Shishak," he says, "explains the method of expulsion. The King of Egypt was allowed by his Israelite ally or vassal to despoil the Levitical cities." But what the chronicler says is, that the Levites forsook their possessions and came (voluntarily) to Rehoboam; that with their help he exercised a strong and righteous government for three years, after which he forsook the law of the Lord, and was punished in his fifth year by the invasion of Shishak (2 Chron. xi., xii.). Mr. Poole, therefore, does not follow the Chronicler, but follows Brugsch in direct opposition to the Chronicler; for, according to the latter, the Levitical cities had already been deserted by the Levites more than three years before Shishak's campaign. The whole theory is absolutely without foundation, and the fact that a certain number of Levitical names appears in Shishak's list is to be explained by the simple observation that the list of Levitical towns embraces so large a proportion of the ancient and important cities of Palestine that no invasion of the country could have taken place without affecting them. It appears, indeed, that the Levitical lists are mainly made up of the names of such ancient cities as had famous local sanctuaries and local priesthoods—priesthoods which really were called Levitical in the time of the Kings, though they were not constituted according to the Priestly Code, and certainly did not possess the freehold of the cities where they officiated. Hebron and Shechem, Ramoth Gilead and Mahanaim, were not colonies of clergy, as the author of the Priestly Code supposes; they were ordinary cities of sufficient age and importance to have a noted high place, with an establishment of local priests. We know from the Book of Kings that Josiah brought up the priests of the local high places to Jerusalem, and put them, on a subordinate footing, upon the Temple establishment; and we can infer, by the aid of what Ezekiel says about the Levites who had

ministered in the high places, that it was precisely the descendants of these local priesthoods who formed the subordinate clergy of the Priestly Code. And thus it is not difficult to understand how the list of Levitical cities comes to contain the names of so many famous cities of old Israel.

II. Mr. Poole thinks that the critics attach much too little value to statements of the Chronicler that are not supported by the older books. He complains that "persons whom he alone mentions have been banished as fictitious. This was the fate of Pul, king of Assyria. . . . At last, very recently, Pul has been discovered in a cuneiform inscription, and is acknowledged to be an historical character." I confess that I do not understand this argument. It is true that Pul is mentioned in Chronicles, but he is also named in the older history (2 Kings xv. 19); so that this is not a case where monumental evidence confirms a statement found only in Chronicles.

III. We now come to an argument of wider scope. The critics, says Mr. Poole, regard the Pentateuch as made up of three documents. "The first [afterwards spoken of as 'the first code'] is a collection consisting of three principal sources put together during the conflict with Assyria." The date ascribed to this collection Mr. Poole puts at about 750 B.C.; that is, thirty years before the fall of Samaria. At this time, Mr. Poole argues, Assyria was the prominent figure on the political horizon, and it is not credible that, if the "first code" was put together then, the references to Assyria in the Pentateuch should be so very scanty as they admittedly are.

To estimate the value of this argument it is necessary to look a little more closely at the critical theory of the origin of the "first code." The document in question is, according to the critics, made up of two distinct and parallel histories, which have been fused into one by a third hand. The third hand, or redactor, added little of his own, and generally retained the very words of his sources. Of the two sources, the older is that which is distinguished by habitually using the name Jahveh, while the second source prefers to call God Elohim. They are therefore commonly known as the Jahvistic and Elohist histories. As regards their date, Professor Kuenen holds that the Jahvist wrote in North Israel, in the ninth century, or in the very first years of the eighth century B.C. In the Elohist history, on the other hand, he believes that he finds traces of the influence of the older prophetic literature—the literature of which Amos is the earliest representative—and, mainly on this account, brings it down as late as the middle of the eighth century B.C. The redactor is naturally placed still later, but his independent work upon the materials which he combined into a single narrative falls within such narrow limits that the historical horizon of the book as it left his hands must be essentially that of his sources. Assuming, therefore, for the moment, that the dates given by Kuenen are a necessary

part of the Grafian or modern hypothesis as to the composition of the Pentateuch, we have to ask what amount of reference to Assyria it is reasonable to look for in the Jahvist and in the Elohist respectively. Kuenen fixes the lower limit of the date of the Jahvistic history by the consideration that it was known to Hosea. Now, Hosea began to write before the extinction of the dynasty of Jehu, and Assyria came into no direct contact with Israel till after that event. The rulers of Israel had no doubt, as the Assyrian monuments appear to imply, already had occasional relations with the court of the great king, but the first mention of Assyria in the history of Kings (2 Kings xv. 19) is in the reign of Menahem. Under the dynasty of Jehu Damascus was the all-engrossing foreign power to which every one's eyes were directed; and Amos, who wrote a very few years before Hosea, never mentions Assyria by name, though he plainly looks to that empire as the instrument of the judgment which he sees to be impending over guilty Israel. The clearest proof that Assyria did not bulk largely on the political horizon of the Israelites of that time is the way in which Amos speaks of the danger as visible to the prophetic eye, but altogether undreamed-of by his hearers. There is therefore no possible reason why the Jahvist, who was not a prophet, but simply a man setting down in writing the traditions of the first days of his nation, should have occasion to speak of the empire of the Tigris.

With the Elohist, if Kuenen's date is right, the case is slightly different. It is not indeed correct to say, as Mr. Poole does, that about the year 750 B.C. the conflict with Assyria was begun. The relations of Menahem to Pul were friendly, and the first hostile encounter between Samaria and Nineveh was under Tiglathpileser in 734. But it is not to be questioned that by the middle of the eighth century Assyria had a very large place in the thoughts of all Israelites; and if the Elohist had been writing in the year 750 about his own times he would certainly have had something to say about the great power which, like Elijah's cloud, had so rapidly risen above the horizon and overshadowed the whole land. But the Elohist wrote about ancient times, and his sources were ancient traditions. No critic supposes that what he tells was made up out of his own head, or was, according to the lights of his time, other than a faithful attempt to give shape to what he had received by tradition. And therefore it is by no means clear how he was to find opportunity to give to Assyria the prominence which Mr. Poole desiderates. But, besides this, it would be an entire mistake to suppose that the date fixed by Kuenen as the probable age of the Elohist has any necessary connection with that general theory of the origin and composition of the Pentateuch on which recent critics are nearly agreed. The essential position of the so-called Grafian hypothesis is, that the Jahvist

and Elohist wrote before the reformation of Josiah, and that the Priestly Code is later than Ezekiel, and first became public law under Ezra. This general position is not touched in the smallest degree though the Jahvist and Elohist are placed half a century earlier than Kuenen places them. For my own part, I am by no means convinced that he has made out his point as to the dependence of the Elohist on the older prophetic writings, and I think it quite possible, or even probable, that that writer is not younger than Amos. Several critics of eminence, indeed, place him a good deal earlier; but this has nothing to do with the arguments for or against the Grafian hypothesis. What would upset the critics would be to prove that the Jahvist and Elohist wrote after Josiah's reformation.

IV. Mr. Poole's most important arguments for the antiquity of the Pentateuch still remain to be considered. They are drawn from a department of archæology to which he has devoted special attention—I mean the monumental history of Egypt; and it may be taken for granted that this part of his case is as strong as it can be made, and deserves special attention. Mr. Poole here begins with a general argument to the effect that the Egypt of the Pentateuch is Egypt as it was in 1300 B.C., and at no much later date. And he asks how this is possible, if “the first code was written during the Assyrian contest?” Before I attempt to answer this question I wish to come to an understanding with Mr. Poole on one point. He says that “the new critics treat the codes, in so far as they relate to the past, as historical novels.” I cannot accept this statement. Among those who hold the modern view as to the composition of the Pentateuch there are great divergences of opinion as to the historical value of the Pentateuchal narrative, but no one thinks that the Jahvist and the Elohist invented what they relate. They reproduced oral tradition, illustrating it by such historical and geographical lights as were accessible, treating it perhaps with a certain amount of literary freedom, but not consciously distorting it. The differences of opinion which exist as to the historical value of their narratives turn, not on different estimates of the veracity of the writers, but on the question how far oral tradition in the eighth or ninth century before Christ can be relied on as good historical evidence for events of the time of Moses. This is a question which cannot be answered in general terms; each tradition must be tested in detail, and stand or fall accordingly. As regards the Egyptian matter in the Pentateuch, most critics accept the settlement of the Hebrews in Goshen, the exodus under the leadership of Moses, and the deliverance at the Red Sea as historical facts preserved by authentic tradition; and this being so, it is only reasonable to expect that up to a certain point the tradition shall accurately represent the historical condition of Egypt as it was at the time of the exodus. But it must be granted to Mr. Poole that oral tradition

transmitted through so many centuries could hardly preserve a full picture of Egyptian life and institutions, as they were in the time of Joseph or of Moses, and at no later date. If such a full picture is really found in the Pentateuch, it is reasonable to conclude that the Pentateuchal narrative was either written soon after the exodus, or is based on older documents than critics usually suppose. This being conceded, let us look at Mr. Poole's evidence.

First of all, we have a general contrast between the Egypt of the Law and the Egypt of the Prophets, which is short enough to be taken up clause by clause. "In the Law there is no mention of Upper Egypt, in the Prophets the two divisions of the country are recognized." This is not correct. Upper Egypt is called Pathros by the Prophets, and the people of Upper Egypt appear under the name Pathrusim (Pathrosites) in Gen. x. 14. "In the Law there is but one king, in the Prophets the state is divided into many small monarchies during the hundred years before the Saïte reconstruction of an united Egypt." The hundred years in question end with the accession of Psammetichus I. in 664 B.C., and no one doubts that the Hebrew traditions about the patriarchs in Egypt had taken shape much more than a century before this time. "In the Law the army is Egyptian, in the Prophetic and later historical books, Kings and Chronicles, it is largely composed of mercenaries." What does Mr. Poole mean by this? The Pentateuch says nothing about the composition of the Egyptian army, and has no occasion to do so. Is it argued that a Hebrew writer of later times, repeating the story of the exodus as he had received it from tradition, would naturally have gone out of his way to introduce a sketch of the Egyptian army as it was in his own times? Finally, "in the Law the Israelites, welcomed as a tribe, are bitterly oppressed as a nation; in the Prophets they are uniformly befriended." What does this prove? How could the story of the exodus have been told without reference to the oppression that was its occasion?

Perhaps this whole paragraph is only meant as a rhetorical flourish; more fruit may be expected from the detailed evidence offered for the antiquity of that part of the Pentateuch which deals with the sojourn and exodus of the Israelites.

Here we have first of all a philological argument to the effect that the Egyptian names which occur in the Pentateuch* are more accurately transcribed than those in Kings, Chronicles, and the Prophets; that of nine Egyptian words found in the Pentateuch and not in the later books, only two are incorrect, and these but slightly so; while of twelve words in the second series of books, four are

* Mr. Poole says "from Genesis to Judges," but to include Judges would gratuitously weaken his argument; so I presume that "Judges" is a mere slip of the pen, and that he meant to write "Joshua."

incorrect. Hence Mr. Poole concludes that the writers of the Pentateuch knew more of Egypt and the Egyptian language than the writers of the prophetic period. The statistics seem very inadequate to support the conclusion, and such as they are I cannot make them accord with his detailed list. But further, Mr. Poole himself says that the names in the second series are almost all of higher geographical and historical importance than those in the Pentateuch. The four incorrect forms on which he founds appear to be the names of Shishak, Noph (Memphis), Tirhaka, and Hophra (Apries). All these names must have been so much in the mouths of the people as to acquire a conventional Hebrew form, which the Biblical writers adopted without regard to its philological correctness. I am not to be supposed ignorant of Arabic because I say Cairo for Kahira. Thus the incorrect forms of common Egyptian names in the prophetic period give no evidence that a writer of that period could not have known and used the correct form of less common names. But while the argument from the method of transcription is futile, it is not to be questioned that, taken in another way, the proper names in a traditional narrative are a very good test of its date. The nearer a narrator stands to the events he records, the more likely is he to give a number of genuine names of persons and places, which gradually are dropped as unimportant if the narrative is handed on for a good many generations by oral tradition. From this point of view it is very remarkable that not a single Egyptian is mentioned by name in the Book of Exodus, that the narrators do not even know the names of the several Pharaohs of whom they speak. Mr. Poole, indeed, will have it that Shiphrah and Puah are the names of Egyptian midwives; but Exodus i. 15 says expressly that they were Hebrews.* This in itself is a strong argument that the story of the exodus was not written down till long after the event; contemporary narrative in the Old Testament, as in all other ancient books, is very rich in proper names, and does not speak vaguely of "another king," "the daughter of Pharaoh," and so forth.

On the other hand, the local details of the exodus are given with a fulness and precision which evidently rests on very definite information as to the geography of the frontier district of Lower Egypt. A good many of the places mentioned appear to have been identified with more or less certainty, and Mr. Poole records with legitimate satisfaction the important services in this matter of that Egyptian Exploration Fund which he has done so much to recommend to public support. But quite apart from this, no sober critic could doubt that the geography of the exodus is real geography, and

* Mr. Poole also holds that many Egyptian names are found in the family of Moses, but he has not made out his point; and though it were made out, it would prove nothing.

also of much too detailed a kind to have been handed down for several centuries by mere oral tradition in a nation which through the whole period of the Judges had too little contact with Egypt to keep the details fresh by visiting the sites. It is certainly involved in the critical view of the origin of the Pentateuch that the geography of the exodus is derived, not from tradition, but from research; that the names of the stations on the route were filled in by the writer either from his own knowledge of the district or by information supplied to him from caravan-drivers or others. It is plain that the narrative represents the exodus as taking place along a known route, except at the point where Moses turned aside and seemed to be entrapped between the mountains and the sea. But from the nature of the country, the routes out of Egypt into the desert, and even the halting-places, remain unchanged from century to century. The problem, therefore, of reconstructing the route from a caravan itinerary of his own time, was one which a Hebrew writer might very well attempt, and attempt with success. Nor can it be said that an inquiry of this sort is foreign to the genius of the Pentateuch, when it is remembered that Gen. x. contains an elaborate account of the world as known to the Hebrews, displaying research of exactly the same kind as is here supposed. According to the critical analysis of the component parts of the Pentateuch, the precise geographical details of the exodus are almost all from the hand of the priestly narrator, who lived in the Persian period, at a time when Egypt and Palestine formed part of one empire, when communication between the two countries was constant, and when, as we know from the Book of Jeremiah, there had long been a considerable settlement of Jews in Lower Egypt. Under these circumstances no difficulty is presented by the names of the stations of the exodus, which, so far as they have been identified, are names found on inscriptions of late and even of Ptolemaic date.

The older account of the exodus, as contained in the combined narrative of the Jahvist and Elohist, presents on the other hand all the marks of a traditional story, from which geographical detail has been lost through lapse of time. The only place-name in Egypt which is certainly found in this narrative is that of the land of Goshen, for which the priestly narrator substitutes "the land of Rameses" or Raamses (Gen. xlvii. 11). Besides these, there is mention in Exod. i. 11 of Pithom and Raamses as the names of the store-cities of Pharaoh on which the Hebrews were made to do forced labour. This verse seems to belong to the older narrative, but the names of Pithom and Raamses are tacked on at the end, and by no means necessary to the context. They are never mentioned again, though Raamses (Rameses) re-appears in the priestly history; and on the whole this one definite detail, in the midst of a narrative which nowhere else

displays any exact conception of Egyptian geography, seems so out of place that one is tempted to regard it as one of those geographical glosses by a later hand which are by no means uncommon in the Old Testament. Pithom, as we know from the inscriptions, was an important place down to the time of the Ptolemies. It was a great stronghold and arsenal, an ancient place, dating at least from the days of Ramses II., and it lay in the very district in which the Hebrews were settled, and in which the scene of their forced labour must be placed. Thus even if the original tradition did not preserve the names of the store-cities on which the Israelites were employed, an instructed Hebrew familiar with Egyptian geography could hardly fail to fix upon it as one of the store-cities of which tradition spoke. That the later Hebrews who resided in Egypt took an interest in identifying the places spoken of in the Pentateuch is certain from the attempts of this kind made in the Septuagint; and there are many proofs that the aims and methods of the scribes of the Septuagint were precisely similar to those of the Hebrew scribes who preceded them. Nor, indeed, is it at all impossible that even in the eighth and ninth centuries B.C., the Hebrews whose business took them down to Egypt had begun to connect the traditions of the exodus with definite sites, and that the writers of that age drew from these travellers. And in that case it is not necessary for the critical view to assume that the names are due to a gloss; only, the hypothesis of a gloss seems more probable in a narrative which shows no other sign of interest in details of Egyptian topography.

To sum up, it appears that the geographical details in the story of the exodus afford no evidence as to the date of the Pentateuch, because they are not of such a kind that they must have been derived from original tradition, but may equally well be due to research, and to research of a kind that might easily and naturally be undertaken at the time to which criticism assigns the records in which these details are contained. With the name of Pithom, however, Mr. Poole connects an historical argument which seems to him to prove that the mention of this place really belongs to an original tradition. Following Lepsius, Chabas, and others, he holds that Ramses II. was the Pharaoh of the oppression. Now, it appears that this prince executed works at Tell al-Maskhuta, which, since Mr. Naville's explorations, is generally accepted as the site of the Biblical Pithom, the Patumus of Herodotus. Thus it would appear that the very city which Exodus names as built by the Pharaoh of the oppression is now shown by the monuments to be the work of that Pharaoh. This looks very strong, but the argument moves in a vicious circle. It was Lepsius himself who proved that the ancient city at Tell al-Maskhuta was built by Ramses II. He supposed further that it bore the name

of that prince, and so identified it with the store-city Raamses, which is mentioned along with Pithom. And it was on this ground that he identified Ramses II. with the Pharaoh of the oppression. Here Mr. Naville comes in, and shows that the city in question was not Raamses but Pithom. But in proving that Tell al-Maskhuta is not Raamses Mr. Naville destroys Lepsius's argument as to the Pharaoh of the oppression. It is true that what he takes away with one hand he gives back with the other, for it still appears, that one of the two store-cities named in Exodus was built by Ramses II. But the proof that Ramses II. was the Pharaoh of the oppression is now dependent on the identification of Pithom, while to serve Mr. Poole's argument and produce an historical coincidence it would require to be independent. I may add that, as a great many kings of Egypt executed works at Maskhuta, and as the language of Exod. i. 11 does not necessarily imply that the city of Pithom was founded at that time (the Hebrew verb "to build" being often applied to rebuilding or to new works on old cities), this verse does not really throw any light on the question who the Pharaoh of the oppression was. Lepsius's argument in favour of Ramses II. has been rejected by scholars both of the critical and of the conservative school, and the new discoveries do not seem to contain anything that is likely to produce greater agreement on the subject.

The part of the Pentateuch which seems most likely to receive valuable illustration from Egyptian archæology is the story of Joseph, for here we find ourselves, not in the land of Goshen, on the very outskirts of Egypt, but at the Court of Pharaoh, in the centre of Egyptian life. According to Mr. Poole, chronology indicates that Joseph lived under the Hyksos; but beyond the fact that a great famine, lasting many years, occurred at some date in their period, there does not seem to be any Egyptian evidence bearing on the details of Joseph's career. That the local colouring of the story is true to Egyptian life is generally admitted, but no inference can be drawn from this as to the date of the narrative; for it is Egyptian life in general—in those standing differences from Hebrew life which remained unchanged through many centuries—and not the life of one particular age, that is described. Mr. Poole says that the story of Joseph's trial is thought to have suggested the central incident of an Egyptian romance written about the time of the exodus. The resemblance is indeed very remarkable, but it cuts both ways, and equally lends itself to the suggestion that the story of Joseph, though resting on an historical basis, may have been coloured by the influence of Egyptian folk-lore. That the Book of Genesis is not pure history throughout, but contains a certain amount of matter closely allied to folk-lore, is an opinion for which there is a great deal to be said on grounds independent of the critical analysis of the sources of the book.

In post-Biblical times the Jews borrowed folk-lore very freely from other nations, and the researches of the Assyriologists go to prove that in older times legends were borrowed from Babylon, whether directly or through the Phœnicians. If from Babylon, why not from Egypt? Of course this question must be answered with an absolute negative by those who hold that the whole remains of Hebrew literature were in their first composition things altogether *sui generis*, presenting no analogy to other literary products of early nations. But the first and most certain result of modern Biblical study—a result of infinitely greater importance than any conclusion in detail as to the age of this or that particular document—is that the oldest parts of the Bible were parts of a popular literature, and that the reverence which is justly accorded to them is not due to any exceptional character which they possess, viewed merely as literature, but to the exceptional history of the race that produced them. A strange and, as I shall venture to call it, a miraculous guidance made that race the sole depositary of the religious truths on which Christianity is founded, and fitted it to be the cradle from which Christianity went forth to conquer the world. The unique religious vocation of Israel was first clearly realized by the Prophets, and, when the Exile and the Restoration secured the victory of the prophetic ideas, it was religious considerations that determined what parts of the pre-prophetic literature should survive and what should be allowed to perish. But this selection could not change the character of the pre-prophetic literature, so far as it survived. Though re-edited, re-arranged, and often imbedded in later writings, dominated by the ideas of an age when Israel had ceased to be a nation and become a church, its remains still preserve for every observant eye their genuinely popular character, and he who desires to appreciate them aright must clear his mind of the narrow formulas of modern apologetics, and prepare to study and value them as the genuine products of antique life, moving and working without constraint in ways precisely analogous to what we find in the oldest literatures of other nations. From this point of view a story like that of Joseph is perfectly intelligible; one is prepared to find in it a combination of the materials of genuine tradition with free imaginative construction, borrowing elements from what was known of Egyptian customs, or possibly even from Egyptian folk-lore, and one is not surprised to learn, as criticism teaches, that the story, as it has reached us, has passed through more than one stage, and is a combination of two accounts, originally separate. Such a view as this does full justice to all the Egyptian evidence that has hitherto been brought to bear on the narrative, and it is not encompassed with the difficulties which, even from the Egyptologist's point of view (*e.g.*, as

regards Joseph's land laws), beset every attempt to vindicate the narrative as pure and literal historic truth.

Thus far our examination of the archæological evidence has led to results of a merely negative character. We have not found anything that appears to have real weight either for or against the views of the critics as to the date of the Pentateuch, although we have found some things which might perhaps be used with effect against the small and extreme school which denies that the story of the exodus has any historical foundation. If Mr. Poole had confined himself to this point, he might have given us a useful contribution; but he has hampered and weakened his argument by attempting to prove too much. Nay, in his eagerness to defeat the critics at all hazards, he permits himself to present, as his last piece of Egyptian evidence, a supposed discovery which, if it is correct, places in the hands of the extreme critics a weapon to overturn the whole history of Israel in Egypt. It appears that about 1600 B.C., two or perhaps three centuries before the date which Mr. Poole assumes for the exodus, King Thothmes III., in a battle near Megiddo, defeated a confederacy of various Palestinian districts, two of which bear, in the Egyptian account, the names Y'eb'ar and Yshp'r. As Egyptian *R* often stands for Semitic *L*, it is proposed to read these words Ya'cob-el and Yoshep-el. In the spelling of the English Bible these would be Jacob-el and Josheph-el. Josheph is taken to be an inaccurate reproduction of Joseph, and so, according to Mr. Poole, "it would appear that about 150 years after the rule of Joseph began, the tribes of Jacob and Joseph, the eminence of Joseph's descendants being already established, took military service out of Egypt, and with the enemies of the Egyptians." Now, even as Mr. Poole interprets the thing, it is surely a very strong argument against the antiquity of the Pentateuch that it knows nothing of so important an incident. If the Hebrews were in arms against Egypt two hundred years before the exodus, it is evident that the whole story in Exodus i. rests on extremely defective information, and has little historical value. But Mr. Poole forgets to mention that the names which he takes to be those of Jacob and Joseph occur in a "list of the districts of Palestine which his Majesty conquered at Megiddo, and whose children he carried captive to Thebes." Therefore, if there is anything in the proposed identification, there were tribes of Jacob and Joseph *settled* in Palestine two hundred years before the exodus. If these are, as Mr. Poole supposes, the same Jacob and Joseph as we read of in the Bible, it will hardly be possible to resist the conclusion which is drawn by E. Meyer (in Stade's "*Zeitschrift*" for 1886), that the sons of Jacob never were in Egypt, and that the name of Jacob originally belonged to a Palestinian tribe, one of many out of which the later nation of Israel was formed. It is right to say that Meyer is by no means confident about the identifi-

cation of Yshp'r with Joseph, which, in fact, is open to grave philological objections—far too grave to allow a sober historian to build on it. The other identification deserves more consideration ; but to leap at once to the conclusion that the Biblical Jacob is meant is, on the part of an apologetical writer, a step that shows much more courage than prudence.

I have now reached the end of Mr. Poole's arguments from Egyptology, but, for the curiosity of the thing, I note, in closing, a statement which occurs in the concluding paragraph of his article. "Except the Siloam inscription and the Moabite Stone, we have," says Mr. Poole, "no Palestinian contemporary records before the Christian era, and no Phœnician but of a very late date." This is a strange statement to come from a numismatist, for it implies that he denies the genuineness of all the coins of the Maccabees. Or, if coins are not records, how about the inscription on the castle of Hyrcanus at Arak el-Emir (176 B.C.), and the numerous Hebrew gems of pre-exilic date? And does Mr. Poole ascribe a very late date to the Phœnician inscription on a bowl (now in the great Paris library) dedicated to Baal-Lebanon? If the critics are to be judged by archæology, at all events let the archæologists be accurate, and think before they write.

W. ROBERTSON SMITH.

MICHAEL KATKOFF.

IT was amusing to observe the unfeigned astonishment of well-informed Russians in 1879 on learning of the grief with which the news of Lord Beaconsfield's death was received by Englishmen of all political parties. They found it hard to grasp the fact that the whole English people sincerely deplored the loss of a statesman whom large numbers of them had spent the best part of their lives in denouncing as the evil genius of his country. And it must be admitted that it is not an easy matter for people wholly unused to constitutional methods to take in the process by which antagonism and seemingly bitter animosity are suddenly changed to regret, which implies a totally different order of feelings. Russia is certainly the last country in Europe, possibly in the world, in which such a spectacle is likely to become common, not merely because of the dearth of truly eminent men, or from any lack of appreciation of genius and talents on the part of the people, but chiefly for the reason that politics in that country are inextricably mixed up with the most incongruous matters—with music, painting, poetry, and even with grammar and orthography. And in Russia the *odium politicum* is to the full as violent, intense, and enduring as the *odium theologicum* of other times and countries, and for analogous reasons.

Such a universal genius as the late Turgenieff, whose masterpieces were composed in an atmosphere far removed from the din of political warfare, did not escape the common lot, and if, on the news of his death being received, the discordant voices of those who called themselves his political antagonists rose loud and high above the prayers of the priest and the wailing of the people, Katkoff, the professional politician, is not the person in whose favour we should have expected an exception to be made. He was for many years the central figure

in Russian politics, the founder and chief of the most powerful party that ever existed in his native country, and the most popular man of his time. He dismissed and appointed ministers at will, enacted and repealed fundamental laws of the Empire, and wielded a power more substantial and less precarious than that of his imperial master. It is perhaps natural enough that such a man, living and working in such a country, should have incurred the intense hatred of millions of his fellow-subjects. Nor is it more extraordinary that his death, occurring as it did at such a critical time as the present, should be mourned exclusively by his own political partisans, while not a single "Liberal" newspaper in the Empire had one word of sorrow for his death or of appreciation for his life and labours—nay, not so much as a short leading article to mark the momentous event which caused such a stir in the capitals of Europe. Thus the most serious and respectable newspaper in Russia, the *Russian Gazette* of Moscow, forbidden by law to discuss in an impartial manner the life and work of the great journalist, contented itself with inserting the following brief obituary among the items of local news: "Michael Nikiphorovitch Katkoff died yesterday afternoon, at half-past four o'clock, in the village of Spass."

To persons as unfamiliar with tactics of this kind as with the peculiar political conditions of which they are the direct outcome, the question naturally suggests itself, whether this treatment is not only natural under the circumstances, but also just and well merited. Is the condemnation of Katkoff, which it implies, likely to be endorsed by a calmer generation, when the effervescence of political passion will have subsided, or is it not more probable that impartial judges will strike the balance between the fulsome praises of his followers and the sweeping accusations of his enemies? Those are questions which only a familiar acquaintance with the life and times of the eminent journalist can help to solve. It may, however, be well to state at once that moderate Russian Liberals are at all times very willing to stretch a point in favour of an adversary whom they credit with honesty of purpose. Last year, on the death of Aksakoff, the prophet and guide of the modern Panslavists, who had been, especially of late years, their unsparing adversary, they vied with each other in paying warm tributes of praise to his memory. In fact, modern Russian Liberals are in that respect chivalrous to an almost Quixotic degree; so eager are they to discover some ground for paying a tribute of respect to the memory of a deceased enemy, that they are often satisfied with an imaginary one. Yet these are the men who, having heard the tidings of Katkoff's death, maintained an ominous silence and went their way as unconcerned as before. Perhaps the most intelligible explanation of this conduct will be found in a brief account of the salient episodes of the life and work of Katkoff.

Born in Moscow of obscure parents, in 1818, Michael Nikiphorovitch Katkoff was prepared for school by his mother, who had become a widow soon after his birth. Russian gymnasiums and universities were very primitive institutions in those days, and Katkoff, in finishing his studies with success, at the gymnasium at the age of sixteen, and at the university at the age of twenty, achieved no more signal success than was every year obtained by numbers of students of fair capacity and moderate application. In 1841 he was sent abroad by the Russian Government to "finish his education" and to qualify himself for a chair of philosophy at one of the universities. He remained two years abroad, eighteen months of which he devoted to the study of philosophy at the University of Berlin, and the eloquent lessons of Schelling, who was then initiating the youth of Germany into the mysteries of the philosophy of Nature, produced a deep and lasting impression upon his mind. During this stay in Germany, Katkoff acquired, besides a thorough knowledge of German literature, that deep-seated faith in Liberal principles which was for many years the mainspring of his actions. It was also during this absence from home that he became so deeply enamoured of English customs, manners, and speech, that he adopted them himself soon after his return to Russia, and down to the time of his death English was the language of his home.

In 1845 he attained the object of his ambition—an assistant professorship of logic, psychology, and the history of philosophy at the University of Moscow. At that time, and for many years afterwards, Russian universities bore much the same relation to these institutions as they were four years ago as the stage coaches of last century bore to an express train. They were very inferior grammar schools, carried on in the depressing shadow of the prison, with a sword of Damocles perpetually hanging over the heads of professors and students alike. Philosophy—even of the ordinary description—was not likely to thrive in such arid soil, while philosophy such as it was conceived and taught by the ardent enthusiast fresh from the lessons of Schelling, and imbued with the most uncompromising Liberalism, was little short of high treason. This seems to have been the view of the matter taken by the authorities, who regarded philosophy and philology with equal distrust, for in 1850 the chairs in question were abolished, or, what practically came to the same thing, handed over to the clergy, who were utterly ignorant of the very rudiments of those sciences.

Deprived of his chair at the university, Katkoff at once received another position not less lucrative and quite as congenial to his tastes, the editorship of the *Moscow Gazette*, an obscure daily newspaper owned by the University. He discharged the duties of the position for five years without attracting or meriting unusual atten-

tion, and on his resignation received permission to bring out a monthly review under the joint editorship of himself and the friend of his youth, Professor Leontieff. It was in founding and conducting this literary organ that Katkoff for the first time displayed that remarkable gift for organization, that insight into character, and that discriminating eye for real talent, be it never so disguised, which distinguished him throughout life. He at once secured the services of contributors whose names, having become since then household words in Russia, are now beginning to have a meaning in Western Europe and America. Some of the best masterpieces of Turgenieff, Saltykoff ("Schtschedrin"), Leo Tolstoi, and others first saw the light in the brilliant pages of the *Russian Messenger*, as the new review was called. All these years down to 1863 constitute the first and brightest period of Katkoff's life and labours.

In after-life his mind must have frequently gone back to those halcyon days of youth, poetry and enthusiasm, when he fought in the cause of humanity, encouraged and sustained by congenial spirits, whose unshaken fidelity to principles alone stood between them and fame more enduring than his own. And that recollection was gall and wormwood to him. Seven years ago, at the Puschkin festival in Moscow, to celebrate which Russians of all parties were gathered together, Katkoff was deeply touched to find himself after years of separation once more in the company of the comrades and friends of olden times. In obedience to an irresistible impulse he stretched out his hand to his former colleague Turgenieff, but Turgenieff recoiled with loathing from the touch of the outstretched hand and turned his back upon the apostate to the Liberal cause in Russia.*

The most striking characteristics of the life of Katkoff during this first period were Anglomania, an intense love of justice and fair play to all, and a warm attachment to Liberal principles, the whole permeated by a lively faith always implied, sometimes unwittingly expressed, in his own infallibility.

His colleagues were Anglomaniacs like himself, and did yeomen's service in the cause of Liberalism in Russia. In the *Russian Messenger* English books were being constantly reviewed, English institutions analyzed and recommended, English ideas—social, political, and economical—exposed and propagated in eloquent language, which appealed with equal force to the reason and imagination. It was then that seeds were sown broadcast on fertile soil which later on bore abundant fruit. A few years later and we see the sower himself

* When Turgenieff died, a few years ago, and the press and people of Russia were plunged in profound grief, the *Moscow Gazette* alone was silent. The tidings of his death were not even alluded to. After a considerable time had elapsed, the editor at last mentioned the name dear to all Russians, but only to revile the illustrious dead for acts and opinions for which he once rewarded him with lavish praises.

most active among those who were condemning to be burned as tares the wheat that had thus grown up in plenty around him.

Katkov's companions in those earlier days were men of a race now well-nigh extinct in Russia. They had all the suppleness, brilliancy, and lighthearted joyousness of the Russian character, and much of the iron will and dogged perseverance supposed to be characteristic of the Teutonic races. Herten, afterwards celebrated as the editor of the famous *Bell* (Kolokol), who died an exile in London; Bakunin, the future convict, the ups and downs of whose life would, if narrated in detail, shipwreck the reputation for veracity of the most trustworthy biographer; Professor Granofsky, the famous jurisconsult, who made the constitutional history of Europe popular in Russia, were foremost among his friends.

At that time there was nothing to indicate that Katkov was in any way unworthy of the friendship and confidence of such men. He was gifted by nature with an intellect at once capacious and subtle; the education he had received abroad and the experience he had acquired at home were eminently calculated to develop his understanding, to refine his taste, and to implant in his breast a strong love of justice and liberty. His companions were unlike him in many respects, and in none more than the circumstance that their faith in Liberalism was the outcome of sincere conviction, while his seems to have been the result of what might not inaptly be termed an emotional intuition. The ultimate ground on which such principles as he professed seem to have been based was the circumstance that he had at one time or another adopted them. His friends were animated in all they said or did by a love of country as intense as it was enlightened. They regarded the cause alone as great, and would have joyfully sacrificed themselves to contribute to its success. Katkov was, perhaps, equally ready to sacrifice to his ruling passion, as he showed later on; and his ruling passion was ambition. During all these years down to 1863 there was but one political party in Russia—the Liberals—and to this party Katkov belonged from the first. Whatever conservative elements existed were latent and scattered throughout the country. They had no unity, no organ in the Press, no exponent in the Empire. The political creed of the Liberals was considerably advanced—for Russia almost Radical. Yet such was the unanimity which characterized them, and the self-sacrifice with which, like veritable apostles, they laboured among the people, making themselves all things to all men, that the least sanguine among them might reasonably hope to see the Liberal programme realized in its entirety in a very few years. The man who marred this glorious prospect, blasted those hopes, and availed himself of his intimate knowledge of the aims and resources of his party to compass its annihilation was Michael Katkov.

The process of reasoning which might be supposed to have led to Katkoff's conversion has never been seriously discussed or even exposed in Russia. The change of front came like a thunderstorm, unawares. His device seems ever to have been *Aut Cæsar aut nullus*, and the part of Cæsar was already being performed very satisfactorily by his friend, Alexander Hertzen, one of the most gifted and lovable of men, whose popularity was at that time phenomenal and was still growing every day. If ever any man was born to rule over other men, this favoured mortal seemed to be Hertzen; such, at least, was the opinion of the Liberal party, which looked to him, and to him alone, for counsel and guidance. Hertzen himself was a most unassuming man, and devotion to the cause he had at heart urged him to make all possible concessions to his ambitious friend. But concessions were of no avail. Nothing less than Hertzen's death could have saved the party. A more faithful or more eloquent exponent of the hopes and aspirations of Russian Liberalism it would have been impossible to find, and no one knew this better than Katkoff. He had struck the true note which satisfied the Liberals without seriously alarming the authorities, and unless Katkoff was prepared to outdo him by trying a higher key, which would have been a very dangerous proceeding, he must make up his mind to be something less than Cæsar, and much more than one of the common herd. And it was not in his nature to do this.

One of the points in the Liberal programme was to effect a reconciliation between the Russian and the Polish people on the basis of substantial justice and mutual concessions. Polish Home Rule was the extent of the concession it was proposed to make on the part of Russia. The Poles, themselves, however, were meanwhile busily employed in preparations for an appeal to arms, should more peaceful means prove vain. Now it would be folly to deny that these preparations were known to men like Hertzen, Bakunin, and Katkoff. The idea, however, was rife in Russia, then as now, that the result of a military defeat abroad or in Poland would be a large measure of political freedom at home, and it was felt that Home Rule in Poland would be the prelude to a constitution in Russia.

A small fraction of the Liberals, however, were at variance with the majority respecting the Polish question. They were eager enough to obtain political freedom for their own country, but they would not willingly see it extended to the Poles. This drift of the party was represented by individuals of little influence, until Katkoff was inspired with the idea of putting himself at its head. Since then it has served him as a stepping-stone to power and fame. In this wise he severed his connection with his friends. Their names appeared no more in the pages of the *Russian Messenger*, their places there were taken by new and now forgotten writers. Between breaking with

one's friends, however, and forswearing one's principles in consequence of such estrangement, there is an abyss which no man of common honesty will care to pass. Whatever Katkoff's motives may have been, it is indisputable that as soon as he found he could not march forward with his friends on his own terms, he not only parted company with them, but actually resolved to march backwards, and that very soon the friends and fellow-workers of yesterday had become the enemies of to-day, and the former duty the present crime.

In 1863 Katkoff became once more editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, and to all intents and purposes its proprietor, and this event may, roughly speaking, be taken to mark the beginning of the second period of his life. The Minister of Public Instruction resolved to lease out the paper for ten years, and the tenders of Katkoff and Leontieff were preferred to those of less influential competitors. As the duties and privileges of an editor in Katkoff's position have no counterpart in the English Press, it may not be amiss to offer a few explanations on the subject.

The *Moscow Gazette* was the property of the University of that city, to which it had hitherto been a source of considerable profit, inasmuch as an imperial ukase compelled and still compels, under considerable pains and penalties, every Government institution, every law and police court, every insurance, railway, and tramway company, every bank, and every public institution and business concern in the Empire, to publish all their prospectuses, by-laws, accounts, minutes of meetings, and all such advertisements in the *Moscow Gazette*. It is impossible to fix with any pretence to accuracy the yearly income produced by this one item of obligatory advertisements; but there are very good grounds for assessing it at a minimum* of 15,000 roubles in 1863, and more than ten times that amount for the past ten years. This source of income, together with the use of the printing-offices rent free and the plant, was handed over to Katkoff and his friend, in consideration of a yearly payment of 6,000 roubles, they undertaking on their side to do the printing of the University, which was neither voluminous nor expensive.

No sooner had Katkoff taken over the *Moscow Gazette* than he devoted his attention wholly to the Polish question, doubtless with a grim satisfaction at the thought that to frustrate the plans of the Poles would be to score an important victory over the Russian Liberals. He denounced the preparations that were being made in Poland, foretold a speedy insurrection, and stigmatized as traitors all his fellow-countrymen who remained unconvinced by his arguments and unmoved by his appeals. When his predictions were at last fulfilled, all the passions of his nature broke loose in wild disorder. His style of writing resembled that of a Hebrew prophet; the

measures he advocated were as cynical as any to which Marat ever affixed his name; and the immediate result he sought to bring about in Poland was such as no man with a vestige of humanity would dare to avow to himself.

Those who are not acquainted with the details of the Polish insurrection, with the sickening scenes of bloodshed and fiendish cruelty which marked every step in the work of repression, and with the part which Katkoff played in that horrid drama, are not qualified to form an estimate of the man's character or of his work. Muravieff was merely the blind unreasoning instrument, the bloodhound let loose by the editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, who must bear the greater part of the responsibility for one of the blackest crimes known to history. No doubt it was *only* a political crime; and such of his friends as refuse to justify it, excuse it by pleading that fanaticism which they say was one of the most ingrained and irresistible propensities of his nature. The fanaticism of Katkoff, however, was of a peculiar kind, and was capable of being regulated according to circumstances. Pascal says of madness that mankind is mad in virtue of such necessity *que ce serait être fou par une autre tour de folie que de ne pas être fou*. Now the fanaticism of the Moscow journalist was precisely the result of this *autre tour de folie*. While his connection with the Liberals continued his fanaticism was not heard of, although he well knew the aims of the Poles and the leanings of his Russian friends. Now, on the contrary, the Poles had forfeited in his eyes not only their political privileges, but even those elementary rights of every human being which no civilized society refuses to respect even in the person of its convicts and felons. This was one of the many theses he defended in the *Moscow Gazette*, eloquently appealing to the worst passions of the people, whom he at last worked up into such a state of frenzy that every deed of violence, every cold-blooded act of cruelty perpetrated against the Poles, seemed a distinctly meritorious act. And the passions he then so successfully inflamed have not yet subsided. A Pole is still, in the eyes of millions of the common people in Russia, an object of loathing, a malignant being of an inferior order whom it is an act of great self-denial in the State to tolerate.

The Polish insurrection and Katkoff's campaign against the entire Polish race was the Rubicon of his life; it was a successful venture, which raised him suddenly to a giddy eminence and gratified his ambition with a popularity such as no Russian subject had ever enjoyed before him. He was thanked in numerous addresses and letters, he was entertained at banquets—the whole country resounded with his praises. He was the prophet of the Holy War. It is no figure of speech to say that mothers lifted up their children in their arms to obtain for them a glimpse of the saviour of the fatherland,

grey-haired old men fell upon their knees and asked Heaven to send down abundant blessings on him who had confounded the machinations of Polish schismatics.

Since then Katkoff has ever claimed to be considered as the official mouthpiece of the Russian people, the guardian of the true interests of his country ; and to Ministers, who questioned the right of a simple journalist to dictate to the Government, he contemptuously put the question, what steps the Ministers and Government took to prevent the Polish Insurrection, when he was warning them, with proofs in his hand, of its approach. A journalist of this type, however well he may have deserved of his country, could not hope to be viewed with feelings of satisfaction by the Ministers of an autocratic Government. They endeavoured occasionally to make him feel that in an absolute monarchy obedience is more acceptable than holocausts ; but all efforts in this direction were vain, for the Russian Government was in the literal sense of the expression a house divided against itself, and a man of resources like Katkoff could always find two or three Ministers ready and willing to frustrate the designs of their colleagues. On one occasion during the Franco-German War the *Moscow Gazette*, which for the moment took sides with France, drifted far beyond the bounds of political decorum. The patience of the Government was exhausted. The Minister of the Interior forbade the issue of the journal till further orders, and published a decree to that effect in all the newspapers and reviews of the Empire. Katkoff did not hesitate a moment as to the course he should pursue ; he flatly refused to obey the Minister's order, brought out his paper as usual, and, adding insult to insubordination, accused the Minister of endangering, by his strange conduct, the interests of the country. Every day that the paper thus appeared in violation of the law it was liable to be seized by the police and the editor very heavily fined. Katkoff, however, neither paid the fine nor discontinued the *Gazette*, and in the end the Minister had to acknowledge himself beaten and to take his defeat as meekly as he could. Even of late years the Government have had considerable trouble to keep Katkoff from bringing them into contempt in the eyes of the people. Among other things I am in a position to affirm that during the polemic between Katkoff and the German Press at the commencement of this year, as the Ministers dared not suppress the *Moscow Gazette*, even for a time, they privately forbade all provincial papers to copy any of the leading articles which it published.

The conditions on which Katkoff received the *Moscow Gazette* were, as we have seen already extremely favourable, the income from obligatory advertisements amounting latterly to not less than £15,000 a year, without taking into account the money worth of the plant and use of offices. The £600 a year which he contracted

to pay would, as he knew, go entirely to the University, a very deserving object from the point of view of a Russian patriot, whether he be a Conservative or a Liberal. Yet soon after his great success in stamping out the Polish rebellion, he refused to pay the covenanted sum, or any portion of it, to the University, or indeed to any one. He did not even allege any ground for his refusal. The University, in the leisurely manner characteristic of all such bodies in Russia, waited patiently for years. At last, when the arrears amounted to a considerable sum, and the needs of the University had become pressing, that corporation, in the person of its Rector, instituted legal proceedings to recover the amount due. The case was allowed to go on for some time, till it became evident that the University would receive an order for payment from the Court, as Katkoff had not the shadow of a case. At this conjuncture, a *deus ex machinâ* appeared in the person of the Minister of Public Instruction, who ordered the University to abandon its claim and withdraw the action! Since that time Katkoff looked upon the *Moscow Gazette* and the University printing-office as his private property for life.

Another of his obligations was to do the University printing, and this he never distinctly refused to do, even when the matter to be printed was particularly distasteful to him, but he evaded it in another way. The following case will serve as an illustration. The Moscow University publishes a law review called the *Law Messenger*, edited by Muromtseff, late professor and vice-rector of that University, who was deprived of his chair at the instance of Katkoff about four years ago. The review is conducted strictly on scientific principles, but neither the editor nor his fellow-workers are believed to be free from the taint of Liberalism. The review appears once a month, and Katkoff was legally bound to print it. He always acknowledged the obligation, but was only once called upon to fulfil it. It happened in this way:—The January number was sent in November to the printing-office, but it was not ready in February, and perhaps would not have been issued in June, had not Professor Muromtseff sent the manuscript to another printing-office, and paid for it out of the slender funds at his disposal. The *Moscow Gazette* has always been looked upon in Russia as the organ of its editor, and of him alone, and this is no doubt the proper view to take of it. It was the exponent of his private views, it bore the impress of his character, and exemplified his defects. The controversial methods of the *Gazette* were, from an English standpoint, peculiar, though unfortunately it must be admitted that they are typical enough of the present Russian Press, with the one exception already mentioned. No doubt a daily paper is not an organ founded for purposes of research, and no one is astonished at not finding therein the calm judicial methods or the cold impartiality of a work on abstract science. Yet truthfulness in the relation of

facts, fair play to one's political opponents, and the scrupulous avoidance of everything bordering on personal abuse, are, one would imagine, conditions *sine qua non* of respectability in a newspaper. Judged by this standard the *Moscow Gazette* would be found lamentably wanting. In its never-ending polemics with the Liberals, it was highly disingenuous, as men like Professor Gradoffsky of the University of St. Petersburg, Muromtseff and Kovaleffsky of Moscow, Antonovitch of Kieff, and many others can testify. The ordinary weapons it employed against them were the suppression of important data, deliberate garbling of facts, and a cynical reliance on the ignorance of its readers and their inability to verify its statements, which often caused the indignation of honest but impulsive individuals to boil over. "That hungry gudgeon, credulity, will bite at any thing," says Markwell in "The Double Dealer," and Katkoff was constantly implying, if not expressing, something similar in the *Moscow Gazette*.*

The extent to which the *Moscow Gazette* was on occasion prepared to go will appear from the following incident. One of the writers on the staff of that paper was a Jew (a Christianized Jew), whose knowledge of financial matters was ordinarily as accurate as his style was clear, forcible, and logical. This individual, like many gifted persons in all walks of life in Russia, was unfortunately given to drink, and occasionally would disappear for several weeks at a time. Katkoff set such store upon the services of this gentleman that he did not disdain on such occasions to despatch messengers all over the city to capture him. Conducted to the offices of the *Gazette* this gifted leader-writer would be interned in a room till reason recovered her sway. Then the theme would be given him, and he would be requested to set to work without loss of time. The success of this writer's articles, and the value set upon them by such a judge as Katkoff, at last made the man alive to his own merits. He conceived the idea of quitting Bohemia and beginning life anew on his own account. He founded a daily paper, the *Voice of Moscow*, and in the prospectus he stated that he had been employed for several years as leader-writer on the *Moscow Gazette*, hoping that this would serve as a strong recommendation in the eyes of a large class of his fellow-countrymen. The *Moscow Gazette*, however, punished his self-conceit in an exemplary, if somewhat peculiar, manner. The editor solemnly declared that, having read the above-mentioned announcement with astonishment, no such person so far as he knew having ever been employed on the staff of his journal, he made in-

* This no doubt is a very grave accusation. Want of space forces me to content myself with saying that, if called in question by any of the numerous friends of Katkoff into whose hands this article is sure to fall, I am able and willing to establish its accuracy beyond all doubt.

quiries, resulting in the discovery that some time previously a person of the name in question had been employed as a reporter * in the office of his paper. It may be stated* as characteristic of Russian manners, that as soon as the *Voice of Moscow* ceased to appear, which it did after a short existence, the writer who had founded and edited it returned to his former employer, Katkoff, who cordially received him on the same terms as before. He continued to write smart leaders for the *Moscow Gazette* down to the death of the editor.

M. Katkoff, it must be admitted, was in some respects a model editor. The *Moscow Gazette* being his own organ he strove to make it the faithful mirror of his political and economical ideas. He was indefatigable in his labours, working day and night; every letter, every telegram from his paid correspondents, every item of news passing through his hands, and being adapted to his Procrustean standard of true and false. Not only did he comment upon passing events from his own peculiar standpoint, but the manner in which they were narrated in his paper gradually prepared the reader for the commentary. In assiduous application, in continual interest in his work, and unflagging perseverance Katkoff stood first among his countrymen. It would be unfair in this place not to say a few words of his *fidus Achates*, Professor Leontieff, to whom, as he himself publicly acknowledged, he was indebted for much of the success for which he alone received the credit. Leontieff was the only friend of his youth who remained faithful to the end. Judging from Katkoff's own admissions, as well as from independent evidence not less trustworthy, it would be difficult to over-rate the influence which this man exercised on his life and conduct. The moral quality of that influence is still matter of dispute in Russia, but there seems to be no doubt whatever that Leontieff was a man of honour and principle. Before the Polish insurrection he was merely a scholar who spent his time in poring over works of the classic authors of Greece and Rome, weighing the merits of the various readings and conjectures. No sooner had he become joint-editor of the *Moscow Gazette* than he threw himself into politics, without ceasing to take an active interest in philology. But, though he bore the brunt of the battle, he was well content to abandon the spoils to his colleague. It was he who disciplined his friend and accustomed him to real hard work. Leontieff could work on a stretch for as many as twenty hours a day for several days, without seeming much the worse for the exertion. Aristides once assured Socrates that he, Aristides, always made head

* A reporter on a Russian newspaper differs in many respects from an English reporter. In Russia he is generally a person deputed to visit the theatres, law courts, café-chantants, &c., to collect items of news, gossip, and local scandal. The Russian reporter is a man who has not the remotest idea of shorthand, often cannot write a sentence grammatically, or copy one without making orthographical errors, and who receives as a rule somewhat less than a halfpenny a line for such of his paragraphs as pass muster.

when near him, even though only one hour with him. "My success was greater if in the same room, and greatest of all when I could gaze upon you." Katkoff might with truth have paid a similar compliment to Leontieff. After the death of his friend, several years ago, Katkoff brooded for a considerable time over the what was to him an irreparable loss. So much, indeed, did it prey on his mind, that fears were seriously entertained that it might unhinge his reason. When he recovered his wonted manner and returned to his daily occupations, everything went on as before by virtue of the *vis inertiae*, though at times the absence of his trusty counsellor made sad havoc with his reputation for common-sense. One of his pet ideas for some time past was that the financial prosperity of a nation could not be better promoted than by indefinitely increasing the paper currency irrespective of the quantity of gold on which it was based. If Leontieff were living, he would not have dared to propound such paradoxes in the *Moscow Gazette*. Since his friend's death, however, he has been a warm advocate of this and other economical heresies, and he has certainly carried conviction to the minds of several officials whose promotion depended upon the amount of zeal they evinced in the service of the Government.

If civilization, with everything it implies, is a benefit worth striving for, and peace and goodwill among men blessings to be desired, the results produced by the *Moscow Gazette* from 1863 to the present day are an unmixed evil, incalculable in extent, and for generations to come irreparable. If in Russia not only liberty of the Press is unknown, but there is no Press worthy of the name, the *Moscow Gazette* is to blame. The *Golos* was a journal of which any Continental nation might well be proud, and it was annihilated by the Government, egged on by the *Moscow Gazette*. The monthly review, *Memoirs of the Fatherland*, edited by Schtschedrin, one of Katkoff's colleagues of the olden time, which was one of the best and most widely circulated reviews in Russia, was suppressed a few years ago by the Government, and some members of its staff forbidden to live in cities or to write for the Press, and this, too, at the instigation of the *Moscow Gazette*. If the generous intention of the late Emperor to grant his subjects something in the nature of a Constitution came to nothing, it is in great part because the *Moscow Gazette* frustrated it. If the Universities, which four short years ago were in many respects on a level with those of Germany, are now, as in Katkoff's student days, mere grammar schools, conducted by mealy mouthed sycophants, the *Moscow Gazette* is the magic wand that effected the change. If all higher education has just been rendered by an imperial ukase inaccessible to all but a chosen few selected from among the children of the nobles; if tens of thousands of Jews, who were being educated

annually, at their own expense, and working in the cause of enlightenment in Russia, are now rudely pushed back into Cimmerian darkness, the *Moscow Gazette* is responsible. If the masses of the people, who were being gradually reclaimed from superstition and barbarism, are being now condemned to gross ignorance; if respectable professors and scholars, like Dityatin, Kovaleffsky, Muromtseff, Drill, Goltseff,* and a host of others are being treated like dynamitards, and banished from the universities in disgrace, the crimes—if such things are crimes—lie at the door of the *Moscow Gazette*. All civilized people, without exception, rejoiced when the late Emperor, by a stroke of his pen, freed millions of his subjects from slavery. No man was base enough to condemn that glorious deed. Yet how few seem aware that at this moment a law is about to be enacted virtually disfranchising those peasants and depriving them of much of the benefits conferred upon them by the act of emancipation, or that the author of that law is Michael Katkoff! It may be interesting* to add that the newspaper which has exercised such unparalleled influence in a country where the Press is scarcely tolerated, had in its best days a circulation of about eight thousand copies.

I have spoken of the evil done to the cause of education in Russia by Katkoff. I may add some details on this point. In England certain papers are so desirous of being civil to Russia, that they sometimes fall into very strange errors on Russian affairs, about which they have still very much to learn. Thus a London evening paper wrote, on Katkoff's supposed zeal for education, words that might well be taken for the irony of one of his enemies. "He (Katkoff)," it said, "was as devoted to education as he was to journalism, and although it is the custom to denounce him for his devotion to classical education, his ideas could not have been so absurd when they were based on German example, and were realized throughout Russia by the simple power of the pen."

Katkoff may have been devoted to education, but if so he had a very peculiar and a very infelicitous way of showing it. True, he favoured classical education when, as a Liberal and a professor, he was able, like Camille Desmoulins in his "Vieux Cordelier," to make Tacitus lecture on liberty and despotism. True also, his friend Leontieff, a classical scholar by taste and profession, often influenced him in this direction, but for all that in his later years Katkoff observed that education and opposition to the Government went hand in hand in Russia, and he decided that education should be

* It would be unfair not to remark that for Goltseff's dismissal there was a pretext, almost as satisfactory as a reason, which cannot be alleged for the removal of the others. It was proved that his constitutional tendencies were not mere *pia desideria*. He was not a conspirator, but there is no doubt that he actively assisted in propagating not only Liberal but Constitutional ideas.

restricted or suppressed. He drew up a project of law, making education a privilege of birth and wealth, to the exclusion of the poor—nay, to the exclusion of the wealthy whose parents were self-made men. This project became law on June 18–30 in the present year, and was the last of the many triumphs of the Moscow journalist. It was published not many days ago in Russia, and fell like a thunderbolt on peasant, merchant, and priest alike. The records of civilized countries tell of few laws comparable to this. Here are some of its provisions. It is drawn up in the form of a circular letter of the Minister of Public Instruction to the curators of the educational districts:—

“Anxious to reform the *personnel* of the students of gymnasia and progymnasia, I find it absolutely necessary to admit into such establishments only such children as are under the care of persons who offer a guarantee that they will be subjected to regular domestic supervision and will be furnished with all necessary conveniences for study. Thus, in strict accordance with this law, gymnasia and progymnasia are dispensed from receiving the children of coachmen, lackeys, cooks, washerwomen, small tradesmen, and such like people, whose children, with the exception perhaps of those who are gifted with extraordinary capacities, ought not by any means to be transferred from the sphere to which they belong, and thus brought—as many years’ experience has shown—to slight their parents, to feel dissatisfied with their lot, and to conceive an aversion to the existing inequality of fortune which is by the very nature of things unavoidable.”

Laws in Russia, as elsewhere, depend very much for their efficiency on the character of those who administer them, so the legislator has taken care to make the material interests of directors of gymnasia in most cases dependent on the strict observance of the law. Henceforth the directors are to make exhaustive inquiries respecting each child before receiving it, and should even a doubt remain in the mind of the director the child is to be “resolutely rejected.” When the child is accepted the director may be held responsible for its future conduct. If a pupil in a gymnasium joins any *lawful* society or assembly of other boys or men, without an express permission from the authorities, he is expelled from the gymnasium and the director is also liable to punishment. The outcry raised by some of the London papers against the questions put by the London School Board to parents seeking exemption from school fees shows that London working men would not submit to the inquisitorial system which is now to be imposed on the higher classes in Russia. The following are the chief questions to be answered:—

“1. Class of society to which the child belongs, and degree of education already received. 2. Occupation of parents. 3. Age of child. 4. Salary received by parents; amount of their landed property or capital. 5. Description of lodgings, number of rooms composing them; number of servants kept. 6. List of members of the family with name and age of each; occupation or means of living of those who have left school; name of school where

the others are being educated. 7. Identical questions as to persons who live with the family though not belonging to it. 8. Can the parents pay the school fees, and provide books and school uniform. 9. How and under whose immediate inspection was the boy's education carried on hitherto. 11. Under whose immediate inspection will it be carried on in future. 12. Can the parents furnish the boy with all the means for prosecuting his studies successfully and observing all the school laws, and can they describe in what these means consist."

Further, as there exist in every Russian city educational societies founded by the people to assist poor scholars, the law has to provide against the loophole thus afforded for students of the lower classes. These societies are now ordered to assist exclusively children whose parents were educated in gymnasia or high schools, but have not the means to give them the same advantages. The reason why the children of less educated parents should not be thus assisted is formulated thus:—"It would not always be wise to take a boy away from a good peasant's or petty trader's family in order, by educating him in a gymnasium, to afford him the doubtful chance of a career in the service of the State." Besides all this the school fees are raised about a hundred per cent. in order to pay the expenses of a numerous staff of inquisitors who are to visit the children's homes and ask all manner of questions as to their progress and conduct. This is not the place to discuss the wide-reaching effects of such a law on the Russian people. The aim of the legislature was evidently to close most of the higher schools of Russia, and, although the law has been only a few days promulgated, several of these establishments are being closed already for want of pupils of the required type. I have discussed the matter with directors of all shades of political opinion. Some excuse, some applaud, others again execrate the new law, but all agree that the effect will be to close fifty per cent. of the existing gymnasia and pro-gymnasia. This is Katkoff's work, and if after this people persist in speaking of his "devotion to education," they would do well to explain beforehand precisely what they mean by the expression.

The ultra-Conservative Russian Press is loudly boasting just now of the unsullied reputation of the *Moscow Gazette* under the editorship of Katkoff. It may, they say, be accused of economical blunders, even political crimes may be laid to its charge, but its bitterest enemy dare not hint at anything approaching peculation. It is an invidious task to have to say anything calculated to shake people's faith in consolatory reflections of this kind, and perhaps the Russian Liberal or would-be Liberal papers may be congratulated on being hindered by the law from doing anything so ungracious. It is, doubtless, greatly to Katkoff's credit that, though he might have chosen for himself any ministerial portfolio for which he felt an inclination, and might have been decorated with the most brilliant stars and

ribbons merely for the asking, he nevertheless died a mere journalist, though a Privy Councillor, and with comparatively few decorations on his breast. This, in Russia, is certainly a rare example of self-restraint—perhaps a consequence of the Anglomania of former days. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that empty titles, mere nominal power and childish decorations, seldom constitute the goal of truly ambitious men, and that an obscure publicist, who by dint of his own unaided efforts has acquired a power unsurpassed by that of his autocratic sovereign, may be safely credited with discernment enough to perceive that the contrast between his own lowly condition and that of the titled aristocracy among whom he moves serves to heighten the effect and set his own achievements in a more dazzling light. If, moreover, we take into account the comparative wealth which Katkoff disposed of during his lifetime, and the lucrative sinecures he provided for all the members of his numerous family—advantages which are not necessarily concomitants of power without responsibility—it seems natural enough to conclude that he did not deem it beneath his dignity to have some rays of the golden halo that surrounded him melted down and made into the current coin of the Empire.

One of the commonest errors into which foreigners fall respecting Katkoff is to consider him as a genuine Panslavist—the acknowledged leader of that party which is constantly crying out against the introduction into Russia of foreign ideas, institutions or manners. Nothing is further removed from fact. He was never even a member of the society, and his relations with its late president, Aksakoff, were anything but cordial. Contemporary Panslavism has little more in common with the Panslavism of Hertzen and Samarin, than contemporary Toryism has with the Toryism of one hundred and fifty years ago; and with Neo-Panslavism, as such, Katkoff had no sympathy whatever. Occasionally, indeed—especially of late years—his views on certain questions of foreign policy accidentally coincided with those of the Panslavists, and after Aksakoff's death last year some of the prominent members of the Slavonic Society began to curry favour with his rival. Katkoff's foreign policy, however, was to a very large extent regulated by his view of home affairs, whereas Panslavists of the present day—or Pan-Russians, as it would be more correct to term them—are more interested in Bulgarians and Servians, Czechs and Ruthenians, than in helping to make education accessible to their own countrymen, and to hinder or oppose to the best of their power the disenfranchisement of the peasants.

A parallel has been instituted between Katkoff and Aksakoff by many persons who should have known better, and who contrive to make the comparison redound to the credit of both. The fact is that no two men could possibly be more unlike each other in every

respect in which we consider them. Those who were emphatic in condemning Aksakoff's opinions, and most pitiless in ridiculing his childish dreams of a Pan-Russian millennium, were the first to admit that his language and conduct, however eccentric, were always the outcome of sincere conviction, that he has been swayed through life by a fine sense of duty, and that his controversial methods were scrupulously honourable. He never once denounced his worst enemies to the Government, or called in the police to reduce them to silence. Aksakoff never had recourse to the method too often practised by his colleagues of the Press to triumph over one's antagonists in a controversy, a method which consists in solemnly declaring them political heretics, and thus handing them over to the "secular" arm to be dealt with according to law. Aksakoff was an anti-Liberal of an extreme type, but he was no less the Bayard of the Russian Press. Katkoff was neither intellectually so narrow-minded, nor morally so strait-laced, as his colleague; and his eyes were always too steadily fixed on the end to be obtained to do more than glance hastily at the means.

Sterling incorruptible patriotism was the cardinal virtue of the late editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, if one can credit the assertions of the admiring friends he left behind. One would not willingly call in question the claims of Katkoff to such a fair meed of praise, even though in the matter of epitaphs one were, like Teufelsdröckh, a firm believer in the historical method. Without, however, detracting in any way from the genuineness of his patriotism, I may be permitted to allude to the almost insuperable difficulties one experiences at times in endeavouring to reconcile it with some of his most deliberate actions. One example will sufficiently illustrate my meaning. M. Bunge was the first Minister of Finance in Russia who had any real qualification for the post. He had been Professor of Financial Law at the University of Kieff, and was favourably known in the scientific world; so that, without being prejudiced in his favour, one may credit him with a more profound knowledge of finance than his predecessor, Von Reutern, whose qualification consisted in his being Lieutenant-General in the army. Bunge, though appointed Minister of Finances at a time when Liberal ideas were still prevalent in all classes in Russian society, was himself a very Conservative Minister. He had no sympathy with Liberalism, and he had been bitterly attacked from the very first by the extreme Liberal organs, so that from a political point of view he was a man after Katkoff's own heart. Moreover, during Bunge's administration progress was made in improving the financial condition of the country as considerable as was possible under an Emperor who in the beginning of his reign is said to have signified to the Minister his wish that an edict should be prepared making the paper rouble in all respects

equal to the gold rouble. The present are trying times for any but a Minister of the Calonne type, and Bunge was a Necker rather than a Calonne. Now how, I may be asked, would patriotism, "incorruptible, genuine patriotism," have prompted an influential journalist like Katkoff to act towards Bunge? If considerations of a personal character prevented cordiality, should not motives of a higher order, regard for the public good, have determined him to support the Minister through thick and thin? Yet Katkoff assailed him with a bitterness, which no public actions of Bunge can account for, and kept on assailing him, until he was dismissed and replaced by Vishnegradsky, with results to Russia that are rapidly becoming apparent to all.

Originality is another of the qualities for which Katkoff has been highly eulogized by his friends in Russia and by friends and enemies abroad, and one is glad to be able to concur with them in this respect. Katkoff undoubtedly possessed a certain kind of originality in an eminent degree. But it had nothing in common with that quality of which Mr. Ruskin says: "That value of originality that men so strain after is not newness as they vainly think (there is nothing new), it is only genuineness." It is no easy matter on the morrow of Katkoff's death to interpret aright the significance to his own countrymen of his living and working. It will be best, perhaps, to accept provisionally an estimate founded upon his own conduct. The first part of his life was spent in the cause of political, social, and religious liberty, in not unsuccessful efforts to better the lot of millions of his suffering countrymen. The second part, during which he had immeasurable opportunities for promoting the welfare of his fellowmen, and immense power for evil and for good, was one systematic attempt to undo the work he had accomplished in the first, to obliterate all traces of the labours of his youth. And what is more, it was likewise successful. He was within sight of the goal, and could sing his *Nunc Dimittis servum tuum*, when death removed him from the scene; for, thanks to him, Russia is now politically, intellectually, socially, in pretty much the same condition as it was forty years ago, when he was lecturing to the students of the Moscow University on the history of human thought. It is no doubt permissible to sympathize with either of the political parties which contended for the upper hand in Russia since parties first began to exist there, but they who honestly study the history of Russia from 1863 to the present year, however divergent their political views, will readily confess that we could not more correctly sum up the results of the life-work of Katkoff than by representing them as an immense, unknown, and negative quantity.

AN ENGLISH RESIDENT IN RUSSIA.

THE FALL OF PRICES.

DEPRESSION of prices has to a large extent been accepted as a prime cause of the "economic disturbance" which has prevailed since 1873. Indeed, Mr. Robert Giffen, in an article contributed to the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, June 1885, does not hesitate to express the opinion that "it is clearly unnecessary to assign any other cause for the gloom of the last year or two"; and continuing, he further says:

"The point to which I would draw special attention is, that . . . the most disastrous characteristic of the recent fall of prices has been the descent all round to a lower range than that of which there had been any previous experience. It is this peculiarity which—more than anything else—has aggravated the gloom of merchants and capitalists during the last few years. Fluctuations of prices they are used to. Merchants know that there is one range of prices in a time of buoyancy and inflation, and quite another range in times of discredit. By the customary oscillations, the shrewder business people are enabled to make large profits, but during the last few years the shrewder as well as the less shrewd have been tried. Operations they ventured on when prices were falling to the customary low level have failed disastrously, because of a further fall which is altogether without precedent. The change is more like a revolution in prices than anything which usually happens in an ordinary cycle of prosperity and depression in trade."

Here, then, is a description of the extent of the recent fall in prices, and its influence in producing and aggravating the gloom of merchants and capitalists, by one well competent to appreciate and describe what has happened. The point of novelty and greatest significance, however, in Mr. Giffen's statement is, not that a depression of prices has been productive of gloom and a depression of business—for no facts are better recognized by all economists and business men than that in a falling market trade is always stagnant, and that nothing is more productive of gloom to the industrial and

mercantile community owning or carrying stocks of merchandise, than losses experienced or anticipated through a fall in prices—but that the recent fall in the prices of the great staple commodities of the world has been in extent and character without precedent in the world's history.*

A further fact of the highest importance, and one that is not disputed, is, that no peculiarity of currency, banking, or standard of value, no form of government, or incidence and degree of taxation, or military system, or condition of land tenure, or legislation respecting trade, tariffs and bounties, or differences in the relations between capital and labour in different countries, has been sufficient to guard and save any nation from the economic disturbance or trade depression which has been incident to such changes in prices.

An analysis of British exports and imports for 1886, with comparisons of similar data for the previous year, 1885 (presented by the *Economist* in its issues for January 22 and 29, 1887), furnishes, moreover, some information, almost, if not fully, in the nature of a demonstration of the continued tendency of prices to decline during the latest period for which accurate data are (at present) accessible, and also of the continued universality of such tendency. Thus, looking first at exports, it appears that there was an increase during the year 1886 in the quantities of British and Colonial commodities exported of 6.02 per cent., as compared with similar aggregates for 1885; or Great Britain sent out 106,020 pounds, tons, or other quantities in 1886, in place of 100,000 in 1885. Comparing, however, the sum which the quantities actually exported in 1886 would have cost at the prices of 1885, a decline in price is indicated of 6.34 per cent.; or, while sending away 106,020 pounds, tons, or other quantities in 1886, as compared with 100,000 in 1885, Great Britain received back in money value only £93,660 for the same quantities which in the previous year brought £100,000.

“A similar examination of British imports for 1886 also brings out the further interesting fact that the average decline in the prices of the goods imported was almost precisely the same as in prices of goods exported. The increase in quantities of imports was less than one per cent.; or the country brought in 100,796 pounds, tons, or other quantities, in place of 100,000 in 1885. But the decline in prices was 6.373 per cent.; so that the country paid only £93,627 for the same quantities for which it paid £100,000 in the previous year. The decline in the general range of prices for the year 1886, as measured by the actual exports and imports of the greatest

* “Many who discuss this question, and whose opinions generally command deference, appear scarcely to realize the enormous extent of the fall, and it is only by means of very extensive statistics and of a comparison of various periods that a clear insight into the details and a broad view of the whole can be gained.”—AUGUSTUS SAUERBECK, *Journal of the Statistical Society*, September 1886.

exporting and importing nation of the world, would therefore appear to have been in excess of 6 per cent.; and this decline would seem to have occurred during the same period in all those countries in which Great Britain deals as a seller equally with those in which she deals as a buyer; or, in other words, this decline was practically universal.”*

The question which here naturally suggests itself, as to what in general has been the extent of the recent fall in prices, is perhaps best answered from the basis of English figures by Mr. Augustus Sauerbeck, who, as the result of an exhaustive inquiry into the price movements of thirty-eight leading articles of raw produce since 1818–27 (communicated to the Statistical Society, and published in the Journal of their “Proceedings” for September 1886 and March 1887), has arrived at the following conclusions: There was a persistent decline in the average prices of general commodities in England from the beginning to the middle of the present century, or, more exactly, to 1849. From thence there was an advance, which culminated in 1873. But leaving out of consideration a remarkably speculative period from 1870 to 1874, coincident with the Franco-German War and the payment of the war indemnity by France, during which period prices rose with great rapidity from 1870 to 1873, and fell in the succeeding year (1874) below their average starting-point in 1870, the decline of prices may be regarded as having been continuous from 1874 to 1886. Compared with the average prices of general commodities from 1867–77, the period from 1878–85 shows a depreciation of 18 per cent. But if the average prices of 1885 alone be taken, the decline from the average for 1867–77 is 28 per cent.; or continuing the comparison through 1886 and embracing a somewhat larger number of articles, the average depreciation, in the opinion of Mr. Sauerbeck, has amounted to 31 per cent. Furthermore, the average level of prices for 1886, according to the tables of Mr. Sauerbeck, was considerably below the average for the year 1848, which in turn appears to have been the lowest previous point for the century subsequent to 1820.

Many similar inquiries, embracing in some instances a much larger number of articles than were selected by Mr. Sauerbeck, have been instituted in recent years by other investigators in England, France, Germany, and the United States; but the conclusions arrived at are respectively so divergent that no figure representing the average decline during the period under investigation would probably be universally accepted as in every way satisfactory and conclusive.†

* *New York Commercial Bulletin.*

† The so-called “Hamburg” Tables, published by the well-known German statistician, Dr. Soetbeer, in 1886, make the average of prices in 1855 10 per cent. higher than they were in 1847–50.

The usual method employed by European economists in order to form a correct idea of the changes of prices in one period as compared with another, is to take the prices of certain selected commodities in a given year, or the average prices of a series of years, as the standard; represent this by the figure 100 or 1,000, and then note the increase or decrease in price in the case of each article in each subsequent year in proportion to this standard. Combining the percentage of price alterations among all the articles, a total of the variations experienced becomes known, and the number thus obtained is termed an *index number* for the year, or other period under consideration; or a number expressive of the ratio of price at a given date to the average of some former period. Thus, for example, if the average prices of forty articles in the year 1800 were to be taken at 100, and the average decline in the prices of these same articles for the year 1810 was found to be 20 per cent., the index number for the year 1800 would be 100, and for the year 1810, 80.*

The difficulties in the way of obtaining satisfactory averages from comparisons of prices at different periods by the above or any other methods are, however, almost insuperable; so that it may well be doubted whether the determination of an average of general prices is ever within the bounds of possibility. Quotations for a given day or month do not necessarily show the average for the year; and, in like manner, the selection of a limited number of articles for comparison cannot insure correct conclusions respecting the movement of prices in general. All methods of comparing price variations which content themselves with mere average quotations of different articles, and which do not pay due regard to the relative importance of each article in the domestic and foreign commerce of a country—which, for example, allow a change of 80 per cent. in the price of an article like cochineal, of which the value sold in any one year is small, to balance a change of 2 per cent. in an article like sugar, of which the value annually sold is enormous—are also in a great degree deceptive and worthless;† and even when in the comparison of prices the

* For a full exhibit and discussion of these tables, reference is made to a paper prepared and laid before the British Royal Commission (Third Report, Appendix B, pp. 312-390, 1886) by R. H. Inglis Palgrave, F.R.S.; and also to an article in the (Harvard) *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (vol. i. No. 3, Boston, 1887), by Professor J. Laurence Laughlin, Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University.

† One of the best-known tables of this character, embracing twenty-two different articles, has been kept by the *Economist* for many years as a constituent element of current British commercial history; and the objections inherent in the system adopted are forcibly illustrated by the following recent occurrence, to which attention has been called by the *New York Commercial Bulletin*: Thus, a comparison of index numbers for January and July 1886, and for January 1887, as deduced from the *Economist's* tables of prices, indicated a small advance for the latter month in the general level of British prices. But the first article on the *Economist's* list of prices is coffee, which advanced from July 1, 1886, to January 1887, to a degree sufficient to alone add 50 to the index number of January; while the entire increase for the whole twenty-two articles was only 36; or in other words, if coffee alone were omitted from the list of articles compared, the net result would show an apparent decline instead of any advance in the

importance of considering relative quantities is fully recognized, the data for ascertaining these relations are extremely uncertain and questionable. The utmost service that all such tabular comparisons of prices, even when prepared with all desirable qualifications, are capable of rendering would therefore seem to be limited to the affording of important inferences respecting variations of prices, or to the showing whether a pound sterling or a dollar would have bought more or less of a given number of bushels, yards, or pounds at one time than another. In all other respects they are little other than curiosities, inasmuch as if some articles in a given period have risen and others have fallen in price, and if the fall of some and the rise of others can be undoubtedly traced to the action of entirely different causes, the grouping of these facts into the form of tables, and the endeavour to reduce the sum of the respective changes to a common average, can prove nothing whatever as to the cause or causes which have been operative in producing the changes. And between such discordant results, effected by entirely diverse influences, there would, furthermore, seem to be no possibility of establishing an average; for the price of some articles, whose use has been superseded or impaired by change of fashion or new inventions, may fall nearly or quite to zero, while the price of others, by reason of increased demand or interrupted supply, may rise almost to infinity by comparison; and between such extremes there may be any number of gradations.

All, therefore, that can be confidently affirmed in respect to the extent of the recent depression of prices is, that comparing the data for 1885-86 with those of 1866-76, the decline has been extraordinary, and has affected most articles and most countries; and that the estimate of Mr. Sauerbeck (before referred to) of 30 per cent. as the average measure or extent of the decline is not excessive.

It seems almost unnecessary to remark that a fall of prices, although commonly so considered, cannot in any comprehensive discussion be regarded as in any sense a primary cause of economic disturbances; but that here again something antecedent, in the nature of a cause or causes more or less general, must be sought for in explanation. And of such causes, two only that are worthy of attention have been suggested: *First*, a great multiplication and cheapening of commodities through new conditions of production and distribution, which in turn have been mainly due to the progress of invention and discovery; and *second*, that the precious metal used for standard money—viz., gold—has, through relative scarcity owing to diminished production and

general level of prices. "Certainly," as the *Commercial Bulletin* remarks, "it is difficult to attach much importance to results having no better basis than this. For coffee is by no means one of the most important articles compared; it is greatly exceeded in importance by at least twelve of them. But the change in that one article happens to have been surprisingly great, and it thus outweighs far more important changes in other articles, such as iron or meat."

increased demand, greatly appreciated in value, in consequence of which a given amount of gold buys more than formerly ; or, what is the same thing, the price or purchasing power of commodities in comparison with gold has fallen.

As to which of these two causes has been most influential in occasioning the recent great decline in prices, the best authorities who have investigated the subject, as is well known, widely differ. It is also well recognized that the determination of this question is almost fundamental in the so-called bimetallic controversy ; the plea for an increased use of silver as money being wholly based on an alleged insufficiency in the supply of gold for effecting the world's exchanges, while ample evidence of the scarcity of gold is claimed to be found in the remarkable fall of prices which has been recently experienced. It is, however, a universally accepted canon, alike in logic and common sense, that extraordinary and complex agencies should never be invoked for the explanation of phenomena, so long as ordinary and simple ones are equally available and satisfactory for the same purpose. And with this premise, it is a matter of the highest interest and importance to observe how, with very few exceptions, the phenomenal decline in recent years of the prices of the world's great staple commodities admits not only of a ready and complete explanation in accordance with the first cause, but is, in fact, in the nature of an inevitable sequence from it ; and in support of this proposition attention is asked to the nature of the agencies which have been so identical, absolute, and exclusive in determining the recent decline of prices in the case of such a number of what must be regarded as typically staple commodities, that their conjoined experiences would seem so fully to establish a rule as almost to compel all antagonizing results, especially in the case of products of minor importance, to be regarded in the light of unimportant exceptions.

What these agencies have been, how they have acted, and what disturbing influences they have exerted on the world's prices, on the world's industries, commerce, and consumption, and on pre-existing relations of labour and capital, will, when fully told, constitute one of the most important and interesting chapters of political economy and commercial history. Such a complete exposition it is not at present proposed to attempt ; but the following statement of results, derived from a study of what may be termed the recent production and price experiences of a considerable number of important commodities, will, it is thought, better contribute to an understanding of the situation, and to a solution of the difficult economic problems involved in it, than any other method hitherto adopted.*

* A general movement in prices is the resultant of a number of particular movements, and in these particular movements, again, we find the proximate causes of the distribution of the industrial forces of the world and of the wealth which these forces create."—J. S. NICHOLSON, *Professor of Political Economy, University of Edinburgh, &c.*

SUGAR.—The commodity of prime importance in the commerce and consumption of the world, which appears to have experienced the greatest recent decline in price, is *sugar*, which has fallen to a lower rate than has ever been known in the history of modern commerce; the wholesale price of fair refining sugars having been more than 114 per cent. higher in 1880 than in the first half of the year 1887.*

Now, while improved methods of manufacture and greater and cheaper facilities for transportation have undoubtedly contributed to such a result, it has been mainly due to an apparent desire, as M. Leroy-Beaulieu has expressed it, on the part of the Governments of France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Italy, and Russia, "to make their national sugar industry the greatest in the world," by stimulating the domestic production of this commodity by the payment of extraordinary bounties on its exportation to other countries; or, in other words, by competing with one another in paying large sums for the purpose of speedily getting rid at little or no profit of one of the most valuable and highly desired products of human industry.

On the other hand, in order to neutralize to some extent the exceptional advantages enjoyed through such an economic policy by the producers of beet-sugar in Europe, some of the cane-growing countries have felt obliged to encourage, by subsidies or tax exemptions, their own sugar-production. In both Brazil and the Argentine Republic the manufacturers of cane-sugar have obtained a guarantee from the State of a five to six per cent. return on their capital invested, while all the machinery needed in this industry may be imported free of duty. In the Spanish West Indies the Home Government has finally (1887) felt compelled to relinquish the export duties on sugars—the produce of Cuba and Porto Rico—which have long been regarded as almost indispensable on account of revenue necessities; while in South Africa and Australia the production of sugar has also been encouraged to such an extent that both of these countries will hereafter be undoubtedly included among the number of important sugar-exporting regions. In Central America, the British and Dutch West India Islands, Guiana, and India (which last produces more sugar than any other country) production has not as yet been artificially encouraged, and, with the exception of the levying of export taxes in certain localities, neither have any impediments been placed in the way of the natural growth of production. But at the same time it cannot be doubted that the recent increased facilities

* How continuous and regular has been the decline in the price of sugars in recent years is shown by the following table, which exhibits the average price of fair refining sugars in bond (or free of duty) in New York from 1880 to July 1887 inclusive:

1880, 5.08 cents.
1882, 4.53 cents.
1884, 3.31 cents.

1885, 3.06 cents.
1886, 2.92 cents.
1887 (lowest to July), 2.37½.

for transportation and communication have, as before pointed out, been in the nature of a stimulus to the production of sugar in common with all other commodities, and have opened up large and fertile sections of the earth, which a quarter of a century ago were practically inaccessible.

Under such conditions the increase in the production of sugar entering into the world's commerce, and available for general consumption, has been extraordinary. Mr. Sauerbeck estimates the increase from 1872-73 to 1885-86 to have been 68 per cent. Other authorities estimate the increase from 1853 to 1884, exclusive of the product of India and China, to have been at the rate of 30 per cent. for each decade, or about 100 per cent. compounded. In the Hawaiian Islands, where a remission of duties on sugars exported to the United States is equivalent to an export bounty of about 100 per cent., the domestic production has increased from about 12,000 tons in 1875 (the year before the duties were remitted) to 110,000 tons in 1885—an increase in eleven years of 750 per cent. The part that beet-root sugar has played in this increase is shown by the circumstance that while in 1860 the proportion of this variety to the whole sugar product of the world (commercially reported) was less than 20 per cent., the product for 1886-87 is estimated as in excess of 55 per cent.; Germany alone having increased her product from about 200,000 tons in 1876 to 594,000 tons in 1880-81, and to 1,155,000 tons in 1884-85; while the increase of the beet-sugar product in the other bounty-paying States of Europe was not disproportionate.

Of this extraordinary increase of product as large a proportion as foreign markets would take was, as a matter of course, exported in order to obtain the benefit of the Government bounties on exports; the sugar-export of Germany alone increasing from about 500,000 cwt. in 1876 to over 6,000,000 cwt. in 1885, and with every increase of exportation the Government disbursements on account of export bounties increased proportionally. The export bounty paid by Russia is estimated to have been as high at one time as £6 8s. per ton; and that of France as between £7 and £8, entailing a present direct and indirect tax (French colonial sugars being admitted to the home market at reduced import rates), according to estimates recently presented by M. Dauphin in the French Chamber of Deputies, of £3,280,000 per annum. In Germany the amount paid in the way of subsidies on sugar was estimated by Deputy Gehlert, in a speech in the German Reichstag in 1886, as having up to that time approximated £8,000,000; while for the year 1885, £2,000,000, it was claimed, would be necessary, or an amount equal to the total wages paid to all workmen in all the German sugar refineries. As might also have been expected, the profits of producers, and more especially of the sugar-refiners, working

under the bounty (export) system, were at the same time enormously increased. In Germany the largest and best-managed beet-sugar manufactories divided for a series of years dividends to the extent of 60, 70, 90, and in one instance 125 per cent. per annum on the capital invested; * and corresponding results were also reported in Austria, Russia, France, and Belgium. How rapidly and extensively sugar has declined in price, consequent upon such an extraordinary and unnatural increase in production, has already been pointed out. How much of disaster this decline has brought to great business interests and to the material prosperity, and even the civilization, of large areas of the earth's surface, will be made a subject of future notice.

WHEAT.—The next important commodity to the recent production and price experiences of which attention will be asked is wheat. The average price of British wheat for the last week in July 1882 was 50s. per imperial quarter. For the corresponding dates in 1885 it was 32s. 11d., and in 1886, 31s. 3d. per quarter; † which last quotation was the lowest since average market prices have been officially recorded. ‡

The average price of wheat in the English markets for the decade from 1870 to 1880 was 43 per cent. higher than the average of 1886; and the average price from 1859 to 1872 was 68 per cent. higher than the average of 1886.

An analysis of the comparative prices of wheat in the United States furnishes corresponding results; the average price of No. 2 spring wheat having declined in the Chicago market from \$1.10 (gold) in 1872 to 76½ cents in 1886; and 67 cents in July 1887; a price equivalent to 29s. per quarter in the harbour at Liverpool, or 86 cents per bushel, cost, freight, insurance included. This is about the lowest price ever reported. * The average annual export price of wheat for the whole country declined from \$1.24 per bushel in 1880, to 86.2 cents in 1885, and 87 cents in 1886. The average price of wheat in Chicago from 1872–78 was \$1.04 gold, and the decline to the average price of 1886 was about 28 cents; representing a loss to the American

* "By a law passed in 1869 it was assumed that it took 12½ centners of beet-roots to give one centner of crude sugar, and a tax was levied on this basis, and a corresponding drawback allowed on exported sugar. Since then great improvements have been made in the process of manufacturing, so that but 10½ centners of roots are necessary to produce one centner of sugar instead of 12½ as formerly; but the Government continued to grant a drawback on the basis of 12½. The export drawback thus became an enormous premium to the producers, and the German manufacturers have been enabled to supply all Europe with cheap sugar; till, to protect themselves, the other States have had to increase their duties on the imports of foreign sugar."—*Report of United States Department of State by Commercial Agent Smith, Mayence, January 1887.*

† *Economist.*

‡ The Eton record gave only 26s. 9½d. per quarter as the price for the year 1761, when reduced to Winchester bushels; but there is no certainty that the average for the entire year was even in that one market as low as that, and still less that the price was as low in more than one hundred and fifty English market towns as it was in 1886.

producers of wheat on an average crop of at least \$150,000,000 per annum. For such results an all-sufficient explanation would seem to be found in the circumstance, that all investigation shows that the comparatively recent increase in the world's supply of food has been greatly in excess of the concurrent increase of the world's population; that there has been in the last decade a large increase in the area of land devoted to the cultivation of cereals; an increase (due to better methods of tillage) in the average product per acre; and an immense increase in the facilities for transportation, coupled with a greatly reduced cost, which has made product more accessible and accordingly more available for distribution. The most salient points of the evidence tending to these conclusions are as follows: The cereal production of the United States increased from 932,752,000 bushels in 1862 to 2,992,881,000 in 1884; and in acreage from 34,594,381 to 136,292,766; or in the respective ratios of 452 and 338 per cent. respectively. The average wheat production of the United States for the five years from 1881 to 1885 inclusive was 436,000,000 bushels; while for the ten years preceding—some of which supplied the heaviest demands for exportation ever experienced—the average was only 366,000,000 bushels. According to Mr. Neumann Spallart, a German statistician of repute, the production of cereals in Europe doubled from 1869 to 1879; and in the case of Russia her exports of wheat increased from 36,565,000 bushels in 1880 to 67,717,000 in 1884. According to figures of the United States Bureau of Agriculture, the average production of wheat in Europe, for the five years from 1875 to 1881 inclusive, "increased some 50,000,000 bushels over the average of the ten years preceding, which included several seasons of unusually low yield in Western Europe." In 1862 the United States exported breadstuffs to the value of \$24,000,000; in 1872 the corresponding value was \$87,000,000; and in 1880, \$288,000,000; and if since this latter year there has been a decline in the value of American cereal exports, it cannot be attributed to any impairment of ability to produce and export, if sufficient inducements existed.* While, therefore, it is clear that the comparative product of the heretofore great wheat-producing countries has not diminished, recent experiences are also making it evident that the world is hereafter to derive important supplies of wheat from sources which a few years ago did not exist, or were regarded as of little importance. For example, British India, which in 1880 exported only 13,896,000 bushels, and whose increase of wheat exports appears to be coincident with the increase of the railway mileage of the country, in 1885 exported 39,312,000 bushels.

* Of the respective wheat crops of the United States for the years 1884-5-6, thirty per cent.—in the form of wheat and flour—has been exported; the largest proportion ever recorded except during the era of crop failures, in Western Europe—i.e., 1878-82.

During the same period Australia and New Zealand, in which a rapid growth of population inevitably tends to divert agricultural industry from wool-producing to wheat-growing, increased their exports from 13,999,000 bushels in 1880 to 19,466,000 in 1885 ; and the Argentine Republic, from 5,772 bushels in 1881 to 3,986,000 in 1884. All the indications are, furthermore, that the increase of wheat supplies from new sources is likely to be continuous and of great magnitude: from India, whose internal and foreign commerce is yet only in its infancy, but is developing with extraordinary rapidity under the influence of railroad construction ; * from the great wheat region of Manitoba, to open which the Canadian Pacific Railroad was mainly constructed ; from Algeria and Northern Africa, which, once the granaries of the Roman world, are now, for the first time for centuries, contributing something to the world's surplus of cereals ; and from the South American States of the Argentine Republic and Chili, where extraordinary railroad construction is rapidly drawing an extraordinary European immigration to the finest of wheat-lands, which so recently as 1880 were practically inaccessible. Great, also, as is the present wheat production of the United States, Mr. Atkinson has shown that all the land at present in actual use in that whole country for growing maize or Indian corn, wheat, hay, oats, and cotton, is only 272,000 square miles, out of 1,500,000 miles of arable land embraced in its present national domain ; and also that the present entire wheat crop of the United States could be grown on wheat-land of the best quality selected from that part of the area of the State of Texas by which that single State exceeds the present area of the German Empire.

In short, it would seem as if the world in general, for the first time in its history, had now good and sufficient reasons for feeling free from all apprehensions of a scarcity or dearth of bread. But while this is certainly a matter for congratulation, are there not, on the other hand, reasons for apprehension of serious disturbances to the material interests of that large part of the world's population engaged

* There is nothing more remarkable in the history of railway enterprise than the development of the traffic that has occurred on Indian railways within the last ten years, to go no farther back. In 1876 the total quantity of goods traffic carried on all the railways of India was 5,750,000 tons. In 1886 the quantity was about 19,000,000 tons. In the year 1876 the mileage open was 6,833 miles ; so that the volume of goods traffic carried per mile was about 800 tons. In 1886 the mileage open was 12,376, so that the average volume of traffic carried per mile was over 1,500 tons. The aggregate volume of traffic in the interval had fully trebled, and the average traffic carried per mile open had almost doubled. Notwithstanding these remarkable results, the traffic which has been developed on the railways of India is less, in proportion to the population, than that of any country in the world. This is especially the case in reference to goods traffic, which only represents some 0.05 of a ton per head of the population, as compared with three tons per head in Canada, and over seven tons per head in the United Kingdom. But the goods traffic of India is likely to develop very rapidly in the future, and especially in agricultural produce, of which only about 4,000,000 tons are now annually transported, as compared with 75,000,000 tons in the United States for less than a fourth of the population."—*Bradstreet's (N. Y.) Journal*.

in agriculture, from the continued abundant production and decline in the price of their products?

The effect of the extensive fall in prices of agricultural products during the last decade has, as already pointed out, been most disastrous to the agricultural interests and population of Europe. It has reduced farming in England and Germany to the lowest stage of vitality, and has had less but similar effects in France, Italy, and Belgium. It has brought almost to bankruptcy the sugar-producing interests in the West Indies and the Dutch East Indies, and threatens the continuance of productive industries, and even of civilization, in these countries.* In 1880, 44 per cent. of the entire population of the United States were engaged in agriculture, and less than 7 per cent. in manufactures; and since the year 1820, or for a period of sixty-six years, the proportion between the agricultural and non-agricultural exports of this country has been remarkably steady, the average for the former for the whole of this period having been about 78 per cent. Up to the present time there has been little tendency to change in these proportions; but if the continued fall of prices of agricultural products in the United States and other countries should compel their farming populations to seek other employments, what other employments are open to them? That the world will ultimately adjust itself to all new conditions may not be doubted; but what of the period pending adjustment? †

* "In consequence of the low prices of sugar in Europe and America, owners of plantations, and their lessees, have speculated to such an extent that they have placed themselves on the brink of an abyss, and it is feared that this will totally stop the production of sugar in Java. This event would be in every way a great catastrophe. It would at once throw half a million of Javanese labourers out of employment, who would increase the already enormous number of Malay pirates."—*Journal des Fabricants de Sucre*, October 1886.

† A recent writer in the *Quarterly Review* broadly contests the views above expressed respecting the prospective increasing production and continued low prices for wheat, and endeavours to prove that "it has been too hastily assumed that, in the struggle for existence among wheat-growers, the British, the best farmers in the world, will not be among the fittest who will survive." In support of this conclusion, the writer starts with the proposition that the returns of the cost of growing wheat in Great Britain, collected in 1885, make the average about £8 per acre, and venturing the opinion that, with the general reduction of the rents of British farming-lands that have already taken place, and the practice of increased economies on the part of British farmers, they can grow wheat with a profit at 40s. and 45s. a quarter (although the average price of British wheat has not for some years reached that level), next assumes, that growers "in all parts of the world—with the doubtful exception of India—cannot possibly keep up the present acreage of wheat at the recent or any lower range of prices." The writer further concludes, from an examination of American statistics, which he abundantly offers, that the area of wheat acreage in the United States is diminishing, and that the average farm value of wheat in that country, for the years 1884-86, was about 33s., "which cannot," he says, "yield a satisfactory profit under the most favourable circumstances."

The following reply to the conclusions of this writer in the *Quarterly*, so far as they relate to the United States, which appeared in the columns of the *New York Commercial Bulletin* (May 1887), strikingly illustrates how different the situation appears to a writer equally competent to discuss the question, when viewed from a trans-Atlantic standpoint:

"These guesses about the cost of wheat-producing in this country are highly interesting. Probably they will interest no one else so much as the American farmers, who

MEAT.—The price of meat, according to the statistics of English markets, exhibits no material decline, comparing the average prices of 1867–77 and of 1878–85. But during the years 1885 and 1886 the decline was very considerable, and extended also to most other animal products. The percentage of fall in the carcase prices of different kinds and quantities of meat in London, as given by the *Economist* of November 27, 1885, was, in comparison with the prices for 1879, as follows:—For inferior beef, 43 per cent.; prime beef, 18 per cent.; prime mutton, 13 per cent.; large pork, 22 per cent.; middling mutton, 27 per cent.

The immediate cause of this decline was undoubtedly the new sources of supply of live animals and fresh meats that have been opened up to Europe, and especially to Great Britain, from other than European countries; the value of the imports into Great Britain from North America of live animals having increased from £217,000 in 1876 to £1,596,000 in 1885; of fresh meat from £390,000 to £2,364,000; and of fresh meat from Australia and the River Plate (transported through refrigeration) from £178,000 dollars in 1882 to £1,170,000 in 1885; a total increase of from £605,000 in 1876 to

know that they do not know, and have a strong impression that other people cannot tell them, the exact cost of raising wheat per acre. Very few of them produce any one crop under such circumstances that they can actually compute, in dollars or days' labour, what that separate crop costs them; and fewer still know what they add to the value of their land by improvements, or take from it by exhaustion yearly. But one thing a great many of them do know—that they are going to raise more wheat next year than they did last, as they raised more last year than the year before; and they have been selling wheat for several years at about 45 cents per bushel in great regions like Kansas, Minnesota, and Dakota, and yet the business is found so far profitable that the acreage in these very States enormously increases. It is supposed that Dakota, which produced 22,800,000 in 1880, and 22,000,000 bushels three years ago, will produce 30,000,000 in 1887."

[In 1880 the crop area of the State of Kansas was about 8,000,000 acres; for the present year (1887) the area planted is believed to be in excess of 16,000,000 acres.]

"The farmer in this country is at the same time a land-improver and a land-speculator in most of the wheat-growing States. He takes possession of a farm under the Homestead Law by pre-emption or by purchase from corporations, the land costing him so little that a single good crop or two pays for it outright. Then he puts into it labour of his own, and of men hired, which he could not otherwise utilize at all, and the cost of which he cannot compute, and thus adds year after year to its value. The farmer who runs into debt can tell what his land costs him yearly, but such are not the majority. Most farmers get a living out of the land for themselves and families, to begin with, and make some improvements besides, and meanwhile are gaining more, without any effort, than by all their labour; for while the farmer is raising four or five crops, a settled State or county grows up about him. Towns and cities start from the ground. Railroads and manufacturing establishments come to enhance the value of his land. In a few years the ground that he bought for \$1.25 to \$5 per acre comes to be worth in market price \$10, \$20, or \$30 per acre. Land settled by men who are yet in their prime averages in value over \$20 per acre for the entire State of Iowa, or \$13 for the entire State of Minnesota, or \$10 for the entire States of Kansas and Nebraska. That means for the owners of only a small farm a yearly saving which not many wage-owners are able to accomplish, and in all the more successful selections of land the increase in value, and the consequent return for labour, are far greater.

"Just as long as this occupation of new land and development of new territory are possible in this country, the most scientific calculation of the cost of growing wheat will have as much to do with its continued production or with its average price as it has to do with the height of mountains in the moon. Wheat-growing will continue, and the yield in this country will greatly exceed the demand, and an enormous surplus will be annually offered for sale at prices with which British farmers cannot easily compete, where the cost of growing wheat averages 'about \$40 per acre.'"

£8,130,000 in 1885. The ability of the three countries named to increase their exports of meat during such a brief period to such an enormous extent constitutes of itself a demonstration of increased production and of the diminished price that is the invariable accompaniment of a surplus seeking a market. The decline in the average export price of salt beef in the United States was from 8·2 cents per pound in 1884 to 6 cents in 1886 (26 per cent.); of salt pork from 8·2 cents to 5·9 cents. (27 per cent.); of bacon and hams from 9·6 cents to 7·5 cents; and of lard from 9·4 cents to 6·9 cents. In the case of lard oil an exceptionally great decline in price in recent years—*i.e.*, from an average of 94 cents per gallon (Cincinnati market) in 1881–82 to a minimum of 48·8 cents in 1886—is claimed to be due mainly to the large production and more general use of vegetable oils: cotton-seed oil in the United States, and palm and cocoa-nut oils in Europe. The effect of the increased quantity and cheapness of these vegetable oils has been especially marked in England, France, Italy, and Germany; and has also undoubtedly influenced the price of tallow, the decline in which in English markets, comparing the average prices of 1867–77 with those of 1886, has been 31 per cent.; while in the United States the price for 1884–85 was the lowest on record.

CHEESE.—American cheese experienced an extraordinary decline in price from 12 and 13 cents in 1880 to 8½ and 10½ cents in 1885; and as the American contribution of this article of food to the world's consumption has constituted in recent years a large factor, the world's prices generally corresponded with those of the American market. This decline in the United States was due mainly to increased production; the relative prices of butter and cheese during the year 1880–81 being so much to the advantage of the latter that large quantities of milk which had previously gone to the creameries to be made into butter, found their way into factories to be made into cheese; and for the years 1883, 1884, and 1885 the annual receipts at New York city averaged 25 per cent. in excess of the receipts for 1880. Demand for export at the same time largely fell off, and so assisted in the decline of prices; the same influences having also apparently prevailed to a degree in other cheese-producing countries, the amount recognized by the trade as supplied to the great cheese-consuming countries, Great Britain, the continent of Europe, and South America, having increased from 1880 to 1884 to the extent of 14 per cent.

FISH.—The year 1884 in the United States was notable for a plethora of all kinds of dry and pickled fish on the one hand, and of extremely low prices of such commodities on the other; mackerel having touched a lower price in the Boston market than for any year since 1849, while for codfish the price was less than at any time since the year 1838.

COFFEE AND TEA.—The decline in recent years in the prices of each of these great staple commodities has been almost as remarkable as has been the case with sugar, coffee having touched the lowest prices ever known in commerce in the early months of 1886, the price of "ordinary," or "exchange standard No. 5," having been 7½ cents per pound in January of that year in the New York market; while, according to Mr. Giffen, the decline in the price of tea, comparing 1882 with 1861, has been greater than that of sugar, or, indeed, of almost any other article. In both cases the decline would seem to find a sufficient explanation in a common expression of the trade circulars: "Our supplies have far outrun our consumptive requirements." In the case of coffee the total imports into Europe and the United States, comparing the receipts of the year 1885 with 1873, showed an increase of 57 per cent.; while the increase in the crops of Brazil, Ceylon, and Java during the same period has been estimated at 52 per cent. Subsequent to January 1886, the price of coffee, owing to a partial failure of the Brazil crop, rapidly advanced more than 150 per cent. "ordinary" or "exchange" standards having sold in New York in June 1886 at 22 cents per pound, the highest point in the history of American trade, unless possibly during the war, when entirely abnormal circumstances controlled prices. From these high prices there was a subsequent disastrous reaction and extensive failures. In the matter of the supply of tea the total exports from China and India increased from 234,000,000 pounds in 1873 to 337,000,000 pounds in 1885, or 44 per cent.; the exports from India having increased from 35,000,000 pounds in 1879 to 68,000,000 pounds in 1885.*

HOPS.—The report of the German Hop-growers' Association for 1886 estimates the quantity grown throughout the world in that year at 93,340 tons, and the annual consumption at only 83,200 tons; so that there was an excess of production over consumption in 1886 of nearly 10,000 tons. As might have been expected, there was a notable decline in the world's prices for hops.

* The present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Goschen, in his Budget speech for 1887, called attention to the following curious incident of financial disturbance growing out of a change in the quality of a staple commodity (tea) which in turn has been contingent on a change in the locality or country of its production: "Whereas, ten years ago," he said, "we received 156,000,000 pounds of tea from China and 28,000,000 pounds from India, or 184,000,000 pounds altogether, in 1886 we received 145,000,000 pounds from China and 81,000,000 pounds from India. In the transfer of consumption of tea from the tea of China to that of India we have to put up with a loss of revenue owing to the curious fact that the teas of India are stronger than the teas of China, and therefore go further; so that a smaller quantity of tea is required to make the same number of cups of tea." Mr. Goschen further called attention to the fact that "the fall in the price of tea and sugar has been so great, that whereas in 1866 a pound of tea and a pound of sugar would have cost 2s. 6d., and in 1876, 2s. 1½d., in 1886 they would have cost only 1s. 7¼d., or 3d. less than they would have cost in 1866 with all the duties taken off."

Such having been the production and price experience in recent years of the world's great food commodities, attention is next invited to a similar record of experience in respect to the metals.

IRON.—Sir Lowthian Bell, recognized as one of the best authorities on the production of iron and steel, in his testimony before the Royal Commission of 1885, fixed the world's production of pig-iron in 1870 at 11,565,000 tons, which increased to 14,345,000 tons in 1872. From that date production continued almost stationary until 1879, when it was 14,048,000 tons. "After 1879 an extraordinary change became apparent in the volume of the make, for during the ensuing five years the average make was 18,000,000 tons, and in 1883 it rose to 21,063,000, or nearly 50 per cent. more than it was in 1879." The witness further estimated that while the product of iron increased in the United Kingdom at the rate of 131 per cent. from 1870 to 1884, the increase in the production of the rest of the world during the same period had been 237 per cent.

The tables of the American Iron and Steel Association, prepared by Mr. James M. Swank, indicate an increase in the pig-iron product of the world, from 1870 to 1886 inclusive, of about 100 per cent. All authorities are therefore substantially agreed that the increase in the production of this commodity in recent years has been not only far in excess of the increase of the world's population in general, but also of the increase of the population of the principal iron-producing countries. Thus, for example, in the United States the production increased from 4,044,526 gross tons in 1885 to 5,683,329 in 1886, an increase of 1,638,803 tons, or 40 per cent.

Under such circumstances the price of pig-iron throughout the world has rapidly declined, and in the case of some varieties touched in 1885-86 the lowest points in the history of the trade. American pig, which sold in February 1880 for \$45 per ton, declined almost continuously until September 1885, when the low point of \$16½ was reached; while in Great Britain, Cleveland pig, which sold for £4 17s. 1d. in 1872, and £2 5s. in 1880, declined to £1 10s. 9d. in 1886. The decline in Bessemer steel rails in the English market was from £12 1s. 1d. in 1874 to less than £4 in 1887. In the United States, Bessemer steel rails, which commanded \$58 per ton at the mills in 1880, fell to \$28.25 at the close of the year 1884, returning to \$39½ in March 1887.

Reviewing specifically the causes which have contributed to the above-noted extraordinary decline in the prices of iron, the following points are worthy of notice:—

First. The testimony of Sir Lowthian Bell shows that foreign countries have within recent years, and contrary to former experience, increased their production of iron in a far greater ratio than Great Britain, which was formerly the chief factor in the world's supply;

and, in consequence, have become formidable competitors with Great Britain, not only in their own territories, but also in neutral markets. New fields of iron-ore have been discovered in Germany, France, and Belgium, very analogous in point of character to those which by discovery and development, about the year 1850, in the north of England led to the subsequent great and rapid increase of British iron production.

Second. The power of producing iron with a given amount of labour and capital has in recent years greatly increased. For example, the average product per man of the furnaces of Great Britain, which for 1870 was estimated at 173 tons, is reported to have been 194 tons in 1880, and 261 tons in 1884.

Third. The substitution of steel for iron has resulted in a notable diminution of the consumption of iron for the attainment of a given result, or, in other words, more work is attainable from a less weight of material. Sir Lowthian Bell, in his testimony before the Royal Commission, stated that a ship of 1,700 tons requires 17 per cent. less in weight of pig-iron, in being built of steel rather than of iron, and is capable of doing 7 per cent. more work.

Again, the quantity of pig-iron requisite for keeping a railroad in repair will depend greatly upon the state in which iron enters into construction; rails of steel, for example, having a far greater durability than rails of iron.*

A further example of recent economic disturbance consequent upon changes in the manufacture of iron—characterized by the Secretary of the British Iron Trade Association in his Report for 1886 as “one of the most remarkable of modern times”—is to be found in the rapid disuse of the system invented about one hundred years ago by Henry Cort for converting pig-iron into malleable iron by the so-called process of “puddling.” Twenty years ago the use of this process was almost universal—to-day it is almost a thing that has passed; and the loss of British capital invested in puddling furnaces which

* Opinions as yet vary greatly as to the comparative durability of iron and steel rails. In the testimony given before the Royal Commission of 1885, Mr. I. T. Smith, manager of the Barrow Steel Company, gave it as his opinion that the life of a steel rail is three times that of an iron rail, adding: “My reason for saying so is, that I know that upon the London and North-Western Railway, where steel rails have been now in use more than twenty years, they consider it so.”

Sir Lowthian Bell also, in testifying before the Commission on the effect on the iron trade of Great Britain from the expected longer duration of steel rails, says: “Assuming iron rails to last twelve, and steel rails twenty-four years, instead of the railways now in existence in the United Kingdom requiring 465,648 tons annually for repairs, 232,824 tons will suffice for the purpose. Although this only involves the saving of a comparatively small weight of pig-iron, it means less work for remelting and for our rolling-mills, say to the extent of 4,000 to 5,000 tons per week.” The difference in duration of iron and steel rails is not, however, in itself a complete measure of the amount of pig-iron required for renewals. This arises from the fact that an iron rail splits up and becomes useless long before the actual wear, as measured by the diminution of weight, renders it unsafe, which often happens when the loss of weight does not exceed 4 per cent. of the original weight. Steel rails, on the other hand, go on losing weight until they are from 10 to 20 per cent. lighter than when they were laid down, before becoming unsafe.

have been abandoned in the ten years from 1875 to 1885 is estimated to have approximated £4,667,000, involving in Great Britain alone a displacement or transfer of workmen to other branches of industry during the same period of about 39,000.

COPPER.—This metal touched the lowest price on record in 1886, Lake Superior copper in New York falling from 25 cents per pound in 1880 to $9\frac{1}{2}$ cents in August 1886; and in the case of no other single commodity is the connection between the decline in price and the increase of production so well established and so significant. The increase in the copper product of the world is estimated by Mr. Sauerbeck to have been 97 per cent. in the thirteen years from 1873 to 1885 inclusive; while, according to the Report of the United States Geological Survey, 1886, the increase from 1879 to 1885 was nearly 47 per cent. (46·8). The countries which have most notably contributed to this increased product have been the United States, and Spain and Portugal; the increase in the case of the former having been from 23,000 in 1879 to 74,053 tons in 1885; and in that of the latter from 32,677 tons to 45,749 in the same period. As in all other like cases, the disturbing effect on the industries involved—mining and smelting—contingent on this rapid and remarkable fall in prices was very great, and in all quarters of the world. In Montana, the Montana Copper Company, with an annual product of 8,000,000 pounds of pure copper, entirely suspended operations; and the Anaconda Company, with an annual product of 36,000,000 pounds, shut down twenty out of twenty-eight furnaces, and discharged most of its hands at the mine. In Chili, production during the year 1885 was diminished to the extent of about 10 per cent. In Germany the great Mansfield mine, which reported gross profits in 1884 of 5,675,000 marks, sustained a loss in the operations of 1885 of 653,338 marks; and its managers have since sought relief by petitioning the Imperial Government for the imposition of a higher tariff on the imports of copper into the empire. For the years 1881–83 the great San Domingo mine in Portugal paid annual dividends of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; in 1885 the annual rate was reduced to $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. It is important also to note, as throwing light upon the problem of the recent reduction of prices, that while in the case of copper the increase of product has been confessedly immense, three other agencies—one permanent, and the other two of a temporary character—have contributed to its recent decline in price. The *first* is, that there has been a reduction in the cost of mining, smelting, and marketing copper at the principal mines of the world, owing to improved processes and reduced rates of transportation contingent on railroad construction. In the case of the Lake Superior mines this reduction is very striking; in the “Quincy” mine, for example, the cost of production in cents per pound having been reduced from

10.03 in 1881 to 7.50 in 1885; and in the "Atlantic" from 13.80 to 9.37 in the corresponding period. *Second*, the recent discovery and rapid development of new and rich mines in Montana, Arizona, the Dominion of Canada, and elsewhere, have left a feeling of apprehension in the world's market as to the conditions of the supply of this metal in the future. *Third*, the consumption of copper in Europe for the year 1886 fell off 14,000 tons below the average for the two preceding years—a result attributed mainly to the dulness of shipbuilding and the various metal industries.

LEAD experienced a decline, comparing the highest market prices in New York in January 1880 and 1885 respectively, of about 39 per cent.; or, comparing the average prices for New York and London for the same years, about 30 per cent. The world's production of lead between the years 1880 and 1883 appears to have increased in nearly the same ratio, or far in excess of the increase of the world's population within the same period. With an approaching exhaustion of a number of the heaviest lead-producing mines in the Rocky Mountains,* and a notable decline in the lead product of British ores (50,328 tons in 1882 as compared with 37,687 tons in 1885), the price of lead tends to increase. The decline in the price of lead above noted occasioned the suspension or bankruptcy of many English lead-mining companies, and during the year 1885 much distress from this cause was reported as existing among English lead-miners. The following is an example of another economic disturbance contingent on changes in the production and price of lead: formerly the domestic supply in the United States of white lead, and of all paints the basis of which is oxide of lead, was derived almost exclusively from manufactories situated upon the Atlantic seaboard; but with the discovery and working of the so-called silver-lead mines of the States and Territories west of the Mississippi, and the production of large quantities of lead as a product residual, or secondary to silver, the inducements offered for the manufacture of white lead and lead-paints, through local reductions in the price of the raw material and the saving of freights, have been sufficient to almost destroy the former extensive white lead and paint business in the eastern sections of the United States, and transfer it to the western.

NICKEL, not many years ago, was a scarce metal of limited uses, and commanded comparatively high prices. Latterly the discovery of new and cheaper sources of supply has tended to throw upon the market an amount in excess of the world's present average yearly consumption—estimated at between 800 and 900 tons—and, as a consequence, there has been "over-production, and unsatisfactory prices to dealers." There is, moreover, little prospect that prices in

* Report of the United States Geological Survey, 1886.

respect to this metal will ever revive—one mine in New Caledonia alone being estimated as capable of producing two or three thousand tons annually, if required; while the discovery of richer and more abundant ore deposits than have ever before been known, is reported as having resulted from the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

TIN.—The production and price experiences of this metal during the last quarter of a century have been very curious. The world's consumption of tin from 1860–64 constantly tended to be in excess of production, and prices rose from £87 (the lowest figure) in 1864 to £159 (the highest) in 1872. In this latter year the mines of Australia began to produce very largely, and in a short time afforded a supply equal to one-third of the world's current consumption. Under such circumstances the price of tin rapidly declined, and in October 1878 touched £52 10s., the lowest price ever known in history; a decline of 66 per cent. For some years past, however, the product of tin in Australia has been declining, that of the "Straits" increasing, and that of England and other countries remaining nearly stationary; but the consumption of tin throughout the world has gone on continually increasing, until now the surplus stock is being so rapidly reduced that unless new sources of supply are developed, famine rates may again occur; prices having advanced continuously from £52 10s. in 1879 to £107 in June 1887.

TIN-PLATES.—Owing to a well-recognized tendency of consumption to exceed production, tin-plates, in common with tin, ruled at what were termed "famine" prices in 1872, and for some years previous; the average price for "coke" plates being from 26s. to 27s. per ton. Since 1872 the decline has been in excess of 50 per cent.—the quotations for the first half of the year 1887 having been from 12s. 6d. to 13s. per box. This remarkable and steady decline in the prices of this commodity during the last fifteen years is as clearly and certainly understood as in the case of tin above noticed, and is referable to three causes: *First*, the reduction in the cost of the metal tin; *second*, to the revolution in the manufacture of iron, and the extensive substitution of steel (plates) in place of charcoal and puddled iron plates; *third*, to new processes of manufacture and tinning; a modern tin-plate mill turning out every twenty-four hours more than double the product of old-fashioned mills, without any increase in expenditure for motive power or labour. Supply and consumption alike under such circumstances have increased to an enormous extent, and the tin-plate trade, instead of being a minor industry of the world, as was formerly and not remotely the case, has become one of great magnitude. The decline in prices has, however, brought nothing of prosperity to the British tin-plate manufacturing industry; as out of an average of eighty-two works in

existence during recent years in South Wales, there have been no less than forty failures.*

QUICKSILVER.—Excepting petroleum and quinine, the decline in price of this metal seems to have been greater in recent years than that of any other leading commodity—*i.e.*, from £26 per flask (the highest) on the London market, in 1874, to £5 2s. 6d. (lowest) in 1884; and from \$118 (highest) to \$26 (lowest) on the San Francisco market during the same period; a decline of 77·1 per cent. The explanation of this movement of price is to be found mainly in the circumstance that California, which furnishes nearly one-half of the world's supply of this metal, increased her production from 30,077 flasks in 1870 to 79,681 in 1877; and although, as the result of low prices, only ten of thirty working mines of California were in operation in 1885 (none of which paid a dividend in that year), the generally increased supply of quicksilver, coupled with its diminished use in the reduction of silver-ores—consequent on the introduction and use of cheaper processes—has thus far prevented any material augmentation in its price, the London quotation for June 1887 having been £6 15s. per flask.

SILVER.—The annual supply of silver from the mines of the world has largely increased since 1872–73, the period covered by the marked decline in the market price of silver; or, according to the estimates of the Bureau of the Mint of the United States, from \$65,000,000 in 1872 to \$102,168,000 in 1881; \$114,000,000 in 1883, and \$124,000,000 in 1885, an increase in supply in fourteen years of 90·7 per cent.

COAL.—The decline in the export prices of British coal, comparing the average for 1867–77 with 1886 was about 33 per cent. The decline in the average annual price of anthracite coal (by the cargo at Philadelphia), comparing 1870 with 1880, was 38 per cent.; but, as between 1870 and 1886 it was only 6·6 per cent. The total production of all kinds of coal in the United States in 1886, according to the returns of the United States Geological Survey, shows a net gain of 1,785,000 short tons, as compared with 1885, but a loss in value at the point of production of \$4,419,420.

The increase in the product of the five chief coal-producing countries of the world—Great Britain, the United States, Germany,

policy of the manufacture of tin-plates enjoyed by Great Britain, by imposing a n duty on their importation, has been singularly unsuccessful; domestic (German) production and exports having diminished, and exports increased, as will appear from the following table:—

YEAR.	Production. Tons.	Imports. Tons.	Exports. Tons.
1885	4,892	5,798	186
1878	8,582	5,307	1,696

France, and Belgium—from 1870 to 1886 inclusive, has been in excess of 80 per cent.; Great Britain increasing her product from 109,000,000 tons in 1870 to 159,351,000 in 1885; and the United States from 38,468,000 in 1870 to 112,743,000 short tons in 1886. On the other hand, the amount of coal displaced from use in the United States in 1886 by the introduction and use of natural gas is estimated by the United States Geological Survey at 6,353,000 tons, valued at \$9,847,000. In Germany the increase reported was from 36,041,000 tons in 1873 to 55,000,000 tons in 1883. In 1870 the average output of coal per miner in the British coal-mines—counting in all the men employed—was 250 tons, an amount never before reached. In 1879 this average had increased to 280 tons per man, and in 1884 the average for the five preceding years was reported at 322 tons; an increase of 42 gross tons of 21 cwt. per man per annum. For Germany the increase was from 261 tons in 1881 to 269 tons in 1883; and in Belgium, for corresponding years, from 165 tons to 178 tons per miner.

Recent inventions have also done much to reduce the amount of coal formerly used to effect industrial results, particularly in the case of blast-furnaces and coke-ovens. For example, at blast-furnaces coal was formerly used for heating the boilers that furnished steam for blowing, hoisting, &c., and for heating the air which was blown into the stacks. Now, a well-ordered set of blast-furnaces does not use a single ounce of coal, except what goes in to melt the ore. The whole of the heat used to produce the steam required in connection with the furnace, and for heating the stoves for making the hot-blast, is obtained from the gases which rise to the top of the stacks in the process of smelting the iron, and which formerly was all thrown away.

PETROLEUM.—Crude petroleum declined in the American market from an average of \$3.86 (gold) per barrel in 1870 to 87½ cents per barrel in 1885 and 71½ cents in 1886; a total decline of over 80 per cent.

The American annual production (including Canada) increased during the same period from 5,510,745 barrels in 1870 to 30,626,100 in 1882, declining to 25,798,000 in 1886.

That the production and price experiences of the great staple fibres of commerce and consumption in recent years have not been dissimilar to those of the foods and metals, will also appear from the following.

COTTON.—Comparing 1860 with 1885, the decline in the price of American cotton (middling uplands) in the New York market has not been material. The year 1886, however, witnessed a decline to a lower point ($8\frac{13}{16}$) than has been reached, with one exception, since the year 1855; the exception occurring just after the failure of the Glasgow Bank in Scotland in 1878, the lowest quotations in both years being exactly the same. On the other hand,

the increase in the world's supply of cotton in recent years has been very considerable, the American crop increasing from 3,930,000 bales in 1872-73 to 6,575,000 in 1885-86, or 67 per cent.; while the supply of the world for the corresponding period is estimated to have increased from 6,524,000 bales to 8,678,000 bales, or at the rate of about 32 per cent. Such an increase in production would undoubtedly have occasioned a more marked decline in price had it not been for a great and coincident increase in the world's consumption of cotton fabrics, which in turn was undoubtedly in consequence of a material decline in the cost of the same, as the result of improvements in machinery and methods of production; the equivalent of the labour of an operative in the factories of New England having increased from 12,161 yards in 1850 to 19,293 in 1870 and 28,032 in 1884; while the reduction in the price of standard sheetings from 1850 to 1885 has been about ten per cent., and of standard prints and printing-cloths, during the same period, approximately 40 per cent.

WOOL.—According to the statistics of Mr. Sauerbeck (*Journal of Statistical Society*, March 1887), the price of merino wool (Port Philip, Australia, average fleece), comparing the averages of the series of years 1867-77 and 1878-85 declined 10·7 per cent.; or, comparing the average price of 1867-77 with that of the single year 1886, when wool "was cheaper than at any time within the memory of the present generation," 27 per cent. Certain fibres classed with wool, and known as "alpaca" and "mohair," and the grade of long-combing English wools known as "Lincoln," experienced a much greater decline after 1874-75, owing to the curious circumstance that a change in fashion in those years almost entirely and suddenly destroyed any demand for the before popular, stiff, lustrous fabrics manufactured from such wools for female wear, and substituted in their place the soft and pliable cloths that are made from merino wools.

The increase in the production and world's supply of raw wools, from the years 1860 to 1885 inclusive, was about 100 per cent. According to Mr. Sauerbeck's tables, the increase from 1873 to 1885 inclusive was 20 per cent.; according to Messrs. Helmuth, Schwartze & Co., of London, the increase from 1871-75 to 1881-85 was 23 per cent.; and from 1871-75 to 1886, 35 per cent. The wool-clip of the United States increased from 264,000,000 pounds in 1880 to 329,000,000 in 1885, or 24·6 per cent. in six years. Such an increase in the world's supply of wool would undoubtedly have resulted in a greater decline in prices, had not the increase been accompanied, as was the case with cotton, with a very marked increase during the last quarter of a century in the world's consumption—i.e., from 2·03 pounds of clean wool per head in 1860 to 2·63 pounds in 1886.

SILK.—The decline in the price of silk (Tsatlee), according to Mr. Sauerbeck, from the average price of 1867–77 to the average of 1886, was about 40 per cent.; and the average increase in supply of all varieties of silk-fibre, comparing 1873 with 1885, was reported by the same authority as about 12 per cent. No relation between the price movements of this commodity and supply and demand, or any other agencies, can, however, be established, which fails to take into account the great increase in the use of ramie and other fibres and materials within recent years as substitutes for or adulterations of silk in the manufacture of fabrics, and which must obviously have an effect on the price of raw silk equivalent to an increase in its supply.

JUTE.—Good medium jute declined in the London market from £17 per ton in 1874 to an average of £11 10s. in 1886, or more than 32 per cent. The increase in exports from British India was from 5,206,570 cwt. in 1876 to 10,348,909 cwt. in 1883, or 98 per cent.

NITRATE OF SODA.—The recent price experiences of nitrate of soda (Chilian saltpetre) have been very curious. The supply of this article, which corresponds to the more valuable nitrate of potash (true saltpetre), is practically limited to one locality on the earth's surface—a rainless, desert tract—in the province of Tarapacá, which formerly belonged to Peru, but has recently been annexed to Chili. It is cheaply and plentifully obtained, at points from fifty to ninety miles from the coast, by dissolving out the nitrate salt from the desert earth, which it impregnates, with water, and concentrating the solution by boiling to the point where the nitrate separates by crystallization. Up to the year 1845 it was an article so little known to commerce that only 6,000 tons were annually exported; but as its value as a fertilizing agent in agriculture, and as a cheap source of nitrogen in the manufacture of nitric acid, became recognized, the demand for it rapidly increased, until the amount exported in 1883 was estimated at 570,000 tons, or more than a thousand million pounds. To meet this demand and obtain the profit resulting from substituting skilful for primitive methods of extracting and marketing the nitrate, foreign capital, mainly English, extensively engaged in the business. A large amount of English-made machinery, and many English engineers and mechanics, were sent out and planted in the desert; additional supplies of water were secured, and a railroad fifty-nine miles in length constructed to the port of Iquique on the sea-coast, for the transportation of coal, provisions, and other material *up*, and the nitrate as a return freight *down*. So energetically, moreover, was the work pressed, that at the last a most complete establishment—constructed under English auspices, the business employing when in full operation six hundred men—was prosecuted unremittingly by night (by the agency of the electric light) as well as by day. The result was exactly what might have been anticipated.

The export of nitrate, which was 319,000 tons in 1881, rose to 570,000 tons in 1883; and prices at the close of 1883 declined with great rapidity to the extent of more than 50 per cent., or to a point claimed to be below the cost of production. Such a result, threatening the whole business with disaster, led to an agreement, on the part of all the interests concerned, to limit from June 1884 to January 1887 the product of every establishment to 25 per cent. of its capacity. But notwithstanding these well-devised measures, prices have not been restored to their former figures, the average price per cwt. in London having been 10s. in 1886, as compared with an average of 14s. for 1867-77. For May 1887 the quotations had advanced to 11s. and 11s. 5d. This case is especially worthy of notice, because it constitutes another example of a great and rapid decline in the price of a standard and valuable commodity in the world's commerce, and for which—all the facts being clearly understood—it is not possible to assign any other cause than that of production in excess of any current demand for consumption, and which in turn has been solely contingent on the employment, under novel conditions, of improved methods for overcoming territorial and climatic difficulties.

Concurrently with the fall in the price of nitrate of soda, salt-petre, or nitrate of potash, also notably declined from 28s. 3d. in 1880 to 21s. in 1887 (for English refined), a fact which seems to find a sufficient explanation in the circumstance that nitrate of soda can be used to a certain extent as a substitute for nitrate of potash, and that the export of the latter from India, the country of chief supply, increased from 352,995 cwt. in 1881 to 451,917 cwt. in 1885, or 36 per cent.

PAPER.—A quarter of a century ago, or less, paper was made almost exclusively from the fibres of cotton and linen rags; and with an enormous and continually increasing demand, paper and rags not only rapidly increased in price, but continually tended to increase, and thus greatly stimulated effort for the discovery and utilization of new fibrous materials for the manufacture of paper. These efforts have been so eminently successful that immense quantities of pulp suitable for the manufacture of paper are now made from the fibres of wood, straw, and various grasses, and so cheaply that the prices of fair qualities of book-paper have declined since the year 1872 to the extent of fully 50 per cent., while in the case of ordinary "news" the decline has been even greater. Rags, although still extensively used, have, by the competitive supply of substitute materials, and a consequent comparative lack of demand, been also greatly cheapened.

QUININE.—But in no one article has the decline in recent years been more extraordinary and thoroughly capable of explanation than in the case of sulphate of quinine, a standard chemical preparation

used extensively all over the world for medicinal purposes. In 1865 the highest price of sulphate of quinine in the English market was 4*s.* 4*d.* per ounce, which gradually advanced to 9*s.* 6*d.* in 1873, receding to 6*s.* 9*d.* in 1876. In the subsequent year, owing to an interruption in the exportation of cinchona-bark from South America by civil war in New Granada, and by low water in the Magdalena River, the price advanced to the unprecedentedly high figure of 16*s.* 6*d.* per ounce, receding to 13*s.* in 1879, and 12*s.* in 1880. In 1883 identically the same article sold in Europe for 3*s.* 6*d.* per ounce, and in 1885 for 2*s.* 6*d.*, a result entirely attributable to the successful and extensive introduction and growth of the cinchona-tree in the British and Dutch East Indies, and to the further very curious circumstance, that while the cinchona-barks from South America—the product of indigenous trees—yield on an average not over 2 per cent. of quinine, the bark of the cultivated tree in Java is reported to yield from 8 to 12 per cent.

The decline in the prices of many chemicals, due to improvements in methods and to excess of production, has also been very great—the decline in soda-ash from 1872 having been 54 per cent., while bleaching-powders (chloride of lime) declined from £10 in 1873 to £6 15*s.* in 1878, receding to £9 in 1887.

Many other commodities, of greater or less importance, might be included in this investigation, with a deduction of like results; but this is not necessary, for it is difficult to see how any one can rise from an examination of the record of the production and price experiences of the commodities which have been specified—which, it must be remembered, represent, considered either from the standpoint of qualities or values, the great bulk of the trade, commerce, and consumption of the world—without being abundantly and conclusively satisfied that the decline in their prices which has occurred during the last ten or fifteen years, or from 1873, has been so largely due to conditions affecting their supply and demand that if any or all other causes whatever have contributed to such a result, the influence exerted has not been appreciable; and further, that if the prices of all other commodities not included in the above record had confessedly been influenced by a scarcity of gold, the claims preferred by the advocates of the latter theory could not be fairly entitled to any more favourable verdict than that of “not proven.”

But have all other commodities, for which conclusive evidence of a recent greatly augmented production cannot be produced, exhibited in their recent price movements any evidence of having been subjected to any influences attributable to the scarcity of gold? The consideration of this question must be postponed to another occasion.

DAVID A. WELLS.

LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE.

THERE has lately been no small stir in many quarters about the relations between "language" and "literature" and the supposed opposition between them. To say that there has been a dispute on the subject would perhaps be going too far. For the question may be raised,

"Si rixa est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum."

A great deal has been said on one side and very little on the other. The side which has had most said against it has said very little against the other side. And it has said little against the other side, because it was slow in understanding that there were two sides. Men who were doing their own work and following their own studies without meddling with the work and studies of others were a little amazed to be suddenly told that they were the enemies of this pursuit and that, that they had committed a "fraud"—that has been the favourite formula—upon this subject and that. The odd thing was that the subjects which they were charged with treating in this unfair way were subjects towards which they were not conscious of bearing any ill will, subjects to which some of them at least certainly believed that their own lives were largely devoted. Certain electors in the University of Oxford were called on to make an election to a certain professorship, and they made it according to the best of their skill and understanding. Such elections do not commonly turn the world upside down. There may be a few remarks in the newspapers at the time, a few words of approval or disapproval, and that is all. It is certainly not usual for such an election, not only to be made the subject of endless false rumours before and after, but to be branded at the time as either "a joke or a job," and to be made the occasion, months and years after, of an abiding charge

of "fraud", against the electors. Some while after the election, the immediate *venue* was changed from Oxford to Cambridge. The demerits, real or alleged, of a certain professor there were made the handle for a fierce attack, not only upon him but upon both Universities, in which the story of the election to the Oxford professorship was of course not forgotten. A little later, the Hebdomadal Council at Oxford proposed a statute to Congregation, a very common event, and one which, as a rule, does not greatly stir the public mind. But the heading of this statute contained the word "languages"; some of its clauses contained the word "literature." The words seemed harmless words; they were certainly used with very harmless meanings; but the words "language" and "literature" seem to be to some minds what the red rag is in one proverbial saying and the trailed coat in another. The hubbub began again; in truth it had never stopped. The statute was strongly opposed in Oxford and fiercely denounced out of it, and the favourite formula of "fraud" did not fail to be brought in.

Now I suppose there are some to whom all this seems right and natural, and to whom these charges of "fraud" and the like must at least have a meaning. But there are also some to whom the whole thing seems very wonderful. Their difficulty is to understand how "language" and "literature" came to be looked at as distinct and even hostile subjects. They had lived all their lives in the belief that "language" and "literature" were, perhaps not exactly the same thing, but that they were at least things which could not be kept asunder or studied asunder, things which, if not the same thing, were different sides of the same thing. How, they would have asked, if the question had come into their heads, can language stand without literature or literature without language? Each, they would have said, implied the other. The study of literature might be supposed to be the study of books, and to study books implied a knowledge of the language in which they are written. And, in such study of any language as might be looked for in an University, knowledge of the language would be held to imply, not the mere power of reading and talking it, but a knowledge of the language itself, its history and character and relations to other languages. Such knowledge might not get beyond the level of elegant scholarship or it might rise to that of the higher philology; in either case it would be what the time and place concerned accepted as thorough knowledge of the language. A mere empirical command of a language, the mere power of speaking it, was not the kind of knowledge with which an University would be satisfied. The academical knowledge of a language surely implied both some knowledge of the language itself, of the facts about it, and also some knowledge of the books written in that language. Neither could be conceived apart. One man might give more atten-

tion to one side and another to the other ; but no man could afford altogether to neglect either. For some ages Greek and Latin were the only languages which formed part of any academic course. In the way in which they were studied there were some manifest faults ; but there was certainly no divorce between " literature " and " language," as those words were understood then.

The weak side of the old study of Greek and Latin lay in this, that they were studied apart from other languages. They were supposed to have some mysterious character about them, some supreme virtue peculiar to themselves, which made it needful to look at them all by themselves, and made it in a manner disrespectful to class any other languages with them. This belief, or rather feeling, grew naturally out of the circumstances of what is called the revival of learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The learning then revived was an exclusively Greek and Latin learning, and it could hardly have been otherwise. And besides this, the error, like other errors, contains a certain measure of truth : it is a half-truth thrust out of its proper place. For purposes purely educational the Greek and Latin tongues have something which is peculiar to themselves, something which does set them apart from all others. That is, they are better suited than any other languages to be the groundwork of study. On this head there is no need to insist : for the position is not only admitted, it is even clamorously asserted, by some at least of those who most eagerly set up " literature " as a foe to " language." Perhaps indeed the fault of the old way of studying Greek and Latin may have been that it made too much of " literature " and too little of " language." It certainly led, and still leads, to a fashion of confining the study of those languages to certain periods of them. The choice of those periods might, either from a historical view of the languages themselves or from a political view of the history of those who spoke them, seem purely arbitrary, but it is defended on the ground that the periods chosen are those which produced the best literary models in the two languages. Within the range of the old classical studies it is certainly not " literature " which suffers ; the complaint might rather be that both political history and the historical study of language are sacrificed to " literature." But this applies only to the choice of periods. Within the periods chosen there is no divorce between " language " and " literature ;" the divorce, if any, is rather between " language " and " literature " combined and the study of the matter of the books that are chosen. This last is the distinction between the examination popularly known at Oxford as " Moderations " and the final examination in *Literæ Humaniores*. The severance between those two may be fairly objected to on other grounds, and I myself deeply regret it ; but it hardly touches any question between " language " and " literature." As far as Greek and Latin are

concerned, those two flourish together. The caviller may object to the isolation of the two languages from other languages; he may object to the neglect of all except certain periods of those languages. But so far as the Greek and Latin languages and the literature contained in those languages are studied at all, language and literature are certainly studied together. Those who had gone through and profitted by the old system of classical study at Oxford, without much speculation as to the nature of that system or of any other systems that might be put in its place, might have been surprised to hear of "literature" and "language" as distinct and possibly hostile subjects. As far as concerned the two languages to which they had given most thought, they had assuredly done whatever they had done of grammatical and philological study in the closest connexion with the study of the master-pieces of literature, and they had reached those master-pieces of literature only through a careful study, according to some standard of careful study, of the languages in which they were written.

Now to those at least who hold that the study of language, no less than the study of history, is a whole, who hold that no language can be profitably studied wholly apart from all other languages, that there is no special mystery about the Greek and Latin languages, that a really sound study of them and a really sound study of other languages must be carried on according to exactly the same methods—to them it would seem to follow as a natural consequence that in the sound study of any other language the same close connexion between language and literature should be kept up. I am speaking of sound study, thorough study, such study as it is worthy of an University to encourage. What form of study deserves those names is a question which may be differently answered at different times. But whatever its shape at any time, it stands distinguished from another kind of treatment of language, from other ways, not perhaps of studying, but certainly of mastering, languages which for certain other purposes are highly useful. A man may have a mastery of French, for instance, which may serve him for a crowd of practical purposes, a mastery which may even make him shine in a diplomatic congress, and yet he may have hardly any notion of the history of the French language, hardly any notion of its relations to Latin and to the other Romance tongues. On the other hand a man may have the most thorough knowledge of the origin of the French language and of all the stages of its history, he may have read a crowd of French books, old and new—that is, he may have studied, and profitably studied, both language and literature—and yet he may be quite unable to make a French speech. No doubt the most perfect state of mastery of any language is when a man combines both these forms of knowledge of it; but it is a matter of fact that they may be,

and often are, found apart. But it is surely the second, the scholarly knowledge of the language, which it is the business of an University to encourage; the practical mastery each man must gain for himself in a crowd of ways which lie outside the authority of professors and examiners. Each kind of knowledge is good in its own way and for its own purpose. Best of all it is when both are found together. But the two may exist apart; and as—to assume a doctrine on which I may have to insist further on—every kind of knowledge is not a fit subject for University training, we may fairly lay down that it is the business of an University to teach men the scholarly knowledge of languages, that it is not its business to teach men their practical mastery.

But here we are met by another difficulty. The proposition that there is such a thing as a scholarly knowledge of French or of any other spoken European language, and that it is the business of an University to encourage such knowledge, is likely to meet with enemies, and with enemies on different sides. More than one kind of classical scholar is likely to object. I need not speak of the kind of scholar whose whole scholarship consists in making imitative verses and quoting scraps of Horace and Virgil. There is danger from a higher kind of scholar than that, from the scholar who really knows something of the Greek and Latin languages, and of the literature of each, during certain periods, but who declines to go beyond those periods. There is danger from the man who begins but refuses to finish, from the man who grounds his support of Greek and Latin on the strange argument that they are “dead languages.” It is singular, but it is true, that there is no form of ignorance more thoroughly complete than that in which the ordinary classical scholar is contented to abide, in which he is rather proud to abide, of all the later forms of the two languages to which he professes to devote himself. He seems positively to shrink from any contact with their later history and their later literature. Such an one cannot be a friend to the scholarly study of the forms of Greek and Latin now spoken in Europe, because that study calls for exactly the kind of knowledge from which he turns away. A Teutonic or Slavonic scholar he might just possibly be, though even in these branches of study he would be under great disadvantages; a Romance scholar he cannot be; so to call him involves a physical contradiction. As for any special scholarship applied to the later ages of the Greek tongue, that one hardly ventures to speak of. How deep is the ignorance, how deep is the dislike, with which the ordinary classical scholar approaches any wider knowledge of the history and literature of the tongues which he thinks specially his own, was shown in the rejection last year by the Oxford Congregation of the statute which proposed to do something to fill up the

wretched gap between so called "ancient" and "modern," which is the bane of all Oxford studies.

If the rejection of one Oxford statute showed the kind of dislike which a scholarly study of so called "modern" languages is likely to meet with on one side, the opposition to another statute shows the kind of dislike which it is likely to meet with on another side. That a statute designed to encourage such studies has been denounced as a "fraud on literature" is a fact well worthy to be borne in mind. It reveals the nature of the new "literary" opposition; in so doing it takes us very deep into several aspects of one stage, the latest, of the English language and its literature. The word "fraud" is a hard one; but it is perhaps not to be taken in its obvious sense; the charge may mean no more than that "literature," in the sense in which that word is used by those who bring it, is not made so much of as it ought to be. The truth is that the objection made to the statute, and the strong language used about it, have brought to the front the fact that "literature" is an ambiguous and sometimes a misleading term. The statute, in its heading, says nothing about "literature"; it is a statute for establishing a "School of Modern Languages"; but the word "literature" occurs more than once in its clauses. According to the older notion of things, this could hardly be otherwise. A school of language could not fail to be a school of "literature" in one sense, in what some will think the worthier sense, the sound study of books in those languages which the school takes in hand. And the contemplated school of Modern Languages is designed to be a school of literature, in that sense in which the elder school of *Literæ Humaniores* was a school of literature. It is meant to take in the solid study of great books in those languages which come within the range of the school. But it is meant to take in this study in close connexion with the sound study of the languages themselves, or rather as an essential part of the sound study of these languages. The fierce objections which have been raised against the school show that there are those who by a study of "literature" mean something different from this.

If the experience of one man is worth saying anything about, I may say that the fact that there could be any opposition between "language" and "literature" came upon me as a new light at the time of the election to the Merton professorship. We who had to elect were beset by cries on both sides. The title of the professorship was certainly an awkward one. Its holder is "Professor of English Language and Literature." Something perhaps of an article, something perhaps of an adjective, is needed to make this title suit the rules either of "language" or of "literature. Some people made themselves very merry over this title, and they had a right to do so if they chose; only they seemed to think that their merriment told

in some way against the electors. Yet the electors had nothing to do with the title; they, like the rest of the University, had simply to take it as they found it at the hands of the Commissioners. But anyhow the words "Language" and "Literature" were both in the title, and if there was any doubt as to what was meant by "literature," there was at least no doubt as to what was meant by "language." That that word was to be taken in the old scholarly sense was plain from a suggestion made by the Commissioners that the new professorship should be united with the professorship of "Anglo-Saxon." It was odd, and it has proved very unlucky, that the Commissioners only suggested when they might have ordained; but at any rate the object of the new chair was to unite the study of "language" in the fullest and deepest sense with the study of "literature" in some sense. And to me at least the union seemed perfectly reasonable. For I was still in that state of antiquated darkness which conceived that language implied literature and that literature implied language, and which never thought of any opposition between the two. I had thought in my simplicity that our business was to choose some one who got at the language through the literature and at the literature through the language. From this dream I was awakened, and I dare say others were awakened also, by "barbarian war-cries on every side." Many votaries of literature were shouting that literature could have nothing to do with language, and at least one votary of language was shouting no less loudly that language could have nothing to do with literature. The truth gradually dawned upon me as I listened to the shouts and as I did my duty as an elector by studying the testimonials and other credentials of the candidates. I had conceived that a mastery of English literature meant a study of the great masterpieces written in the language, a study grounded on a true historical knowledge of the language, in which knowledge a mastery of its minuter philology was at least a counsel of perfection. It did not occur to me that to have written an article or two on some very modern subject was of itself a qualification for a professor of "English Language and Literature." The gift of writing such articles well is a gift by no means to be despised; but I should have called it by some other name, possibly by some less lofty name. I might have thought that "literature" of such a kind, if "literature" it is to be, was all very well in its own way, perhaps amusing, perhaps even instructive, but that it was not quite of that solid character which we were used to look for in any branch of an University course. Gradually I learned that there were many people of quite another way of thinking. I found that there was something which claimed the name of "literature" which certainly had nothing to do with solid scholarship of any kind. Something, it might be that was all very well in its way, something that there might be no occasion for

us to go out of our way to say a word against, but still something which we did not wish to have thrust upon us as a subject for University professorships and examinations. In short, I and those who thought with me found out that by "literature" we meant one thing, and that some other people meant another thing. To us a "Professor of English Language and Literature," provided his title was duly strengthened with articles and adjectives, seemed a perfectly reasonable kind of person. He was to be a master of the Language and Literature of England in the same sense in which any really competent professor or reader of Greek or Latin is a master of those languages and their literature. He was to be master of the language, and also master of the books written in that language. He was to begin at the beginning, but he was not to draw in at any arbitrary point, but to go on whithersoever his studies should naturally lead him. Starting from the beginning, he would naturally in course of time come to the end, so far as a thing which was going on could be said to have an end. But we found that the main objection to our notions was that they took in the beginning. The chief position of all was that the beginning ought to have no place in the whole affair. The end was to be reached, but by some other road than starting from the beginning. It was to be English "literature" in some sense which did not require a knowledge of the earliest forms of the English language or a comparison of those forms with those of kindred languages; nay more, it was absolutely to shut such studies out. Through the whole dispute we have had to strive, not with a mere passive neglect or ignorance of Teutonic studies, but with a positive dislike to them. Whatever English "literature" was, it was to be something which did not call for any fellowship with the older English, or with Gothic, Scandinavian, or Old High-German. It was to be more than something that did not call for them; it was to be something which distinctively refused to have anything to do with them. The cry from many voices was that a professor of "literature" ought to have nothing to do with "language;" the cry from at least one very vigorous voice was that a professor of "language" ought to have nothing to do with "literature."

It is worthy of no small notice that, as has just been hinted, the outcry reached its loudest in the case of our own language. Greek was strangely left out altogether; it might have been curious to see what the objectors would have said to a statute which implied that the Greek tongue was still living, that Homer and Rhêgas, Herodotus and Trikoups, formed parts of one unbroken series. The Romance tongues and their parent were treated with some respect; for men were not called on to accept the hard saying that Latin is still alive, but only, what the boldest can hardly dispute, that it has still living

children. The "Letto-Slavic group" was looked at as simply something funny, as everything may be looked at as funny by those who think it the mark of a wit and a superior person to mock at whatever he does not understand. The evident dislike to Teutonic studies, above all to English studies, lies deeper. It was plain that, while "Letto-Slavic" was simply jeered at, Gothic and "Anglo-Saxon" were seriously dreaded. This is nothing else than another form of the Englishman's wonderful fancy for turning his back on himself and wishing to make himself out to be anything rather than himself. And with this might seem to be mingled an uneasy feeling that the claims of English "literature," as a pleasant and easy study, may be seriously threatened, if it be once once established that, in English, as well as in other tongues, any scholarly study of the later forms requires a scholarly knowledge of the earlier. Our difficulties as to Greek and our difficulties as to English are of an exactly opposite kind. With Greek it is hard to persuade people to go on to the end; with English it is hard to persuade people to start from the beginning. To many it seems passing strange to be told that Greek literature is still a living thing; but no one who has ever heard of Greek literature denies that Homer is part of it. That Beowulf is part of English literature is still a strange saying to many. With some the strangeness is that of pure ignorance; the result of meaningless distinctions and a confusing nomenclature. With others there is a fear, a fear from their point of view well-grounded, that the acknowledgement of Beowulf as part of English literature would make the study of English literature another and a graver business than what they wish it to be.

Amid the first echoes of these cries the election to the Merton professorship was made; they became louder and more distinct after the election. Truly the electors, when they made their choice, had little thought of the storm which they were about to draw down upon their heads. And yet perhaps they should have been warned by the number and strangeness of the rumours which went about, even before any action had been taken on which a rumour could be founded. It would not do to say that the tales which went about proved that the "mythopœic" faculty had not died out among mankind. For in that which is mythical, that which is *sagenhaft*, we look for some relation to truth; we look for some kernel of truth, in fact or in idea, round which the mythical elements may grow. But the rumours which went abroad about this election had not even this approach to truth. They lacked perhaps all literary skill, they certainly lacked all dramatic probability. Some of the most independent of mankind, some of the men least likely to "say ditto" to anybody, were painted as all of them humbly following the lead of

one of their fellows, and that one whose wishes in the matter were in the end not successful. Some of the legends were not only false, but impossible. Before the electors met, before they could have met, before they had, as a body, any being at all, the world was told in print that the professorship had been offered to a very distinguished man of letters, and had been refused by him. Here was pure fiction. The thing not only never happened, it could not have happened. After the election a like rumour went about that the professorship had been offered to another very distinguished man of letters. This too was pure fiction: the thing might have happened, but it had not. Yet the strength of falsehood was so strong that, when the fiction was officially denied, it was again repeated in the shape that, if the professorship was not offered to that eminent writer, he was at least "sounded" about it. "Sounded" is a vague word, and a denial that A. or B. was "sounded" might be met by the choice of some other word. But surely all fictions may be shut out by the statement that the electors never offered the professorship to anybody, and that no communication, direct or indirect, about the professorship was made by them to anybody, except in due form to the Vice-Chancellor to announce the result of the election. That that election took many by surprise I do not wonder, for I was myself among the number. Among so many untrue sayings, one true one did once get into print in one corner. One account of the election, otherwise very wild, did contain the true statement that I personally had done all that one man among several could do to bring about the election of a most eminent scholar, who was not elected, but who, I still hold, ought to have been.

I should not have said a word about this election, if the rumours about it, however false, had died out within any reasonable time. But they still live and flourish; they are brought up again, in some shape or other, whenever the general subject is discussed. The great "fraud on literature" committed in choosing a master of language to a professorship of language seems not likely to be forgotten. The discussion of the present statute for establishing a school of "Modern Languages" has of course stirred it up again. In that statute I regret several things. I regret the name, and the implied separation between "modern" languages and others. I regret the strange omission of Greek among the languages taken into the scheme. The Romance languages are there, and their connexion with Latin is recognized; but Greek is left out altogether. I regret also a most ill-advised provision for making the examination include a "colloquial" use of the languages taken up. I regret still more the reason which was given for such a course, namely that it would be useful for candidates who meant to enter the diplomatic service. So it is very likely to be and to plenty of people besides. Whether

the diplomatic service is worthy of any particular zeal on its behalf may possibly be doubted; but the point is that the University has nothing to do with the diplomatic service or with any service; it has, at the stage marked by its arts examination, nothing to do with any profession or calling of any kind. Some stop should be put to this lowering of the University by adapting its system to suit this or that calling, instead of cleaving to the sound rule of giving an education which should be good for a man whatever may be his calling. The gift of talking this or that language is a most valuable one; but it is not one which comes within the scope of an University; it is no part of the scientific study of the language. Yet I believe that I could have voted for the clause, if it had gone on to take in the intelligible speaking of Greek. Some consistency might be sacrificed to save us from the hideous sounds which are still flogged into boys by the schoolmasters, and which men at the Universities still quietly accept.

The objections to the Modern Language statute were essentially the outcries against the election to the Merton professorship, put, within the University itself, into a more regular shape. Outside the University the shapes that they took were wilder than ever. We had indeed strange disputants to argue against when a correspondent of the *Times*, signing himself an "University Extension Lecturer," showed that he believed that the University contained a "Professor of Middle English," and that its various branches of study were managed by "Boards of Directors." To drag in this formula of "Middle English," which had never been used in the whole matter and which had nothing to do with it, seems to have been thought specially funny. What if some term in natural science should seem equally funny to those who do not understand it? Only it would be thought disrespectful to laugh at a term of natural science, while at terms of philology any one may laugh. The main objection, so far as it could be understood, was the old one. It was proposed to establish a school of "Languages"—"Literature" was not mentioned in the title, though it was in several clauses of the statute. This was pronounced to be a "fraud on literature." Whether the "fraud" consisted in making a language statute at all, or in using the word "literature" in a language statute, was not explained.

I regretted that the word "literature" was used, as being a word which, latterly at least, has become of doubtful meaning. I assume that the authors of the statute used it in one meaning; some of its supporters certainly did; the objectors use it in another. By "literature" some of us certainly meant such a study of books in English, French, or any of the languages concerned, as we were used to in the case of Greek and Latin books in the old school of *Literæ Humaniores*. That is, we meant a study of the books written in any

language in connexion with the history and philology of that language. It soon became plain that the objectors mean by "literature" something which had nothing to do with historical or philological study. Now it should be clearly understood that nobody has a single word to say against "literature," even in the sense in which the word is used by the objectors. The only approach to an unkindly feeling which any one can have towards "literature" in any sense is one akin to that which some of us feel towards some aspects of natural science. No one has a word to say against natural science as such; no one wishes to discourage its pursuit, no one wishes to refuse it its place alongside of other branches of knowledge. But some of us do feel our backs set up when some of the followers of natural science brag of their own pursuit as if all other pursuits were contemptible, as if their branch of "science" or knowledge was alone to be called "science" or knowledge; above all we feel them set up when natural science gets all the money and other branches of "science" none. Something of the same kind may happen in the case of "literature" also. No one wishes to discourage any form of the study of "literature," even the form which the objectors contend for. But human nature may be tempted to turn against it, if we are ceaselessly told that we are acting fraudulently, simply because we wish to encourage another form of study. Moreover we must know for certain what the study of "literature" means on the lips of those who talk most loudly about it. They mean by the word, if we rightly understand them, the reading of books, the criticism of books, the finding out everything about the writers of the books, what they did, what they thought, anything that can better make one understand the books and the writers; but all essentially as a matter of taste. I am not sure that the word "taste" quite expresses all that is wanted, but I know of no one word that will come nearer to expressing it. To talk of "elegant scholarship" would imply something rather different, something which need not imply any minute philology, but which certainly implies attention to language as language. But, without attempting any very rigid definition, one can guess at the kind of thing that is meant. It is something graceful and elegant, something that cultivates the taste, something which may even imply a good deal of work of its own kind, only work of a different kind from that either of the comparative philologist or of the historical student of language. As far as we can make out from the teaching of the busiest champion of "literature," it is something which stands in a close and friendly relation to a certain form of Greek and Latin scholarship. Such scholarship may not be compulsory on all votaries of "literature," but it is at least a counsel of perfection, as the minuter philology is with us. The only things that may not be coupled with it are,

strangely as it seems to some of us, the historical study of the language in which the books taken in hand are written, the comparative study of the languages which are akin to it, and the study of the earliest specimens of the literature of the language itself. To think of joining these on is a "fraud;" it is bringing in "language," where there ought to be only "literature." Beowulf and Cædmon are, it seems, not "literature." To find out a little more fully where we are, one might ask a question. Milton's *Paradise Lost* is confessedly "literature"; to study it is a "literary" business. It would seem to be ruled that, if we bring in any reference to Cædmon, the whole business ceases to be "literary"; it becomes the forbidden study of "language." But how if, instead of "Anglo-Saxon" Cædmon, we should bring in Latin Avitus? If Avitus is not an "Anglo-Saxon," he is something worse. If he is a Latin writer, he is a Latin writer of that class towards whom the feeling of some who think themselves Latin scholars is simply that it is well to sound a trumpet before them to announce to the world that they know nothing about them. Virgil of course would do; he is "classical"; but Avitus is as a mere bishop of the iron age, not fostered on Augustan elegance, but fed on controversial theology at the court of a barbarian king. We are not sure that the mere fact of having read Avitus or heard of Avitus would not at once take away a man's claim to be "literary." Now it is quite certain that a really deep and scholarly mastery of Milton would imply a considerable mastery of Virgil and of other "classical" writers as well. And we believe that even the "literary" study of Milton would not shut them out. Yet the mere fact that they are "classical," that is to say pagan, hinders them from throwing the same kind of light on Milton, from being in the same way forerunners of Milton as either "Anglo-Saxon" Cædmon or Latin Avitus. For the matter of certain poems of Avitus, of Cædmon, and of Milton has much in common. A thorough comparison of the three and of their relations to one another, would be, one might think, a "literary" study of the highest kind. One might take it to be a study of "literature" in the sense of that word which is intended in the Oxford statute. Only such a study could not be made without some attention to "language," and even to its most dreaded shape, to the oldest form of the English language. Still it is about Avitus that one specially wishes to know. Some stages of English are clearly ruled to be too old to be "literary"; at what age does Latin become too new?

Now be it again remembered that no one has a word to say against "literature" or "literary" studies, even in the narrowest sense. No one wishes that every one who reads Milton should be constrained to read Cædmon and Avitus as well. A man may read Milton very profitably for many purposes who never heard of either Cædmon or

Avitus. All that is said is that there is another way of reading Milton which will naturally take in some reference to Avitus, and even to Cædmon, and that some of us do not understand why this way of reading him should be called a "fraud" on the other. The two may surely stand side by side; each may be followed by different people with different objects. Only some of us, and among them seemingly the authors of the statute, hold that that way of studying Milton which naturally takes in Cædmon and Avitus, and not the way which shuts them out, is the way of studying Milton which is fit to take its place in an University course. Here doubtless is the rub; but still where is the "fraud?" All is straightforward and above board; a Language statute is a Language statute; that is the whole grievance. Here in truth comes in a question which goes to the very root of things with regard to University studies and examinations. Many people seem to think that any kind of study for which anything can be said, any study which is found pleasing or profitable for anybody, should at once find its place in the University system, and should be made at least an alternative subject for the B.A. examination. Some of us, on the other hand, hold that there are many studies which nobody wishes to disparage, studies which some men do well to pursue and which they may very well make the work of their lives, but which may still be quite unsuited to be subjects for the B.A. examination. I speak this cautiously, because there surely are subjects which are not at all fit to be part of the B.A. examination, but which are most fit for University study at a later stage, or which at least would be fit for it, if all study higher than that needed for the B.A. degree had not been made penal by the last Commission. It is surely allowable to hold that some studies are undesirable because they are not solid enough, and others because they are in a certain sense too solid, that is because they are too purely technical. As subjects for the examination for the first degree, we do not want professional subjects—professional subjects, when fit for the University course at all, ought to come after—and we do not want, we will not say frivolous subjects, but subjects which are merely light, elegant, interesting. As subjects for examination we must have subjects in which it is possible to examine. Now I believe that I am right in saying that all the subjects of examination now in use in Oxford, from any survivals that may still abide of the old *Literæ Humaniores* to the last and most "specialized" thing in natural science, agree in this, that all deal with facts, that in all it is possible to say of two answers to a question that one is right and the other is wrong. As long as this can be done, the subject is a possible one for examination. It may or not be a fit subject; but it is a possible one. And English literature, or any literature, may be so treated as to be a possible

subject for examination in this sense. Some forms of literature, we may believe, besides Greek and Latin, may be treated so as to be fit subjects. Moreover the study of facts, the examination in facts, does not shut out differences of opinion. That is, two scholars may, from the same facts, make different inferences, without either having any right to say that the other is wrong. And the knowledge of such differences of opinion about the facts should be part of the student's knowledge of the facts themselves. It is another thing when it comes to mere questions of taste, and surely such a study of literature as we are charged with treating fraudulently is largely a matter of taste. For instance, I delight in the writings of Lord Macaulay, prose and verse; I believe it is now thought more "literary" to call them "pinchbeck" or some such uncivil name. But I claim no right to pluck the man who calls them "pinchbeck," and I deny that he has any right to pluck me. My taste leads me to prefer verse which I can scan and of which I can follow the sense; it is, I know, more "literary" to delight in verse of which the metre and the meaning are, to say the least, carefully hidden. My taste in prose leads me to prefer plain English, pure English, straightforward English, rhythmical English, English of which the meaning of every word is clear, English in which, if a thought tending to merriment comes of itself, it is gladly welcomed, but in which it is not thought the first of duties to thrust in a joke in every line, whether there is any material for joking or not. It is, I know, more "literary" to prefer the modern "brilliant" style, the forced liveliness, the out-of-the-way allusions, the scraps of foreign tongues, the pet phrases prescribed by momentary fashion, all in short that distinguishes the style of the man who has to say something from the style of the man who has something to say. I must confess that, if I were Examiner in Literature, I should feel strongly tempted to put a man down a class or two who either wrote his papers "brilliantly" or expressed admiration for the "brilliant" style in others. And I have no doubt that a master of brilliancy would have just the same feeling towards me and towards the writers in whom I see models of English speech. Now such a temptation on either side ought to be withstood to the uttermost; a class-list drawn up under the influence of such temptations either way would be thoroughly unfair; if the examined knows the facts of the matter in hand, it ought not to make the difference of a line either way whether his mere taste, his mere opinion, agrees with that of the Examiner or not. Only in other subjects of examination the temptation to go by mere taste or opinion is but slight; in some subjects it cannot come in at all. But in an examination in "literature" only, that is, I conceive, in questions of mere writing, of mere style, of mere fancy, altogether cut off from the facts of language, the temptation to examine in this unfair fashion would be

almost irresistible among imperfect beings. An examination in contemporary politics, in which the Home Ruler should be set to examine the Unionist and the Unionist to examine the Home Ruler, would be an easy business by the side of it.

This difficulty seems to me—and I do not think that I stand alone—enough of itself to stamp “literature,” in the sense of the word intended, “literature” apart from “language,” as an unfit subject for University examination. An examination should be in facts, not in taste. At the same time it is not to be denied that the kind of study of literature with which we seem to be threatened, is by no means barren in facts, though the taste of them may sometimes be questioned. A saying which fell from myself in one of the debates in Congress on the Modern Language Statute has been quoted in several places, and some seem to have been pleased and others displeased with the phrase of “chatter about Shelley.” But I doubt whether any one has quoted the illustration which I gave of the kind of “chatter” with which we are threatened. I mentioned that I had lately read a review of a book about Shelley in which the critic, in the gravest way in the world, praised or blamed the author—I forget which, and it does not matter—for his “treatment of the Harriet problem.” I added that I thought we in Oxford hardly needed to add the “Harriet problem” to our studies, that we had enough to do with the problems of Helen, Theodora, and Mary Stewart, without going on to the problem of a Harriet in our own century. I think the example is instructive. It was plain that to the critic whom I had been reading, “the Harriet problem” was something of the deepest importance, something quite on a level with the gravest questions in any branch of knowledge. Now surely this is a fair specimen of a kind of thing which is not necessarily involved in the kind of study of “literature” which is proposed, but which that kind of study is almost certain to bring with it as its shadow. A great deal of “literary” talk nowadays seems hardly to rise above personal gossip, sometimes personal scandal, about very modern personages indeed. Now this is a case in which distance of time does make a difference. We are all delighted if we can light on a new fact, however small, in the life of *Æschylus* or in the life of Dante. In the case of Dante indeed some minds are so anxious for new facts that, when they cannot be found in any record, they have an ingenious way of dreaming them for themselves. The charm lies partly in the distance of time, partly in the rarity of such scraps of knowledge. They have the charm of relics or curiosities, and they do really add to our knowledge of the age as well as of the man. When we come to times nearer to our own and where personal details can be got at more plentifully, the case is rather different. What in the one case is antiquarian curiosity, harmless at least if not praiseworthy,

becomes in the other mere gossip, sometimes rather unhealthy gossip. All this seems to be a tendency of the time. There is an odd kind of relic-worship, or more than relic-worship, about, in which writers of our own time seem to have taken the place of heathen gods or mediæval saints. Such a strange importance is attached to the very smallest matters, and such queer names are bestowed on all who do not care to be initiated in the new mysteries. They are "vandals" or "philistines," or any other nation whose supposed crimes have brought them down to the dishonour of a small letter. The "bohemians" are perhaps to be excepted: they are more likely to be found within the new pantheon itself than in the ranks of the unbelievers. Indeed there is so much talk about the writers of books that one is sometimes tempted to ask whether their own writings are not sometimes overshadowed by the writings of their biographers and commentators. It does seem just possible that writers are sometimes largely talked about without having been very deeply read. There is one sense of the word "Literature" which is a little ominous, the "Litteratur" with which German scholars do sometimes rather overshadow and overwhelm an ancient author and his subject. One has sometimes thought that, to understand either Homer or the Old Testament, the best beginning might be to burn all the commentators. And really something like this does seem to threaten our great English writers also. There is so much written about them that it does now and then come into a "vandal" or "philistine" head to ask whether the "literature" which is to be studied means the great writings themselves or the little writings about the great writings. The bulk of the literature about "literature" does now and then seem a little alarming.

Now, as soon as "literature" becomes a subject of University examination, or of any kind of examination, this danger is at once increased. Examination is held to imply teaching, and teaching has a way of growing into cramming. Some of us, to be sure, are old-fashioned enough to have our doubts whether, as there is a good deal too much examining, there is not also a good deal too much teaching. The thought will thrust itself in whether, amidst so much examining, so much teaching, there is any time left for learning. Amidst the ceaseless grind of the "tutorial profession," is there ever a stray hour left for either teacher or taught to do a little quiet reading and thinking for himself? In the elder days, before the "tutorial profession" was heard of, when it was enough for a man to do the duty of his office, there was time for both. But, bad enough as the over-teaching of our times is in other subjects, it would be worse than all, if such a subject as literature without language should ever become a subject of examination. One might perhaps think that this of all

subjects might dispense with any kind of teaching, that in matters of pure taste each man might be his own tutor, his own professor. It is said to be a shame that a man should leave the University and not be a master of English literature. So it may be a shame, or at least a pity, that he should leave the University and not be a crowd of other things which he would be the better for being. If every B.A. were an Admirable Crichton all round, the world would doubtless be the better. But unhappily the Universities and their members are imperfect, like other human beings and human institutions. We cannot do everything that somebody thinks might better be done. All things cannot be taught; facts may be taught; but surely the delicacies and elegances of literature cannot be driven into any man: he must learn to appreciate them for himself. If the poet cannot be made, surely the student and critic of the poet can hardly be made either. Yet once make his work a matter of examination, and those are sure to arise who will undertake to make him. Wherever the examiner goes before, the teacher in some shape or another will follow after. And, in subjects of this kind, which seem so incapable of being taught at all, the teaching is more likely than in other subjects to be of the kind which one would least wish to encourage. Because "literature," such as we are asked to take into our University course, is of all subjects that which should be kept most free from the touch of the crammer, it is sure to be the very one which will fall most hopelessly into his hands. We can guess the kind of students and the kind of teachers in a school which is sure to be set down as calling for the least work of all. If "modern history" is an "easy" school, surely "modern literature" will be easier still. Once let the crammer touch it, and what will it be like? Does any one suppose that there will be a rush of devoted students of English literature, disinterested admirers of great poets and great orators, with their whole works at their fingers' ends? Because literature, in any worthy sense, cannot be taught, some substitute will be taught instead. The crammer cannot teach taste; he cannot hammer into a man so much as an ear for metre and rhythm; still less can he hammer into him the thousand minute gifts, the endless delicate powers of appreciation, which go to make the literary student in any sense worthy of the name. Those must be born with the man and grow with his intellectual growth. The crammer can but teach facts; the crammer in literature will have to fall back on the facts of literature; and those facts are, in practice, sure to be very largely nothing better than the gossip, the chatter, about literature which is largely taking the place of literature. The art of the crammer has taken many wonderful forms already; it will be surely its lowest—or highest—form of all, if to the endless forms of

"tips" on all matters, new and old, we add the last device of all in the shape of "tips" on "the Harriet problem."

The proposed statute is not perfect; no statute which in any sort parts off "modern" languages from "ancient" can be accepted as more than an imperfect provision for the present distress. And the astounding omission of Greek among the spoken languages of Europe makes the provision yet more imperfect than it need have been. Still something like the present statute is the only means available at the moment for asserting the truth that others of the languages of Europe are no less capable, no less worthy, of scholarlike treatment, than the two languages, or rather the two arbitrarily chosen periods of two languages, which have hitherto had the field to themselves. It is really hard that those who have sought this object could not be allowed quietly to carry it out, that they must needs be made the victims of a popular outcry, the defendants on a charge of "fraud," simply because they went about to compass their own object and did not labour for another object which, if possible at all, is quite distinct. It does not even follow that all those who simply ask to be allowed to set up their school of language in peace would refuse to set up a school of literature such as is asked for alongside of it. Some of us may have strong doubts about such a course; I for one have the strongest doubts and something more. But it does not at all follow that every one who goes with me on the positive question would go with me on the negative question also. There is no reason why the thing should not be tried, so far at least as to have the literature statute sketched out, that we may see what it would be like. Only we do ask not to be called names, and such very ugly names, simply because we wish to go on in our own way and to do our own work, without the slightest wish to meddle with the goings and doings of any other people.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

THE STORY OF ZEBEHR PASHA

AS TOLD BY HIMSELF.

II.

ZEBEHR spoke of the country to which he had now come as a green and flowery land full of running water. It was chiefly the abundance of water which caused him to fix upon it as his place of residence. He described the climate as very healthy, less hot than some parts of Darfour and Kordofan, and the soil as fertile almost beyond description. European trees grew and flourished side by side with trees of the tropics. "All that I have seen here in Gibraltar grew also there, but in much greater perfection." Bananas grew wild in great variety, some of them reaching to three or four times the size known to us, and in such profusion that they were commonly used as fodder for animals. Potatoes also grew wild. These the Pasha described as of three kinds: some big as a man's head, but longer in shape; others a great deal longer and narrower, and attached to roots which sometimes spread as far as twenty feet, close under the surface of the ground—when ripe they cracked the soil above them, and lay exposed to the air; the third kind was our ordinary European potato, as big as a man's fist, and very mealy when boiled. Tobacco was native to the soil, and a tree called komba or kumbu, of which the seed-pods are an excellent substitute for coffee. It was described to me as a forest tree, producing a large crop of seeds. I can speak from experience of the beverage made from them. We habitually drank it during my afternoon visits to the Pasha, and the seed and the manner of its preparation were shown to me. It is an aromatic brown pod, containing four or five small bright crimson seeds. When fresh I was told that one pod is sufficient to fill a room with its scent. That which we drank had been gathered for eighteen years, and was still extremely fragrant. The coffee made from it was rather more pungent than ordinary

coffee, and I fancy more stimulating in its effect ; tasting not unlike coffee in which cayenne pepper pods or ginger had been soaked. Grapes, in many varieties of black and white, grow wild in Mandugba ;* the sugar-cane, the india-rubber plant, the tamarind and the date, all kinds of European corn, many fruits of which the Pasha could not give the names, flowers in profusion—"so that at one time the earth is scarlet, and then again it is white or blue ;" and the variety of birds and animals is great. There is a kind of date-palm from which the natives make butter. The fruit of it grows in bunches, so large that two bunches will load a camel. The date itself is small and rich ; when boiled it melts into a compound, yellow as brass, having a slightly sweet taste, but resembling butter more than anything else, and useful, like butter, for cooking. Honey is plentiful as water ; iron and copper abound. Of other minerals the Pasha could not speak. He regretted his want of knowledge on this subject, saying with a smile that he was, like a native, ignorant, and waiting to be taught. He had reason, however, to believe that other minerals exist. "The land is so rich," he said, "that it is a treasure-house, but for want of knowledge the natives are poor. They do not know what they possess. With all the fruits that lie on the earth they eat each other. They fight because it is their custom to spend their lives in hunting, and they know no other way to settle their quarrels. Yet they are by nature gentle and good, and they are ready to learn the ways of peace from those who go to them peacefully."

This was the country and these the inhabitants which Zebehr was called upon to rule. As a trader he found himself in presence of a new and rich market ; as a man there was ample work before him. "From that time," he simply remarked, "I was very busy. I never had leisure again till I came to Cairo. I had no wish to be a king ; I wished to trade and to civilize ; but I could not help myself. I was then, as I am now, what God made me—sultan or prisoner matters comparatively little. Equally in His hand, I have tried equally there, as here, to keep my life pure. And I have this satisfaction, that if you go down to my country and ask my people, you will find none to say that Zebehr was cruel or unjust. They will tell you, 'Zebehr did not cheat us nor lie to us. He did not oppress the poor, nor forget the unhappy ; but he was strong to do justice. While he ruled over us there was order in the land, and none feared his neighbour's wrongdoing.'"[†]

In order to understand his own view of the work he did, it is necessary to understand the condition of the people over whom he ruled. They were nearly all blacks, and most of them cannibals,

* Schweinfurth gives to this place the name of Dehm-Nduggoo. In calling it Mandugba I only reproduce, as closely as I can, the name by which Zebehr spoke of it to me. It was also called by the natives, he told me, Bahia and Craish.

† I understand it is a fact that among the tribes of the Soudan the people sing hymns of praise to Zebehr.

though there were, as has once before been said, some white native races amongst them. The slave-trade was already flourishing in the outlying provinces, and man-hunting was everywhere a common practice, whether for purposes of eating or selling.* This led, of course, to endless feuds, and fighting was practically the only occupation of the people. Their ignorance was indescribable. They were without even the most elementary notions of trade or agriculture. With regard to travellers, their only notion was that they were to be killed. Justice and honesty were unknown. A curious side of the matter, but one upon which Zebehr frequently touched, was that these virtues were only unknown; when known they were on the whole appreciated. The dialects of the people were very various. In order to be able to communicate directly with the chiefs, Zebehr himself learned sixteen, but he was still constantly obliged to use interpreters. Religion varied no less than the dialects. Everything had its share of worship from one tribe or another; but the diversity of religion was not so serious an obstacle to Zebehr's schemes as the diversity of language. Devotees were not bigoted; and if fire failed to answer the prayers addressed to it, water received a sacrifice. "Perhaps he is out hunting," "Perhaps he sleeps," was often the cry of their impatience, and their conversion appears to have been quite as rapid as the conversion of the idolators of old. Though Zebehr was an ardent believer in his own faith, he did not at first attempt to proselytize: "They were too ignorant," he said. The first necessity was to procure order, and to do this, however peaceful his desires, he had to be strong himself. Within a few days of his acceptance of the sultanate most of the neighbouring States offered him their submission. Among these were Angato, Banda, Kutwaka, Abd-el-Bari, Dahoot, Naka. Wugghi alone was hostile; but after seven days' fighting it was subdued. In two months the country for as far as could be travelled in twenty days was at peace. Zebehr then called a council of all the chiefs who had entered into treaty with him, and spoke to them, saying: "I have made peace now in your country." They answered: "It is fortunate for us that you have come to rule in our country." He said: "You see I have done this because with a few of my soldiers I am strong. It is not numbers but wisdom which makes my strength. Give me now, therefore, your young men, and I will train them to fight like my soldiers. I will arm them, and we shall no more be many weak States, but one strong State." At this the chiefs were very pleased. They sent their young

* "But of most universal employment among them is human fat. . . . The carcases of all who fall in battle are distributed upon the battle-field, and are prepared by drying for transport to the homes of their conquerors. They drive their prisoners before them without remorse, as butchers would drive sheep to the shambles, and these are only reserved to fall victims on a later day to their horrible and sickening greediness." ("Cannibalism of Manbuttoos:" Schweinfurth's "Heart of Africa," p. 93.)

men to him to be trained ; he caused arms to be sent down from Egypt, and formed an army. It reached eventually to the number of 12,000, and how it was recruited will be seen ; but at this period everything was in an embryonic state. All the organization and training were still to do. His own soldiers served as a nucleus, and the king's sons, with their picked followers, who considered it a privilege to be allowed to use European arms, were good material to begin with. * Simultaneously with the formation of an army, he laboured to instil the first principles of agriculture and internal trade. His soldiers, who represented the only Government officials, were used for many purposes. Before the rains he divided all that he had, and sent them round to the principal chiefs, saying : " Now collect your people, and clear the ground of its weeds ; for the rains are coming, and seeds must be sown in the open places." Processes of cultivation had been till then unknown. The natives had gathered enough to eat from seed scattered anyhow amongst the brambles. When they saw the difference in their crops, after sowing in ground which had been properly cleared, they were filled with astonishment. It appears to have been none the less necessary to send soldiers every year to see the work done ; otherwise excuses used to come that the people were out hunting, or busy, or that they forgot. Zebehr afterwards adopted the principle of making every chief responsible for his own district, and lent soldiers as a favour to help in the work, causing nearly all taxes to be paid in corn. Fertile as the country was, it was of course subject to the irregularities of uncultivated districts, and to steady the supply of food was one of the first necessities of progress. To further this end he himself gave some study to agriculture, and made himself acquainted with the natural products of the soil. By the time he left his people he considered that they were best to be described as a nation of farmers.

With regard to trade, he described with a smile how he had with his own hands arranged many and many a market. He used to talk with the chiefs, explaining that instead of being enemies they were indeed the brothers of their neighbours, and useful one to another as the sons of a house. " When you fight, both are hurt, both lose the dead and wounded, the young men of both are made prisoners ; but when you trade, both are richer, for each gives that which has no value to him, and receives that which he wants. Come now, make a market ; buy and sell with your brothers." So he reasoned with them till some said : " A market ! Show us what it is." And he took soldiers, and arranged the natives in rows with their goods, saying, as if they were children, " Sit there and sell " ; and sent soldiers out into the country to tell the people that they could come and exchange that which they had for that which they wanted. Then he persuaded them to do the same every week, on the same day of

the week, in order that all might know when to come. Little by little the convenience of it was understood, and people came from such distances that chiefs who lived far off complained that they spent all their time in travelling to and fro. Whenever this happened Zebehr took his opportunity, and said : "Then make a market in your own country, and let others travel to you." Thus by degrees markets were established right through the country, and notions of peace were spread side by side with notions of trade. I asked if any attempt was made to establish market dues. The Pasha smiled at my ignorance. "I did not want to prevent trade," he said; "I wanted to encourage it." The only taxes that he imposed were paid in the produce which happened to be most plentiful in the district—usually corn, tamarinds, or honey. The tribute was very small and not regularly exacted. In good years it was paid; in bad years he did not insist upon it. Some tribute was necessary, or the people would not have believed themselves governed; but regularity of payment in bad seasons would have been alike out of their power, and beyond their comprehension. "The governor," the Pasha frequently said, "must understand those he governs. Laws good for one people are bad for another. That is why the Turks will never hold the Soudan. They do not know the Soudanese, and they treat them as though they were the inhabitants of Cairo or Constantinople." "But if you imposed no regular taxes, how did you pay the expenses of government?" "That was by my own trade; you will understand, when I come to speak of it. I was a merchant working for myself—not an official paid by the people. It was to my advantage and their advantage to have the country in good order."

Much as Zebehr desired peace, he found war forced upon him. To those earlier years of his government belong various campaigns against the native chiefs lying to the south and east. One of the most important appears to have been a campaign against Moto, king of Indagu. Some years before, while Zebehr was still at Dyoun, his cousin Mansour had led a disastrous expedition southward towards the territory of Indagu. Moto had surprised the camp in the night, and massacred Mansour and his followers. Zebehr had at the time collected a few soldiers, and marched down to avenge his cousin; but his force was too small, and he had been obliged to retreat without effecting anything decisive. There was therefore an old-standing grudge between him and Moto, and one of his first opponents when he was established in Mandugba was this formidable chief. Moto annoyed him by many attacks upon his frontier, but, warned by experience, Zebehr waited to have his army organized before he marched out against him. When he judged himself ready he declared war, and the result of the campaign was Moto's entire defeat. All his followers fell away from him, and

his neighbours were so much impressed by the terrible force of Zebehr's disciplined troops, armed with European weapons, that, far from allying themselves with him, they refused to receive him after his defeat. He fled from chief to chief, but none would take pity upon him; none would hide him from Zebehr; none would even give him food. His own country was ruined with war, and in the hands of the enemy. In his extremity, he came with his two sons and his brother, and entered Zebehr's camp. Zebehr doubted at first, and said "Is this Moto?" He replied, "I am Moto." "What! you offend me and make war upon me, and then you come like this, without guards, into my camp?" Moto replied: "I know what I do, and I have my reasons. Of my friends none will receive me. They were friends only while I was great. Now they all fear before you. My country is ruined. My people have fled from me. I care no more for my life, and I have come to give myself up without condition. Do as you will with me and mine?" He spoke at more length in the same strain, and when he had finished Zebehr said: "Moto, you are a king. You are not a slave. I will do none of these things." He sent him to a tent, and sent food and clothes to him and to his sons, and ordered that he should be treated as a king. After two days he caused him to be brought into his presence again, and said, "Moto, you killed Mansour?" And Moto said, "Yes." "And you have made war upon me and annoyed my people?" And Moto said "I have done it." "Very well; now these things are avenged, and you are pardoned, and we will be at peace together. I will not take your life; I will not send your sons into slavery; but you shall go back and be king in your own country, and great in the eyes of your people. Only, I require of you three things: that you shall rule your people no more by the spear, but by wisdom; that you shall keep your roads safe and open to travellers; and that if you like my treatment of you, you will be my friend." Moto asked, "What tribute?" He said: "Go, gather your people; teach them to plant, and to buy, and to sell; and when all is in order, after three years, you shall pay a tribute of corn." So Moto's people gathered again, and he returned to his country and reigned over it for eight years, till he died; and he gave Zebehr no more trouble, but after three years paid tribute as was required. It was Zebehr's habit in all these little wars to give a conquered people three years in which to recover, before he exacted tribute. He estimated that they required that length of time, for in the year of war their crops were usually destroyed; in the second year they needed, after their miseries, to sow and reap for themselves; in the third year it was time enough for them to give him some share of the harvest. By observing this rule he secured a double purpose: making himself popular, and surrounding himself by flourishing villages, with which he could trade, instead of desolate and ruined

people who, driven by distress, must have given him trouble by perpetual raids. In dwelling upon this part of his policy he claimed no admiration for leniency, but described it as being, what he constantly maintained that all profitable relations between the governed and the governing must be, "their advantage and my advantage."

After the campaign with Moto he marched through some portions of the Nyam-Nyam country,* his object being, however, not to fight, but to negotiate, and he made friendly alliances with chiefs of Urihaimo, Sabanga, Abdinga, and other territories lying to the south. He dwelt constantly in his narrative upon the uselessness of fighting with the natives: "There is nothing to gain by war. You only desolate the country and frighten the people, so that they will trade no more. Everything is done by wit, nothing by force; in those regions the strong are the wise." The latter places that have been named are the great slaving districts, and it was at this point that he made his first statement with regard to a subject which was of course often in my mind: "People say of me that I have been a slave-trader. It is most untrue. I have never sold slaves. Those who say it do not understand what my position was." We were interrupted at the moment, and when I next saw the Pasha he resumed the order of his narrative, which I did not break.

About this time another war was undertaken in support of his father-in-law Tikima, who continued to live in very friendly relations with him, and to send every year caravan loads of honey and corn and ivory to the daughter Zebehr had married. About two years after the campaign with Moto, Zebehr received a message from Tikima to say that he was being destroyed by a people who came from under the ground. He prayed Zebehr to come down quickly and save him. Zebehr marched down with 2,000 soldiers, and met Tikima on the way. He was flying from his home, and trembling with fear. Zebehr asked him from whom he fled, and Tikima answered that he could not tell him—that this people who had attacked him were like no other people. They came from under the ground, and fell upon him. When he wished to take vengeance they fled, and disappeared again into the ground; but none knew, except for this, whence they came nor whither they went. At one time he looked and saw crowds, at another time there were none, and he could no longer live in his kingdom for fear of them. Zebehr said: "Very well! Rise now and come with me, and show me when next they come." Tikima led him in the direction from which the attacks were usually

* The geographical limits of this unexplored territory will no doubt before long be defined upon the south as they are towards the north. I asked the Pasha if it extended as far south as the Congo. He was unacquainted with the Congo, but consulted with the young Nyam-Nyam who had already given information about cannibalism, and repeated from his lips the statement that the southern boundary of Nyam-Nyam is an immense river called the "Gungua." Whether this represents Congo or "Mobangi," or some other river unmarked on our maps, it is not for me to give an opinion.

made, and Zebehr saw truly enough, as Tikima had said, men coming up in swarms out of the ground. He said nothing, but searched in that neighbourhood, and found an entrance to extensive caves. The mystery became clear. He concealed his soldiers in the brushwood round the mouth of the caves, allowed the cave-dwellers to pass unmolested up to the attack, and cut off their retreat, with the result which was to be expected. They were forced to surrender without conditions. When they offered their submission to Zebehr, and asked for his terms, he said that he wanted nothing from them except a promise to keep the peace in the future, and that they should show him their homes, which had hitherto been kept hidden from all strangers' eyes. Thus it came about that he saw the extraordinary caves in which they lived. They were probably, he imagined, partly natural, but they had been finished by the hand of man, and presented the appearance of artificial constructions of surprising beauty and extent. They were more than fifty feet in height; light was admitted from above, and a little brook ran through them. He did not follow it to its further end, but was filled with amazement by what he saw. "Are you then a great people, a nation of architects and stonecutters?" he asked; "or how else did you make what I see before me?" They replied that they knew nothing of it, except that long ago their fathers had found it, and that they themselves had lived and increased there for many generations. They did not, as Zebehr perceived, use the caves really for dwellings, but constructed little straw huts for habitations within them. They lived chiefly upon corn, and beans, and lentils, which grew in the neighbourhood, and had not hitherto molested or had any dealings with other races. They called themselves Grundi. I did not inquire the cause of their quarrel with Tikima, but they troubled him no more, and Zebehr never heard of them again.

A war which was of much more importance to him was the conquest of Hofrat-en-Nahas, on his northern frontier, which gave him possession of extensive copper mines, and added considerably to his revenue. I failed to fix the exact date and sequence of events in the earlier part of his rule, but it was at some period between the first wars and the conquest of Hofrat-en-Nahas that he undertook the reform which he considered to be the most essential of all that he effected. This was the opening and protection of all his roads: an achievement which involved nothing less than the suppression of man-hunting throughout his territory. It was the first decided step in the policy which afterwards guided his whole career. He spoke of it at times as being in fact his only policy. "In the countries and among the peoples that I have described to you," he said, "one man can do little; but what he can do is to open the door to civilization, and civilization will do the rest."

He had all an enlightened trader's faith in trade as a civilizing medium. He believed that where trade flowed unimpeded, peace, order, knowledge, and every blessing of organized society must follow in its train; and that which he spoke of most definitely, with a modest and yet contented self-respect as the achievement of a not altogether wasted life, was that he had opened new channels for the commerce of the civilized world. "You will see, as I tell you of my history," he said, "that every great war I undertook was for this end. This was the condition of every treaty with a native chief; for this I fought with the Rezigats, for this I conquered Darfour. I had no other quarrel with the Arabs, I wanted nothing else from the Sultan of Darfour, than that they should put down man-hunting on their roads, and allow the caravans to pass in peace." The suppression of slave-hunting was only incidental to the opening of the roads, but it was absolutely necessary.* It was not upon grounds of sentiment and morality, but as a matter of political compulsion, that Zebehr first treated the question. Any statesman will understand, he said, "that to govern a country in which slave-hunting is permitted is an impossibility. You must put it down before you can have either order or industry."

What he effected at first in his own country was done, as usual, by the friendly co-operation of the chiefs. He waited only to feel himself firmly established before he called them to a great meeting at Mandugba. Every chief was requested to bring an interpreter, and before seeing the chiefs Zebehr received the interpreters one by one. He obtained information from each, of the habits and wants of the tribe he represented, and sent presents to every chief of the goods described as being valuable to him. After this he received the chiefs collectively at a great and formal meeting, in which he addressed them. The interpreters were present, in order that his words might not be lost, and he spoke for several hours. The benefits of civilization, and the possibility of their attainment by means of foreign trade, formed the subject of the first half of a speech which he had carefully prepared. The lines of it appear to have been simple enough for even that primitive audience, yet they are not unfamiliar as the theme of more civilized eloquence: "Here you have ivory, and feathers, and skins; and you want cloth, and beads, and knives. In the countries of other men they have cloth, and beads, and knives; and they want ivory, and feathers, and skins. Let them come amongst you, bringing those things which you want, and carrying away that which they want; and thus all men are the richer." Liberty to produce and exchange was, in fact, his aim. The working of fear and

* When Gordon went down into the Western Soudan the opening of communication and the suppression of slave-hunting were the two objects at which he was especially directed to aim. It was a curious experience to hear Zebehr Pasha speak of these same things as not only the ideal, but in some degree the accomplished work of his lifetime.

prejudice, which fifty years ago kept Englishmen starving while ship-loads of corn lay ready in the harbours of the world for their use, was the same in the minds of the native chiefs as in the minds of our landowners ; but the duty for the repeal of which Zebehr pleaded was a duty of blood. The second half of his speech was devoted to practical measures. If the chiefs desired the advantages upon which he had dwelt, and if they cared for his friendship and support, they must become each one responsible for the roads of his own territory. There was to be no more raiding one upon another for slaves, no more attacks upon travellers, no feeble excuses in which the fault was laid upon a neighbour ; but a clear understanding that each kept order among his people, and became personally answerable for the lives of travellers. If these conditions were accepted, Zebehr undertook on his part to give each one a certain number of soldiers to help him in the maintenance of authority, to continue to them such presents as he had already given, to defend them in war, and to be their friend in peace. The chiefs accepted his proposals, and from that time slave-hunting began to be put down in the whole of his immediate dominions. It gave him a great deal of trouble. There were complications into the narration of which time forbade him to enter ; but within four years he was able to say that it was abolished in his country. Later, when he conquered Hofrat-en-Nahas, he applied the same system, with the same promise of success, to the northern district, which swarmed with slave-hunters. Events prevented him from seeing the full development of the organization there. He never touched, nor attempted to touch, the practice of slave-hunting farther south in Urihamo's country ; but as his power spread his name became a protection, and was used even as far as the equatorial province. His treaties with the native chiefs provided always for the passage of caravans ; and those chiefs who had no treaty with him still feared to molest a traveller covered by his name. The word "Zebehr" became the "open sesame" of wild districts. It was identical with safe conduct, and was used as a password by caravans which he had never seen nor heard of. If asked from whom they came, all merchants answered "From Zebehr." Slave caravans, as well as others, profited by the protection ; and it is, the Pasha asserts, in this way that his wide reputation for slaving was built up.*

The opening of the roads in his country drew with it naturally another reform—namely, the substitution of some organized system of justice for the native chaos of individual reprisals. Hitherto every man had avenged his own wrongs. So long as this continued the chiefs were liable to perpetual feuds. "I had to persuade them,"

* See, in "Gordon in Central Africa," account of the capture of a slave caravan, professing to belong to "Zebehr," which turned out to be the property of Gordon's own officers.

the Pasha said, "that my people's wrong was my wrong, and that I would avenge it." A certain number of soldiers were told off as police. Courts of justice were established in all the principal market-towns, and the natives were instructed to carry complaints of wrongdoing to them. The object of these courts was more especially to settle quarrels between one tribe and another, and thus to lessen the causes which led to a disturbed state of the country. The laws were drawn up by a council of ten men learned in the Koran, who formed a superior court in the town of Mandugba itself. The minor courts were composed of four members, also learned in the Koran, but having only an administrative authority. These wise men came from Egypt by Zebehr's invitation, and he left the forming of his code entirely in the hands of the Council of Ten, only desiring that the laws should be based upon the Koran and giving such information as his experience of the conditions of native life rendered valuable. Judged from the Western point of view these laws were primitive enough. They did not pass beyond the old confusion of retaliation with justice, and "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," seems to have been the informing spirit. Still, they embodied the principle by which society is kept together, that wrongdoing is an offence against the State; and barbarous as they were, they were less cruel than were our own laws at the beginning of the century. Murder alone was judged deserving of death; theft on the third offence was punished by chopping off the hand; slave-hunting by flogging and imprisonment. The last penalty was applicable to foreigners as well as to natives. Turks and Egyptians convicted of slave-hunting were flogged and imprisoned, and the Turks especially gave a great deal of trouble.

After the establishment of courts of justice, Zebehr introduced various other measures tending to the union and pacification of the country. He prevailed with the tribes to abandon the custom of eating human flesh. He encouraged them to intermarry. He established schools of Arabic in the towns, where the Mussulman religion was of course taught, and encouraged the chiefs to send their sons to him to be educated. "When we all speak one language," he used to say to them, "we shall be one people." He himself lived at this time in some State. He had seventy-five kings' sons in his own bodyguard, and made a practice of constantly speaking with them about the things of civilization, thus preparing their minds for the reception of ideas concerning wisdom and religion. He was careful to explain to me that the teaching of the Koran was among the last things that he caused to be done, considering that it could only be received when the mind of the people was in some degree raised from the primitive condition of savage.

"I see your great steamships pass the straits," the Pasha said

upon one occasion. "If the ship is to make a prosperous voyage the captain must be constantly watchful. His eye must be open for every wind; he must think of everything. The ship has many parts, but he directs them all. All depends on the brain of one man, and his wisdom is of more importance than the wind and the sea. Now, a steamship is only of wood and iron, and a kingdom is made up of men. A king has to deal with all their tempers, changes, and desires. It is more difficult. He must watch for them as the captain watches for his ship. He must see from what quarter the storm is coming. He must know when to make progress. He must keep all in order. If he watches well and is wise, his kingdom prospers."

Zebehr's ship of State appears at this period to have been making progress through smooth seas with favouring winds. As a trading venture his establishment at Mandugba had proved a magnificent success. The natives traded with him confidently, bringing money, ostrich feathers, gum, tamarinds, honey, wax, and all other products of the country, in quantities, to his stations. His custom was always to pay good prices, which was to his profit as well as theirs, and enabled him to obtain a constantly increasing stock. Other merchants, he said, failed to see that if they did business on a larger scale it more than counterbalanced the smaller profit. As he perceived this simple truth, he found, according to his favourite formula, his advantage and native advantage in liberal dealings. He had come to look upon his settlement in those countries as permanent, and he neither cheated the natives nor lied to them, as one who thought never to see their faces again, but lived among them simply and honestly, as among his fellows. Thus, he says, they learned to trust him, and brought him the best they could obtain. As king he had hunters of his own constantly employed in the chase of elephants, lions, leopards, antelopes, the rhinoceros—to whose horn the tradition current in Marco Polo's days still attaches, that no poison can be drunk from it unperceived, and which is in consequence extremely valuable—live giraffes, ostriches, and all other wild animals prized either for tusk, or feathers, or skin; there was a great deal of iron in the country, and he had copper mines which he worked. While on the one hand material flowed in to him plentifully, the results of his general policy made themselves felt and gave him the market for it which he needed. The reports of quiet roads brought constantly increasing numbers of caravans, who paid in European goods and money for the raw commodities they took away.

It was upon entering into these commercial questions that we first spoke freely about the slave-trade. The Pasha absolutely denies that participation in it with which he is usually accredited. I spared him

none of the reports generally spread about him on the subject. "I am not a baby, and I thank you for being honest with me," was his answer to an apology with which I prefaced the reading of the hard passages which refer to him in Gordon's early letters and diaries, and I met him with absolute candour on that ground. It was a subject on which it was useless to speak unless we spoke frankly. He was already to some extent familiar with Gordon's statements. Many of them had been translated into Arabic. With regard to them he had to answer generally that they were based partly upon false reports and partly upon misconception, which Gordon himself afterwards recognized, and that a very different tone would be perceived in what Gordon said of him during the last four months of his life.* Zebehr himself estimated Gordon as one of those men of whom there are few in every age and nation: "a character which is the character we reverence in the saints of our religion, as no doubt you reverence it in yours; one whom I found by all report and by my knowledge of him to have no fear of those in authority, and to care more for the poor than the rich. He was a man who could have governed the Soudan for that reason, that he cared for the poor. But two things misled him: he imagined that every one was as good as himself, and acted often rashly, from the heart trusting those who were unworthy; also, he did not speak the language well, and was therefore liable to be both deceived and distrusted." As concerned the stories about himself, Zebehr maintained that Gordon had been deceived—as he was with regard to the young Suleiman—in great part purposely, by those whose interest it was, notably by a man of the name of Idris Abtar, of whom there is more presently to relate, and by a nephew of Zebehr's called Said Wat Hussein, one of the *mauvais sujets* who exist in every family, and who was subsequently found out and executed by Gordon's orders for perjury. "You may well imagine," the Pasha said, "that in Mandugba, as everywhere else, there were evil-doers who had to be punished: these evil-doers hated me; and there were others of the Egyptians who came down to me dissatisfied with what I had done for them, or jealous of my success. It is not necessary that I should name them. No man rises to greatness without enemies, and all these were glad to speak evil of me. Many, too, who seemed friendly in order that they might rise themselves while I was great, were ready to slander the fallen. What you have read was written while Gordon still knew me only by report. Before he went

* I think this may be considered to be borne out by what refers to Zebehr in Gordon's last diary, by his naming one of the Khartoum steamers "Zebehr," and by the request for Zebehr's presence, which so surprised the public at the time. When Sir E. Baring requested Gordon to consider the whole question carefully, and to state in one telegram what he recommended, Gordon telegraphed: "The combination of Zebehr and myself is an absolute necessity for success. To do any good we must be together, and that without delay."

up to Khartoum the last time, we met in Sir Evelyn Baring's presence, and had a full personal explanation. At the end of it we shook hands and were friends, and you know that Gordon wanted the Government to send me up to him at Khartoum. I count it as a great personal misfortune that he was killed. Had he lived, I should have had a very valuable friend."

On the general question of slavery Zebehr's mind appeared to be in the attitude which was taken by the ordinary English mind in the second decade of this century, when we had carried through successful negotiations with Spain and Portugal for putting down the slave-trade, and still refused to contemplate the abolition of slavery in our colonies. He argued that no order is possible in a country where slave-hunting is permitted. He considered free circulation as necessary to a nation's health as the circulation of the blood to the health of the body, and pointed out that it is perfectly incompatible with the practice of slave-hunting. That a country cannot be great without trade nor trade exist with unsafe roads, appeared to weigh more with him as an argument than any humane considerations of suffering caused to individuals. These considerations, however, were not wanting. "I cannot explain to you how impossible it would have been to me to sell my people," he said, "unless you realize that a king is indeed the father of his people. I happen to be fond of children, and often when I have been in the villages I have carried the babies in my arms. If I had sold the young men and women I should have had the mothers hanging upon my skirts, and weeping, saying, 'Give me back my son, give me back my daughter that you have sold.' My steps everywhere would have been accompanied by tears. Life would not have been endurable." Yet he still defended the present continuance of slavery in Egypt, and absolutely denying that he had sold, he stated without apology that he had bought upwards of 20,000 slaves while he was at Mandugba. "In those countries," he said, "especially as you get farther from centres of civilization, the natives have not learned the use of steam or water, and everything is done by means of slaves. The only motive power is slave-power. If you cut off slave-power, the result would be the same as the cutting off of steam and water from England. All industries would be ruined, and this with young countries means that they are re-plunged into barbarism." He did not consider the state of things to be necessarily permanent, but looked forward to a time when the natives of Egypt and the Soudan might come to understand liberty in the same sense as the peoples of Western countries—that is, as liberty for each man to work for individual and national profit. They would then be fit for emancipation. He could only say with regard to the present time, that when the Mussulmans of Cairo and Constantinople spoke with Western statesmen of the entire abolition of slavery in those countries, they spoke of what they knew in

their hearts to be impossible. They are well aware that the country is not yet prepared for it.

He listened with interest to the English view, and said more than once that, had he lived in intercourse with English people, it was probable that his own ideas might have been modified. As it was, I think that I state with tolerable accuracy the position he claimed for himself when I say that he looked upon slavery in Egypt as a necessary institution, permitted by the Koran; that he had a perfectly logical appreciation of the fact that the continuance of slavery entailed the continuance of the slave-trade, and consequently of slave-hunting; that he deplored the latter as being inconsistent with political order and advancement, and contrary to the dictates of humanity, but was prepared to acquiesce in it as an unavoidable evil, so long as it did not take place within the limits of territory for which civilized rulers are responsible. The only branch of the slave trade for which he had no toleration was that which provides the harems with attendants. Of this he spoke in strong terms as forbidden by the Koran: by far the most cruel, and at the same time, unfortunately, the most profitable, department of human traffic. He condemned it without reserve, while he pointed out that the law of supply and demand, acting upon it, would ensure its continuance so long as the possession of these attendants remained legal. To abolish the slave-trade while you permit the holding of slaves is, he said, impossible. So long as slaves are bought in Cairo and Constantinople they will be sent down from the sources of their supply. I asked if he considered it possible to abolish slave-hunting in the countries between the White Nile and the equator, and thus to dry up the sources of supply. "How can you," he said, "do anything in countries which have no Government? You have no one with whom you can treat. The natives in those countries have hunted each other from time immemorial. All that they do not sell they eat. Why do you suppose that they will change their customs so long as they have no one to teach them better? The only method is gradually to conquer and civilize. That was what I was doing in my province; but everything I did has been undone—it has gone now again to waste."

The great slave-markets lay to the south of him, in the country which has already been mentioned as Urihamo's country: Gabo, Kara, Kutuma-Banga, Benghieh, Sakara, Abudinga, were among the places that he named. At Sakara and Benghieh there were tribes of natives as white as Europeans, having oval faces and silky hair. Cannibalism and man-hunting prevailed over the whole territory. At all these places human markets were held with the same regularity as the cattle-markets of Europe. The young and healthy of both sexes were sold for slaves; the old, and especially the fat, were reserved for eating. Caravans went down, taking European goods and beads, and returned charged with slaves. What these unfortunate creatures suffered on

the road is too well known to need description or repetition. To reach Urihamo's country the greater number of the caravans passed through Mandugba, and used Zebehr's name for their protection. They returned of course also through Mandugba, and again covered themselves with Zebehr's name, to obtain a safe passage through the disturbed district on his northern frontier. He gave his protection to slave caravans exactly as he gave it to others. "My object," he explained, "was to maintain communication with the civilized world. If I had opposed the passage of slave caravans it could only have been by force; for simply to have forbidden them to use my name would have been to give permission to the natives to attack them. As a consequence there would have been bloodshed on the roads; the report would have spread that my country was unsafe. I should have lost my trade. You cannot expect that I should have undermined in such a manner the result of my whole policy.

"More than this, I have told you that it was my practice to buy slaves. After my army was organized I recruited it almost entirely by slaves bought for the purpose. When the caravans passed through Mandugba on their return to Egypt I examined the slaves they brought, and I took all the best and healthiest to make soldiers. I trained them in the use of arms, dressed them well, fed them, and kept them always in my service. One thing will horrify you that I permitted. Most of them came to me of course as cannibals. They were absolutely forbidden to touch human flesh in times of peace, but on active service they were allowed to eat all they killed. When I came to fight in Darfour this struck more terror into the enemy than all my discipline and arms. I am telling you this fact because we have agreed that you are to know the truth. Whatever you think of it, I will ask you to remember that the ways of such a country as Mandugba cannot be like the ways of England. My soldiers never left me till they died, and the service was so popular that the report of it spread into the distant corners of Nyam-Nyam, and young men came from far to offer themselves to me.

"What I want you to understand with regard to me is, that I was a trader, and also that I bought many slaves, but that I never was a slave-trader. I might have been, but I was not. I have tried to make you understand that in the position I held it would have been impossible.* It is not a question of whether I think the slave trade right or wrong, or of whether I am speaking the truth or not. It is a question of common sense and profit, which any one who has governed will understand; it would have ruined me to trade in slaves. I was at the head of a varied and extensive commerce, of which I have already mentioned to you the principal branches. The success of it depended entirely upon the maintenance of order in the surrounding districts, and my prosperity and native prosperity were

one. Natives who had been hunted or feared to be sold would not have traded with me, and if they did not trade with me I could not trade with the caravans. You can judge of the truth of this by what happened afterwards, when I went to Darfour and left Idris Abtar at Mandugba. He permitted slave-hunting, and the whole business fell away. There is nothing now in those countries which can compare with my trade. When I first went down with Ali Imouri, although slaves were never a principal object of our trade, we did occasionally buy and sell a few if the natives brought them with other things. Since I left him I have never had anything to do with slaves; and as I had no percentage on his profits, I may say with truth that I have never sold a slave. I had nothing to do with the trade in Urihamo's country, except that I bought slaves, and the caravans passed through my country and used my name. As for my having thirty slave stations, as you say, it is absolutely untrue. I never sent a slave down to Cairo or Constantinople in my life."

Of all the statements with regard to his slave-trading which I repeated or read to the Pasha none seemed to vex or wound him so much as Dr. Schweinfurth's categorical assertion that he had sent down about 1800 slaves in the year between 1870 and 1871. "Schweinfurth saw many people going down," he said, "and assumed that they were my slaves; but why did he not ask me, and I would have explained to him truthfully, as I did about all else? There were caravans of slaves, that year as always, with which I had nothing to do. There were also that year many of the families of Balali's discontented soldiers. Balali's presence, about which I will presently tell you, created circumstances which a stranger would not understand. Dr. Schweinfurth was not with me long enough to enter into them by his own judgment; but if he had asked me I would have told him. I received him well. We were very friendly, and he asked me many interesting questions. To all of these I gave truthful answers, and I would have willingly told him about the slave-trade. He never spoke of it to me, and it astonishes me that so wise a man should write thus hastily of what he did not know. You have no means of testing the accuracy of what I tell you; but he, if it interested him, might have inquired into it all upon the spot, and this would have been a better return for my hospitality than to have spread a report which is not true."

Shortly before the period of Dr. Schweinfurth's visit Zebehr had succeeded in bringing to a successful issue negotiations which have a considerable bearing upon this subject. Between Mandugba and Kordofan, at twenty days' distance from Mandugba, the country was infested with marauding and slave-hunting tribes of Bedouins, who rendered the caravan roads quite unsafe. The most important of these tribes were the Rezigats. Of the long

list mentioned by the Pasha, the only other name which I could find upon a European map was Tawaisha (N. lat. 12°, E. long. 27°). As the commerce of Mandugba increased, the necessity for new roads made itself more and more felt, and Zebehr resolved to see what could be done to clear a channel for trade through Kordofan. He accordingly sent an embassy to the chief of the Rezigats, bearing presents for the chiefs of all the tribes, and requesting them to come or to send delegates to Mandugba, that he might discuss the terms of a treaty with them. He made great preparations for this event, and received them with high honour. At the meeting which followed he spoke to them, as he had done to his own chiefs, of the advantages of trade and open roads. He told them that he was well acquainted with their habits, and knew that they were accustomed to enrich themselves by attacking caravans, and stealing both the goods and the men of which they were composed. But he pointed out to them that the result had been only to desolate their own country, and to drive trade from their roads. Caravans did not pass where they knew they would be attacked, and prizes therefore were few and far between. The proposal he had to make was that they should protect the roads and assure a safe passage to travellers; in return for which he would undertake to tax all caravans which passed through Mandugba, and pay the protecting tribes a regular percentage on the value of the goods carried through. Small and frequent returns were, he assured them, better worth having than the uncertain spoils of their present system, and his reasoning, combined with all they saw in Mandugba, wrought with them to accept his terms. A treaty was drawn up, in which they undertook upon their side to keep the road open for rich or poor, stranger or native, to pass without injury or molestation; and Zebehr undertook on his side to tax the caravans and pay a yearly subsidy to the tribes. A solemn oath was sworn on both sides upon the Koran, and the agreement took effect from that day. This was in the year 1868, and the Arabs kept their engagement, as will be seen, for four years. Zebehr on his side fulfilled his share, and the trade of Mandugba flourished. Caravans arrived three and four times a week, coming from Syria and Egypt, from Tripoli, Tunis, and Morocco. Zebehr traded also with Prussian, French, and Italian merchants. The expenses of government were considerable. Some of them may be inferred from the fact that he has been obliged at times to pay as much as 6s. 8d. a pound for gunpowder; but towards the end of these four years his profits began to mount to something like £12,000 a month. Greater conquests were before him, but he reckons this as the period of his most complete prosperity.

FLORA L. SHAW.

(To be concluded next month.)

•THE RAILWAY QUESTION IN MANITOBA.

IN sketching the Canadian Constitution I had occasion to point out the mischievous illusions which are produced by a Governor-Generalship bereft by the constitutionalizing process of all real power, and reduced to a ventriloquial apparatus. The British people no doubt think that it is the Governor-General—the impartial representative of imperial interests—who is speaking to them, who vindicates the maintenance of railway monopoly in Manitoba, and who, in the interest of the Canadian Pacific Railway, has put his veto on the Act of the Legislature of Manitoba authorizing the construction of the Red River Valley road. In fact, the Governor-General has exercised no discretion whatever in the matter, and his despatch no more expresses his own mind than did his vindication of the protective duty on iron in his *Speech from the Throne*. The man who has put his veto on the construction of the Red River Valley Railway, connecting Manitoba with the American railway system, and who vindicates railway monopoly in Manitoba, is the party Prime Minister, whose policy and whose political fortunes are bound up with the Canadian Pacific Railway, who was supported by its influence in the Manitoba elections, and whose son, as the legal proceedings lead Winnipeggers to remark, is its land solicitor at Winnipeg. The official representative of Canada in London, Sir Charles Tupper, is the colleague of Sir John Macdonald, and is bound by the same political ties, while his son is the other partner in the firm at Winnipeg. The Manitobans, with all possible respect for the ability both of Sir John and of Sir Charles, naturally desire, in a question which is one of life or death to the colony, a more impartial judge and a less biassed representative.

Even as a confidential adviser of the Home Government the

Governor-General is under great disadvantages. His political circle is necessarily to a great degree his social circle also. People outside that circle can hardly speak to him freely about Canadian affairs, and he is almost as completely fenced against uncourtly truth as any constitutional king. The cause of the rebellion in Canada half a century ago was partly the ignorance in which the Governor was kept by his social environment, and in which he kept the Home Government, till the storm burst. The present Governor-General is worthy personally of all confidence; it is his surroundings that create mistrust.

The Manitobans plead constitutional right. The legal validity of the veto reserved to the Governor-General on all Provincial legislation they do not dispute; but they maintain that to the exercise of this power there are constitutional bounds, which have been explicitly recognized by Sir John Macdonald himself. Sir John's words, as quoted by them, were: "The rights of self-government heretofore conceded to the several Provinces are not in any wise impaired by their having entered into a federal compact, and no infringement upon those rights which would be at variance with constitutional usage, or with the liberty of action previously enjoyed by the Provinces, when under the direct control of the Imperial Government, would be justifiable on the part of the Dominion Executive." There can be no doubt that the Provinces previously enjoyed what they still, as a general rule, enjoy—the right of chartering a railway within their own limits. Unquestionably any other Province would resent as unconstitutional, and resist to the utmost of its power, a veto put by the Dominion Government on an Act authorizing the construction of a Provincial railway or a Provincial work of any kind. That Sir John's judgment does not incline too much to the side of Provincial self-government appears from the fact that more than once he has contested the exercise of Provincial liberties, and been defeated before the Privy Council.

With regard to the North-West Territories it is admitted that the Canadian Pacific Railway has by its contract with the Dominion a guarantee of monopoly; but the Manitobans contend that this does not apply to Manitoba, which was no longer a Territory, but a Province, with all the rights of a Province, when the contract was made. They say that they put in a caveat and received explicit assurances at the time. They appeal to the words of the contract: "For twenty years from the date hereof no line of railway shall be authorized by the Dominion Parliament to be constructed south of the Canadian Pacific Railway from any point at or near the Canadian Pacific Railway, except such line shall run south-west or west of south-west, nor within 15 miles of latitude 49 degrees.* And in the establishment of any new Province in the North-West Territories

* That is to say, that no line is to be constructed to the boundary.

provision shall be made for continuing such prohibition." They quote the words of Sir John Macdonald: "In order to give them (the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate) a chance, we have provided that the Dominion Parliament—*mind you, the Dominion Parliament*; **WE CANNOT CHECK ONTARIO, WE CANNOT CHECK MANITOBA!**—shall for the first ten years after the construction of the road give their own road, into which they are putting so much money and so much land, a fair chance of existence." This the Manitobans contend is a clear admission of the right of the Legislature of Manitoba, as well as that of Ontario, to charter Provincial railways, subject to no special restriction, in virtue of the contract with the Canadian Pacific, but only, like all other Provincial legislation, to the general power of disallowance vested in the Governor-General, the exercise of which is bounded, as has been shown, by constitutional right. They maintain, therefore, that the impression that Manitoba is subject to the "Monopoly clauses" is unfounded, that those clauses did not provide for a monopoly in their Province, and that no breach of contract with the Pacific Railway would be committed by allowing the construction of the Red River Valley Railway.

The Governor-General, indeed, in the explanation of the veto which has been put into his mouth does not say anything about contract or breach of contract. His words, as reported to us, are: "The Provincial Act for the construction of the Red River Valley Railway was disallowed by me, on the advice of my responsible advisers, on the ground that it would tap the Canadian Pacific Railway, which is not yet fully established, and would seriously injure the interest of the whole country, which had submitted to large sacrifices in order to unite the Provinces by a national road." The road has received subsidies in cash, completed works, or land, to the extent of upwards of a hundred millions of dollars, besides a Government guarantee of interest. A manifesto has been put forth by the President of the road, showing the extraordinary advantages which it has over all its rivals in freedom from bonded debt and the smallness of the amount of stock on which the dividend has to be paid. Its net profits for the seven months ending July 31st were \$1,332,524. Surely, then, say the Manitobans, it may be considered as pretty well established, and as able to compete on fair terms with unsubsidized roads. But at all events the Governor-General is not made to allege a contract.

Nobody refuses to pay the well-deserved meed of praise to the energy, resolution, and ability with which the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has performed its difficult task, or to the gallantry with which the chiefs of the syndicate brought their private resources to the aid of the enterprise in the hour of peril, and which has fairly entitled them to proportionate gains. The Company and its chiefs

are in no way responsible for anything that may be doubtful in the policy of the Government, their relation to which was simply that of constructors, and will so remain, provided they do not take any part in politics. Nor is it necessary here to call in question the policy of the Government itself, or to inquire what is the real value of this line either to the Confederation or to the Empire, so long as it is not proposed on that account to do injustice to Manitoba. If the Intercolonial Railway has totally failed, as it assuredly has, to form a real bond of union between the Maritime Provinces and Quebec, it does not seem likely that the Canadian Pacific, having a much wider interval of wilderness or inland sea to spare, will form a real bond of union between the North-Western Provinces and Ontario. What may be the postal or military uses of the road the Post Office and the War Office must say. It would appear, as has been said elsewhere, scarcely wise to adopt as the regular military highway to India, a line requiring two transshipments, involving in winter, when the landing must be at Halifax, a wide *détour* by the Intercolonial Railway, with constant liability to snow-blocks, and running, through a great part of its course, completely within the grasp of the Americans; so that Mr. Blaine, if he were elected President by the Irish vote, would carry the keys of India at his girdle, to say nothing of the danger of Russian attack on the Pacific. The British Government, moreover, might hardly care to be at the mercy in a sudden emergency of a private company, or, as will be the case if the Canadian Government succeeds in leasing the hapless Intercolonial, of two. However, for federal or imperial objects, the federation of the empire ought to pay. To immolate Manitoba is not right. She pays her fair share, and, under a tariff specially adverse to her, more than her fair share, towards all federal and imperial objects, including the Canadian Pacific Railway. London editors lightly exhort the Manitobans to sacrifice themselves to the common interest. If they had been battling with the difficulties and hardships of a settler's life, had lost two or three harvests, were in debt to the village store, and had a desponding wife and a number of hungry children beside them, they would take a less imperial view of the matter.

There has been a disposition to treat Manitoba, in common with the rest of the North-West Territory, as a sort of dependency or appurtenance of the Dominion—not on the same footing, in point of constitutional right, with the older Provinces. We are told that the Dominion bought the Territory. The Dominion paid a sum, bearing no proportion to the real value of the Territory, to extinguish the claim of the Hudson's Bay Company. But the United States really bought Louisiana; yet Louisiana has always been on exactly the same footing with the other States of the Union. The British Parliament, in making over the Hudson's Bay Territory to Canada, can never

have intended that the communities which were to inhabit it should be vassal communities, lacking anything of the full measure of British right and freedom. Before admission into Confederation, the people of the Selkirk settlement prayed Parliament "that such measures may be devised and adopted as would extend to them the protection of the Canadian Government, laws, and institutions, and make them equal participators in those rights and liberties enjoyed by British subjects in whatever part of the world they reside;" and to this prayer Parliament gave ear.

To the objects of a colonization or a commercial road the Canadian Pacific is not well adapted, nor can it in these respects claim the dedication of the Province to its interest. The effect of carrying a single line at once through the whole of that region has been to spin out settlements along a tract of 800 miles, to draw the settlers far away from their market and their centre of distribution, to raise their freights both on imports and exports, and to deprive them of the advantages of neighbourhood, which are specially great in a country where the winter is very long and severe. A single line does not open up the country for more than a day's haulage on either side—that is, from twenty to twenty-five miles. What was wanted for the purposes of colonization or commerce was a set of roads running in all directions and advancing a little thread of settlement. The fault, however, it cannot be too often repeated—if fault there was—was that of the Government, not of the Pacific Railway Company, which simply constructed the line traced out for it by the Government.

That freedom of railway extension and easy access everywhere to railroads are vital necessities of a new agricultural country, even those, who on Federal or Imperial grounds, uphold disallowance, will not venture to deny. The spirits of settlers in Southern Manitoba, I am told, were almost broken by inability to bring to market the grain which their labour had raised. Manitoba has a vast expanse of marvellously fertile land; the fuel question seems now to have been settled in her favour—good coal, both hard and soft, having been found; but like other countries, she has her drawbacks, especially the shortness of her summer; and though, fairly treated, she will run well, she cannot afford to be weighted in the race.* She has been the victim, not only of railway monopoly, but of a protective tariff, which is peculiarly oppressive to a young agricultural country manufacturing nothing for herself. She is shut out from what is really her "home market," the market, that is, of the adjoining States, and compelled to resort to one 1000 or 1200 miles off. Her people pay heavy taxes, or freights equivalent to heavy taxes, on their farm implements, their clothes, the timber for their

* "Manitoba Described," by Mr. R. Miller Christy, seems to me a very fair and trustworthy account of the country.

houses, and for the fruit which they cannot raise in their own country. Till lately they had to pay a tax on imported coal, which at one time raised the price to over three pounds sterling a ton, with the thermometer sometimes at forty below zero; and this for the purpose of reconciling the coal-owners of Nova Scotia—a country with which Manitoba had no more to do than if it had been in another planet—to a protective tariff framed in the interest of certain manufacturers in Ontario. Such is the fiscal policy of the present Canadian Government, which is as completely identified politically with the protective tariff as it is with railway monopoly in Manitoba. Before the last election its chief called together the protected manufacturers in caucus, and no doubt pledged himself to legislate commercially in their interest, while they promised to vote for him and subscribe to his election fund.

Manitoba could not bear railway monopoly and an adverse tariff combined, even if she stood by herself; much less can she bear them in competition with Minnesota and Dacota. Those States, especially Dacota, are full of emigrants from Canada. The railroads in Dacota stretch out in every direction, and traverse the whole country. A thousand miles, according to a statement before me, were constructed last year, and more will be constructed this year. There is also perfect freedom of trade with a whole continent, which produces everything in itself except tea and coffee.* Unless the North-West is put upon equal terms with its rivals by the abolition of railway monopoly and the reduction of the tariff, it will not be peopled. Give it a fair chance, and there is no reason why its wonderful fertility should not attract population to any extent, now that the fuel problem is solved.

Not only for the purpose of facilitating transportation is freedom of railway construction requisite, but for the purpose of regulating freights by competition. So the Manitobans aver, and they tender evidence of the arbitrary character of the freights under the system of monopoly.

The Canadian Pacific Railway, say the Manitobans, though constructed mainly at the national expense, is no longer the property of the nation, while in its immense eastern extensions it is to all intents and purposes a private enterprise. It is cutting the throat of the Intercolonial, which was not only constructed for a national and imperial purpose, but still belongs to the nation. It is cutting the throat of the Grand Trunk, which has done at least as much for the unification of Canada, and which represents many millions of British capital. Curiously enough, the Government is helping it to supersede the International by a shorter line, which, as it runs through American territory, cannot be used for the military purposes of the

* In the controversy between Free Traders and Protectionists this fact, that the United States are not an ordinary country with a limited range of production, but a continent, is apt to be left out of sight.

empire. It cannot be called exclusively Canadian or anti-American, since it is preparing to cross the Sault de Ste. Marie for the purpose of connecting itself with American lines, a step on which the Government does not think of putting a veto. Among the original elements of the syndicate was an American firm which would hardly have consented to anti-American provisions.

The Manitobans maintain that before the late Dominion elections the Government had led them to believe that the policy of disallowance would be abandoned. They quote the words of Sir Charles Tupper, who said in the debate on the loan to the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1883, that "such was the confidence of the Government in the power of the Canadian Pacific Railway to protect itself, and such the confidence of the Canadian Pacific Railway in itself, that on the construction of the line north of Lake Superior the Government would no longer feel it incumbent on them to pursue the policy, hitherto followed by them, of disallowing Acts incorporating railways to connect with the American system of railways south of the international boundary." The Government candidate for Winnipeg at the last election held out to the electors, as they aver, in the name of the leader of his party, an assurance that if he were returned disallowance would be laid aside, and they are now taxing him with perfidy for acquiescing in the present course of the Government.

To establish a railway monopoly in a new agricultural country is to bid the harvests rot upon the field. The attempt to maintain such a monopoly is a combat against common sense and justice. No Legislature ought ever to have consented to a contract of which such a monopoly was a part. The Dominion Parliament appears to have been not unconscious of this, since, in imposing monopoly on the territories within the scope of the Act, it has limited the duration to twenty years, by the end of which it presumed that monopoly would be established; but it ought to have known that a term long enough to establish a monopoly would be long enough to kill a settlement. Not Manitoba only, but the whole of the North-West, will have to be set free; and as national faith must not be broken, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which has thoroughly well performed its part of the contract, will have to be indemnified by the Dominion. From this there is no escape. The company might be released from onerous covenants on its side. It could be largely indemnified by the accession of traffic to its unremunerative sections from the increased prosperity and peopling of the country. Even those sections which are believed to be unremunerative might be made remunerative by the development of mining enterprise. It should be remembered that besides the railroad the company owns land on a vast scale.

Manitoba has suffered, in common with the rest of the North-West, not only from railway monopoly and an adverse tariff, but from being

under the rule of the distant and party Government of Ottawa. Manitobans respond heartily when you tell them that they would probably have been better off as an independent British colony under a Governor who would have understood their affairs and given his whole mind to them, would have had no party interests to serve, and no occasion to use Provincial appointments as pay for the camp-followers of faction. In that case we may be pretty sure there would have been no half-breed disturbances, nor would eight millions of money have been spent in the suppression of a rebellion which put four hundred combatants, between the ages of sixteen and ninety, and badly armed, into the field. A good Governor would have paid timely attention to the claims of the half-breeds, and would have easily allayed the fears of these poor people, who were naturally disquieted by the advance of an alien civilization, narrowing their hunting-grounds, breaking up their mode of life, superseding their petty carrying trade with its railways, and threatening to deprive them of their livelihood. The Ottawa Government evidently was neither properly informed nor served by the right agents. Riel was an intriguer who deserved his doom; but had he been knighted instead of being hanged, probably more equal justice would have been done.

The people of Manitoba are deeply moved, as might be expected when the question is one of commercial life or death to them; and it must be owned that the bearing of the manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway is not such as to soothe their feelings. The Provincial Legislature, divided by party on all other subjects, is a unit upon this. What the Ottawa Government can do is not clear. Ontario will not march on Manitoba in defence of a railway monopoly. If the Government, by a stretch of its fiscal authority, prevents the entrance of goods from the United States over the Red River Valley line, the American Government has ample means of coercing it by refusing to let Canadian goods go through in bond. Nor can the people be blamed if they accept that aid. Their feeling is entirely kind towards the mother-country, but it cannot be expected that the settler will prefer to his bread and that of his family imperial considerations which, even to some cultivated and comprehensive minds, appear fantastic. The injunction by which it has been attempted to bar the construction of the Red River Valley Railway, on a technical ground of proprietary right, and which the Governor-General describes as obtained by the Canadian Pacific Railway, was applied for ostensibly by a private "patriot," and has only served to increase public exasperation.

In the interest of peace and legality it has been proposed that there should be an appeal to the Crown in Council on the point of constitutional right, and that if the Province makes good its case, the Crown should be advised to restrain the Governor-General in the

exercise of his veto. A fresh Act of the Manitoban Legislature authorizing the construction of the Red River Valley Railway would then be passed and would not be disallowed. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council would not be able to go beyond the veto, the strict legality of which is indisputable, to the point of constitutional right; but this might be done by a mixed committee of jurists and statesmen. A Committee of that kind was appointed, if my memory does not deceive me, to hear the appeals to the Crown in Council against the ordinances of the Oxford Commission, under the University Reform Act of 1854. Sir James Graham, if I remember rightly, was a member of the committee. It is to be hoped, however, that if the expedient is otherwise available, no more technicalities or lack of exact precedents will be allowed to stand in the way. A merely departmental decision of the Colonial Office, advised by the Canadian Premier, under the name of the Governor-General, would, for the reasons already mentioned, fail to satisfy the people. It is obviously most important, if possible, to keep the dispute within constitutional bounds, and to avoid the shock which a forcible settlement would give to the sentiment of legality among the people.

The Manitobans are rightly anxious to keep the question of free railway extension distinct from that of commercial connection with the United States. What they want are the indispensable liberty of transportation and the competition necessary to regulate freights, not American in preference to Canadian trade. Yet this question of the right of the Manitobans to construct railways to the American boundary is fundamentally connected with that of the tariff, and with that of participation in the fisheries. The crisis of the conflict between the continental and the anti-continental systems of policy has come. Circumstances have all at once directed the attention of the Canadian people to the subject of their commercial relations with their neighbours, and the fact is at last dawning clearly upon their minds, that the attempt carried on so long, and at so vast an expense, to cut them off commercially, by means of political railways and a protective tariff, from the continent of which their territories are a part, inextricably interlocked with the rest, is a failure, and has resulted in nothing but the piling up of a public debt which has grown as fast as that of the United States has decreased—the locking up of their natural resources, consequent impoverishment, dearness of living, and an exodus of Canadian youth. They see that wisdom bids them throw down the wall, obtain free access to the richest and best, as well as the nearest, of markets, and at the same time open their country to the free inflow of capital, enterprise, and the commercial life-blood of the continent. The Canadian farmer wants the market of the United States for his barley, his horses, his cattle, his poultry; the lumberman for his lumber, the fisherman for his fish,

the miner for his ore. Canada is very rich in minerals, and if she could freely export them, and import machinery for mines, a great development of wealth in that direction would ensue. The other day, as I passed through Port Arthur, at the head of Lake Superior, the members of the local Board of Trade came to express their sympathy with the movement in favour of Commercial Union with the States, which in that region might unlock a rich treasure-house of minerals, and turn the little town into a great mining city. The cruel absurdity of the "Chinese Wall" system is particularly manifest in the North-West, where, along a tract of eight hundred miles, nothing but a conventional boundary separates two sections of a population not only cognate, but identical, since Minnesota and Dakota are full of Canadians, and one end of a village, or even of a house, may be on the Canadian side of the Customs line, and the other end on the American side. To maintain the Customs line under such circumstances will probably prove physically impracticable. The movement in favour of Commercial Union is now sweeping the Dominion with a force as great as its spontaneity has been remarkable.* In Ontario the Farmers' Institutes are all declaring in its favour. In the Maritime Provinces, I am assured on the best authority, it is completely in the ascendant. It is equally so in Manitoba, though attention there is engrossed at present by the railway question. All the natural industries of Canada—farming, the lumber trade, the fishing trade, the mining trade, with the trades dependent on them—are for it. Against it is only the weaker class of the protected manufacturers; the stronger class being for the most part ready to face a competition which ought no more to be fatal to them than is that of the manufactures in one State of the Union to the manufactures in another. In this quarter the cry of patriotism is raised, and gives occasion to one of our leading journals to remark that "patriotism is the last refuge of *monopoly*." "Commercial Union!" a protected brushmaker is reported to have said at a meeting against Commercial

* An English friend has sent me a letter, which has appeared in the *Evening News*, by Mr. Hopkins, of Ingersoll, Canada, against Commercial Union. I willingly acknowledge the temperate and courteous manner in which Mr. Hopkins deals with the question, but I must beg leave to correct him when he describes the movement as the last shift of a political party in opposition. He admits himself, that "few of the party leaders have openly advocated the cause as yet." He might have said that not one of them has. He speaks of Mr. Erastus Wiman and myself as the only prominent advocates of the scheme. Mr. Erastus Wiman is a Canadian resident in New York, and wholly unconnected with Canadian parties. I have myself no party connection whatever. But Mr. Hopkins forgets Mr. Valancey Fuller, the great stock-breeder, of Hamilton, and Mr. H. W. Darling, ex-President of the Toronto Board of Trade, who have really been the most prominent advocates of Commercial Union, and of whom the first is a Conservative, while the second takes no part in politics. Conservatives stand by the side of Liberals on Commercial Unionist platforms. The movement, I can assure Mr. Hopkins, has no party character, object, or associations whatever. Its spontaneity, as I have said in the text, is not less remarkable than its force. Mr. Hopkins also asserts that Canadian Protection is a great success. Here again I must beg leave to differ from him: to me it seems that Canadian Protection is a complete failure.

Union : " why, my business cannot stand competition ! I'm disgusted at such disloyal talk. Is there no patriotism in Canada ? " These men, who have been artificially encouraged by the State, for supposed objects of national policy, to invest in their business, have a strong claim undoubtedly to equitable consideration, but not to the sacrifice of all the natural industries of the country. Commercial Union will probably be opposed by clerical influence in Quebec, where the Roman Catholic Church, practically established, with tithes, and immensely rich, dreads any increase of contact with the liberalizing influences of the republic. But to a resistance of this kind there are manifest limits. The force of the protected industries is organized, that of the unprotected industries is unorganized, and there may be some delay in bringing it to bear. Yet the issue cannot be doubtful. The death-knell of the separatist policy, of which the Government of Sir John Macdonald has so long been the organ, to all appearances, has tolled.

The cry, not only of patriotism, but of loyalty, is raised by the protected manufacturers. They hold up their hands in horror at the idea of discriminating, as they say Commercial Union would discriminate, against British goods. Yet their aim is to exclude British goods even more than American goods, because in England labour is, as they think, cheaper. They are always demanding higher protection, and will probably continue to obtain it from the present Government, which has thoroughly identified itself with them, and has embraced the Protectionist policy mainly in order to provide itself with a corps of political supporters bound to it by their commercial interests. The opponents of Commercial Union talk of an Imperial Zollverein as the better alternative ; but, emanating from such a quarter, the proposal is little more than a red herring drawn across the scent, since an Imperial Zollverein would involve the free admission of British goods into Canada, and to this the Canadian manufacturer would be the last man to consent. Canada would sacrifice revenue just as much by a Zollverein with England as she would by Commercial Union with the United States. One part of Sir John Macdonald's policy has fatally crossed the other : his Protectionism and his Imperialism are cutting each other's throats.

Discrimination is no doubt an ugly word ; yet it is not more ugly than exclusion. The commercial and fiscal unity of the empire is at an end. That question was formally and finally decided some time ago in reference to a tariff framed by an Australian colony, and imposing protective duties on British goods. The colonies at the same time have been deprived of all the advantages once enjoyed by them in trade with the mother-country. The consequences of the decision must be accepted, and each member of the empire must be allowed commercially to do the best it can for itself under its special

circumstances, which in the case of Canada are those of a comparatively small and poor country placed alongside of an immensely rich and highly protected nation. That commercial interest ought sometimes to be sacrificed to sentiment I should be the last to deny. I hope it is unnecessary to add that if anything, however indispensable, were to be done by which injury would be inflicted on England, I should leave it to be done by other hands than mine; but I am persuaded that the real interest of England will lead her to abstain from interfering in any way with the internal relations and development of this continent, while she cultivates the friendship of its kindred population as a whole, and that Commercial Union itself will turn out advantageous to her in the end.

Mr. Chamberlain—who, I am glad to see, is coming out as the representative of Great Britain on the Fisheries Commission—will, I hope, be led to study the Canadian question in its entirety. He will find, if I mistake not, that it has reached a critical phase, and one which calls for the deliberate consideration of British statesmen, if there is room in their harassed minds for colonial subjects amidst the perplexities and turmoils of their domestic revolution. Even the fisheries dispute he will probably find can hardly be settled by any purely legal agreement. The difficulty partly arises, I apprehend, from the tendency of the fisherman, who is not a jurist, jealously to guard his fishing-grounds, and to withhold sometimes from his rivals the facilities and hospitalities naturally incident to their treaty rights. He will also be struck by the fact that, of the fishermen on the American side, not a few are Canadians by birth, and living proofs of the fusion which is fast being brought about between the two sections of the English-speaking race upon this continent, through the operation of attractive forces too strong for political allegiance. Lord Shelburne, as it appears, when the war between the mother-country and the colonies was at an end, wished that they should not become merely foreign nations to each other, but that the family quarrel should be followed by a family reconciliation and a family partition of the great Anglo-Saxon heritage. Mr. Chamberlain, I suspect, will carry back to the councils of Great Britain strong reasons for believing that both for Canada and the mother-country Shelburne's policy was the best, and that wisdom as well as sentiment bids us endeavour to recur to it now. The Irish in the United States will of course do what they can to prevent an Anglo-Saxon reunion; but, unless the sympathies of American opinion mislead me, a reaction against the domination of the Irish Catholics is at hand.

Those who have persuaded themselves that, by turning Ireland into a dependency, they can satisfy Irish cravings for nationality, make the Irish love England, alter Irish character, obviate the consequences of over-population, and correct the social tendencies of the

Roman Catholic religion, persist in citing Canada as a happy precedent for the policy which they propose. That it is not a precedent either as regards the relation of the Dominion to the mother country or that of the Provinces to the Dominion, no demonstration will convince them: indeed, it is pretty clear that, like true sons of Islam, they read nothing that is not on the side of their prophet. But the spectacle of a Canadian Province in revolt against the Dominion may possibly lead them to doubt whether the precedent is altogether happy. They see, at all events, that a veto, though it may be legally reserved, is not always practically respected. It may be said, in fact, that the treatment of Manitoba by the Provincial Government practically fore-shadows that to which Ireland would be legally subjected if Mr. Gladstone's Bill became law; and the results, as we see, are recalcitration and confusion.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

CONTEMPORARY RECORD.

PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

WHEN the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge was opened about fourteen years ago, Clerk Maxwell proposed for one of the earliest pieces of work to be carried out within it the re-determination of the mechanical equivalent of heat. In Joule's experiments the water and the vessel containing it, as well as the apparatus immersed in the water, were heated through several degrees, and it was necessary to know the capacity for heat of the whole apparatus. It was also necessary to stop the experiment at an early stage in order to prevent too great rise of temperature with the consequent loss of heat by radiation and otherwise. Maxwell proposed to grind together under water two cones of hard gun-metal, with holes drilled in the cones to allow of the circulation of the water. The water was to be slowly supplied to the calorimeter at the temperature of the town mains, and the whole apparatus was to be maintained at the atmospheric temperature to prevent any loss or gain of heat by the calorimeter, so that the water flowing away from the calorimeter would have the temperature of the air. All the water flowing through the instrument would thus be raised from the temperature of the mains to that of the air, and the flow would be regulated to secure this condition. The experiment might with this apparatus be carried on for any length of time, and the heat developed would be determined from the amount of water passing through. In order to measure the work done in grinding the cones together, Maxwell proposed to keep the upper cone from rotating, by means of two weights suspended from strings passing round a circular plate attached to it, the lower cone being made to rotate by the driving engine. The power was to be transmitted through a differential gear, which would serve as a dynamometer, but the main object of this was to keep the driving couple constant. In order to determine the work done against the friction of the cones, it was only necessary to know the couple exerted by the weights on the upper cone and the number of revolutions of the lower cone. Two thermometers were constructed capable of being read to one two-hundredth of a degree, the one to be employed in taking the temperature of the water in the instrument, the other to determine the temperature of the water as delivered from the mains. The thermometers and cones and the differential gearing are still in the Cavendish Laboratory, but the bevel gearing which was to connect the vertical cone with the horizontal shaft of the differential gear was never constructed.

At the British Association Messrs. Cowper and Anderson described some measurements which they had made at Erith on the same lines as those on which Maxwell proposed to work. In place of the grinding cones they

employed one of the late Mr. Froude's dynamometers. This was immersed in a tank of water, and the tank placed in a larger one. The water was supplied to the inner tank through a pipe jacketed with a stream of water of the same temperature as the feed water. The outer tank was lagged with three thicknesses of felt, which so effectually protected it from loss of heat that at the temperature to which the water was raised the contents of the tank lost only 1° F. in $8\frac{1}{4}$ hours. About 5 h.p. was absorbed by the dynamometer, and the water flowing through the apparatus was thereby raised about 20° F., its temperature being taken by a delicate thermometer as it issued from the Froude dynamometer. A small steam pipe was employed in order to keep the water in the outer tank at the same temperature as that in the inner tank, and thus any loss of heat by radiation or conduction from the inner tank was prevented. About a gallon of water per minute flowed steadily through the dynamometer, and was heated through about 20° F. To prevent conduction of heat along the shaft which transmitted the power, a plate of wood was introduced between the flanges of the coupling. With this apparatus it was possible to continue the experiment for any length of time, and no corrections had to be made for loss of heat or heat absorbed by the apparatus, the temperature of everything being kept constant throughout as in Maxwell's proposed method. The result gave 769 foot-pounds for the mechanical equivalent of heat, as against Joule's mean result of 772 foot-pounds. Expressed in terms of the Centigrade scale, this becomes 1384.2 foot-pounds.

The melting and boiling points under atmospheric pressure of marsh gas, oxygen, nitrogen, and carbonic oxide, have recently been determined by Oslzewski, as well as the density of some of the corresponding liquids. The gases were admitted at a pressure of from 40 to 60 atmospheres into a glass tube, which was surrounded by liquefied ethylene and cooled to -150° C. by the rapid evaporation of the ethylene under an air-pump. A hydrogen thermometer was employed to determine the temperature. Some of the results are given below:

	Boiling-point.		Melting-point.		Density of liquid.
Marsh gas . . .	-164° C.	...	—	...	.415
Oxygen . . .	-181.4° C.	...	—	...	1.124
Nitrogen . . .	-194.4° C.	...	-215° C.	...	.885
Carbonic oxide. .	-190° C.	...	-207° C.	...	—

A new method of determining the density of the earth has been tried by M. Wibring in the observatory at Potsdam. A brass rod a metre in length carries a sphere of 550 grammes at each end, and is supported at the middle by an agate knife-edge resting on an agate plane, thus forming a pendulum which can be so nearly balanced that the time of oscillation can be made very great. Near the spheres are placed two cylinders each of 325 kilogrammes, so situated that they both bevel to deflect the pendulum in the same way. The deflection of the pendulum is determined by a mirror placed on the knife-edge, which reflects a scale so that the image can be observed through a telescope. The time of oscillation determines the couple with which the earth tends to make the pendulum assume the vertical. The result of the observations indicates that the mean density of the earth is 5.594, with a probable error of .032. The value which has been hitherto accepted

is 5·57. Another method is being adopted by Drs. Richarz and König at Berlin, and is very similar to that employed a few years ago by Professor Pointing. It consists in weighing two spheres of lead in a delicate balance, the spheres being placed alternatively above and below a great mass of lead, which by its attraction increases or diminishes the apparent weight of the sphere.

Edison has recently made a new departure in the construction of dynamos and electric motors. Any dynamo will act as a motor and furnish mechanical power if an electric current is sent through it, and any motor will furnish a current if mechanical power is employed to drive the motor, but the conditions requisite in order to secure the greatest possible efficiency in a motor are not quite the same as those required for high efficiency in a dynamo. Hence there are generally some differences in detail in the two machines, and this is the case in the motor and dynamo of Mr. Edison.

Hitherto the only means by which the energy of heat has been directly converted into that of an electric current has been the employment of the thermo-electric pile, but the efficiency of this apparatus is exceedingly small, and some other means of effecting the direct transformation of heat into the energy of an electric current without the employment of steam engines or gas engines is a great desideratum.

The production of a current in a dynamo depends on the fact that whenever the number of lines of magnetic force passing through a coil of wire is changed there is a tendency for a current to flow in the coil, the electro-motive force urging the current being proportional to the rate of change of the magnetic force. If a small piece of iron is placed between the poles of a magnet the lines of magnetic force find a much easier path through the iron than through the air, and the result is that they are drawn aside from the surrounding space to pass through the iron, just as the ordinary traffic of a district is diverted from the ordinary roads when a railway is constructed through it. Nickel and cobalt possess similar properties to iron, but in different degrees; and all these metals lose their magnetic properties when sufficiently heated. Iron becomes practically neutral at a red-heat. If, then, a coil of wire is wound around an iron core and placed between the poles of a magnet, when the iron is cold, there will be a great many lines of force passing through it, and therefore through the coil; but if the iron could be heated to redness, there would be no more lines passing through it than through the surrounding air. Hence, during the heating process there will be a current induced in the coil in one direction, and when the iron is allowed to cool a current will be induced in the opposite direction. Edison employs for the iron core a roll of corrugated sheet-iron only ·005 inch in thickness. This is surrounded by asbestos, on which the wire is wound, the asbestos protecting the wire from the heat of the core. Eight of these coils are placed between two iron disks so as to form a cylindrical cage, the disks being drilled so that the iron cores can pass through them, and air can flow freely through the cores from the top of the upper disk to the bottom of the lower disk, or *vice versa*. Eight electro magnets are placed with their north poles in contact with one disk, and their south poles with the other, so that the lines of force are transmitted through the iron cores of the coils. The whole apparatus is placed on the top of a furnace,

and by means of a revolving semicircular screen, which is mounted on a shaft passing through the centre of the cage, one-half of the coils are screened from the heated gases of the furnace, while cold air is made to pass through them. Through the cores of the other four coils the products of combustion pass. Thus, as the screen rotates, one-half of the coils are always getting hotter and the other half colder; there is therefore an electro-motive force in four of the coils in one direction, and in the other four in the opposite direction. The coils are all connected in series as in a Gramme armature, and a commutator revolving with the screen enables the current to be taken off from the "neutral points" as in the ordinary Gramme machine. It is said that the screen may be driven at the rate of 120 revolutions per minute, and that an apparatus weighing two or three tons will probably furnish current for thirty lamps, while the waste heat of the furnace can of course be used for ordinary heating purposes.

The construction of the motor is somewhat simpler. The field magnet is placed horizontally, the pole pieces being bored out to admit a cylindrical armature with a vertical axis. The armature consists simply of a number of very thin iron tubes arranged to form a cylindrical bundle, and capable of rotating between the poles of the magnet. These tubes are placed over the furnace, but those which lie in or near to the diametral plane of the cylinder which is perpendicular to the lines of force, are screened from the products of combustion, and have a current of cold air passed through them. They therefore retain their magnetic properties, while those close to the magnetic poles are exposed to the products of combustion, and are practically neutral as regards magnetism. The cold tubes are of course attracted by the magnetic poles, and thus a continuous rotation is kept up. A machine which is expected to develop about eight horse-power is in course of construction. A full account of the motor and generator, with illustrations, will be found in the *Electrical Review* for September 9.

It is a common belief that moist heated air is a conductor of electricity. This, however, is now known to be a fallacy. The presence of moist air causes a film of water on the surface of glass or porcelain or other insulators, and thus destroys their insulating power. Flame, in which chemical combination is going on, is a good conductor of electricity, but air heated to the temperature of red-hot iron still preserves its insulating properties. When the pressure of the air is very much reduced, as in vacuum tubes, a comparatively small electro-motive force is able to break down its insulating power, and to produce a luminous discharge, of which the Aurora Borealis is, perhaps, an example. Professor Schuster has lately shown that when the insulating power of the air has been overcome by a sufficiently great electro-motive force and a discharge is taking place through it, an extremely small force is capable of producing a current between another pair of conductors in a direction at right angles to the principal discharge. It would seem as if the discharge in a vacuum tube were somewhat akin to the phenomenon of electrolysis, and that the molecules have to be broken up into constituent atoms before they can carry the discharge at all; but when so broken up, the free atoms are willing to obey the smallest force which tends to guide them, and to carry electricity in any direction in obedience to such force. The analogy must not be pressed too far, but the action is very

suggestive of the behaviour of bodies subject to friction. If two bodies are in contact it takes a certain tangential force to cause them to slide, but when they are sliding the smallest force is capable of producing a proportionate change in the direction of the motion. Mr. J. H. Wicksteed has made use of this action in the hydraulic gauge attached to his 100-ton testing machine. The gauge consists of an hydraulic cylinder in which the plunger is forced by the water against the pressure of a spring. In order to overcome the friction of the "cup leather" the plunger is kept rotating rapidly about its own axis. The smallest pressure is then capable of shifting it slowly in the direction of its axis, because the resultant friction is always in the direction opposite to the resultant motion. The plunger then behaves as if there were no friction acting upon it, except that its movements are a little less rapid. Thus, when the friction is once overcome by a force in one direction the smallest force is capable of producing motion in any other direction. Professor Schuster finds that one-sixth of the electro-motive force of a Leclanché cell is sufficient to produce a current in a vacuum tube capable of deflecting his galvanometer, and he believes that there is no limit to the smallness of the force which can produce a current.

Professor Elihu Thomson has been making many experiments on alternating currents, and has shown that it is possible to construct a motor to be driven by alternating currents, but it may be some time before such motors attain a degree of efficiency which will enable them to compete with motors driven by continuous currents. Among the most interesting of Professor Thomson's experiments are those on the production of very great currents of low electro-motive force for the purposes of electric welding. Some of these experiments have been repeated in this country, and Mr. Manville, of the United Electrical Engineering Company, has constructed a welder in which bars of iron or steel, three-eighths of an inch square, can be welded in a few seconds. The instrument consists of a bar of stranded copper about one and a quarter inches in diameter, bent into a horse-shoe and its ends attached to very massive brass clips, in which the portions of the bar to be welded are firmly held by the pressure of screws. By means of another screw the clips can be made to approach one another until sufficient pressure has been produced between the ends of the bar to be welded. Within the horse-shoe and close to it lies a coil of copper wire, containing about 160 turns, and iron wire is wound around the coil and horse-shoe in transverse turns so as to bind the two together, and to form a closed magnetic circuit around them. A rapidly alternating current of about ten amperes at 100 volts is sent through the coil of fine wire, when a current of something like 1,000 amperes is produced in the horse-shoe and flows across the junction to be welded. The writer has in his possession a file three-eighths of an inch square which has been broken and welded three times with this machine, without any injury to the teeth. When the current is turned on the material to be welded acquires a bright red-heat in a few seconds, the heat being greatest where the fracture exists and extending for a distance of only about half an inch on each side, because the resistance is much greater at the fracture than anywhere else. As soon as the welding heat is reached the current is switched off, and in a few more seconds the welded bar may be removed and cooled under water. The machine is now in the Exhibition at Newcastle.

Among the other electrical novelties in the Newcastle Exhibition, which belong rather to the practical applications of electricity than to the pure science, may be mentioned the electrical drilling and riveting machines invented by Mr. F. J. Bowan, C.E., of Glasgow. These tools are specially adapted for ships' work, the powerful electro magnets with which they are provided enabling them to stick to the ship's side while the electric motors attached to them drive the drills or riveting hammer. The riveting machine consists of two parts—the machine itself and the dolly, or holder-up. Each is provided with its own electro magnet, and the unlike poles being placed in opposition, the plates to be riveted are squeezed between the two magnets, which thus serve to close the joint. The electric motor withdraws the hammer against the pressure of a strong spring by means of a helical cam, which releases it at the end of each revolution, enabling the spring to strike the blow. The machine can deliver about 150 blows per minute, each blow representing 180 foot-pounds, and it is capable of closing inch rivets. The first motion of the switch excites the magnet and closes the joint; the second motion starts the motor. Each of the machines in the Exhibition is driven by an Immisch motor of half a horse-power.

The main building of the Newcastle Exhibition is lighted with incandescent lamps of illuminating power varying from 100 to 1,000 candles, constructed by Messrs. Clarke, Chapman, Parsons & Co., of Gateshead, and supplied with current from Mr. Parsons' high-speed turbo-generators. These incandescent lamps are shown publicly for the first time in Newcastle, and bid fair to prove formidable rivals to arc lamps, since they have a far higher efficiency than small incandescent lamps, and require no trimming or other attention from the time they are put up until they are replaced. Of course their light is perfectly steady, and they avoid all the inconveniences incidental to arc lamps. The steam turbines which drive the armatures of the dynamos directly at 9,000 revolutions per minute show a high efficiency as compared with other engines of the same power. One of these turbines and dynamos, having an output of about five electrical horse-power, is shown in full work in the Exhibition suspended from the roof by three wires, proving that the machine is perfectly balanced and that it requires no special foundations. A locomotive engine intended for the Midland Railway of Western Australia is exhibited with a turbo-generator on the foot-plate. This generator will supply current for a large incandescent search-light in front of the engine, which will light up the track across the open lands.

The application of electricity for the transmission of power is making rapid headway. An Immisch motor has lately been applied to drive the pumps at a colliery near Normanton, but for the purposes of electrical traction this country is still far behind America, where it is found that when applied on a sufficiently large scale the cost of electrical traction is only one-quarter that of horse traction per car-mile. Railways upon which trains run in very rapid succession are specially adapted to electrical traction, and we ought soon to see a system of underground railways in London on which the trains are driven by electric motors, and the tunnels ventilated by fans actuated by the same means.

WILLIAM GARNETT.

ULSTER.

RECENT discussion has tended to bring into prominence a side of the Irish question which, though never ignored, has been treated as of subordinate importance. Sometimes we hear that Ulster will fight; at other times we are reminded that Ulster is of one blood and religion with ourselves. And quite lately a definite demand has been put forward for further information as to the views and intentions of the Liberal leader in regard to this part of Ireland. It is unhappily the case that there is always reason to be uneasy about the maintenance of the Queen's peace in a certain portion of Ulster. That corner of the United Kingdom is the last home of religious bigotry in its acute form; and although the inhabitants are in the main industrious and orderly, they break out from time to time into the most furious violence. As recently as 1886 terrible riots occurred in Belfast, during which twenty-nine lives were lost, and a vast amount of injury was done to property in the town. There is a powerful political organization with its headquarters in Ulster—the Orange Society—whose record is one long chapter of turbulence and fanaticism. Alongside of the Protestant is a large Roman Catholic population, of about equal numbers, if the whole province is taken into account, but greatly inferior in numbers in the north-eastern corner. The existence of this peculiar state of things is one of the many difficulties to be taken into account in the settlement of Ireland.

It is advisable at the outset to appreciate the real nature of the difficulty. Some speakers and writers have argued that the resistance of half of the population of Ulster is a reason for refusing any measure of Home Rule to any part of Ireland. If that view were accepted, we should be conferring upon a minority powers of a most

extraordinary kind. The three other provinces demand Home Rule by an overwhelming majority in every single constituency, except, of course, Dublin University. It is obvious that the opinion of Ulster has no more authority in regard to those three provinces than the opinion of an equal area in England or Scotland. Even the Orange party can hardly claim to have a veto upon Home Rule for those parts of Ireland where they and their friends are in an insignificant minority. The utmost that they can claim with any sort of countenance is that their own particular corner, in which they preponderate in numbers, shall remain *in statu quo*; and that indeed appears to be all which Mr. Chamberlain professed to claim as their right. That, then, is the real Ulster difficulty. The claim can only be local and circumscribed in its character. If admitted, it will bisect Ireland into two parts of very unequal size, and exempt the smaller portion from the authority of the Parliament in Dublin. It is no argument against Home Rule in general, but merely an argument against the extension of Home Rule to all Ireland. No doubt, individual enthusiasts may be found to claim on behalf of Ulster Protestants a species of protectorate over all other Protestants in Ireland, and a right to veto any concession to the rest of Ireland which is not pleasing to themselves. But any such pretensions are clearly inadmissible, and when the fate of Ulster comes to be dealt with, the British public will direct their attention to two points—the first, whether there is in any part of the province a prevailing desire for separate treatment; and the second, whether a sufficient case can be made out to warrant compliance with that desire.

The idea that Ulster has already demanded separate treatment is an error. Looking at the representation of that province, seventeen members are Nationalists, fourteen are Conservatives, two are Liberal Unionists. It is not worth while to analyse the representation with greater minuteness, for in any point of view somewhere about one-half of the electors have pronounced for one Parliament for all Ireland. This being so, the argument may be dropped in regard to Ulster as a whole, and renewed in regard to the "Ulster of the Plantation," or that part of Ulster, consisting of little more than two counties and a half, where the Anglo-Saxon race and religion are largely predominant. Is this diminutive portion of the whole island to be treated separately from the remainder? Do they themselves desire to be so treated? The answer to that question would by no means conclude the subject, but it is an interesting and important inquiry.

No doubt at the last general election these two and a half counties very decidedly resisted Home Rule, but they have never been asked whether, in the event of Home Rule being granted to the rest of Ireland, they desire to stand aside and to renounce their share in the

self-government of the island. If that question were put to them, their history and antecedents forbid us from believing that they would elect so ignominious a part. These men are thorough Irishmen : they have been on all critical occasions the most strenuous advocates of the rights of Ireland against Great Britain. In 1782, when the Irish Parliament was finally emancipated from British control, these men of the North formed and largely composed the celebrated regiments of volunteers who enforced the national demands by open threats of civil war. Again, at the date of the Act of Union these same men of the Ulster Plantation resisted, and for a long time afterwards resented, the destruction of their old Irish Parliament, in which their own members sat and wrought side by side with the members from the three other provinces. If they have now become content to send members to Westminster instead of Dublin, at least they have never affected for one moment to have lost their Irish nationality. To be excluded from a new Irish Parliament, if such were created, would mean for them an act of denationalization, and, from their point of view, an abandonment of their co-religionists in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, such as no body of brave men have ever willingly chosen in recorded history. It is difficult to believe that on the establishment of Home Rule they would turn their backs on name and nation in order to gratify a political party in Great Britain, and incur the contempt of mankind.

Herein lies the absurdity of demanding from Mr. Gladstone specific declarations that he will treat this part of Ulster separately. One great factor in dealing with such matters is, from any point of view, the desire of the inhabitants themselves. During the debates in 1886 the Government were taunted with proposing to deal with the case of Ulster in Committee. Committee is precisely the stage in which that case can best be decided. We can only learn the true wishes of the people most closely concerned when it shall have been finally determined that there shall be a Parliament in Dublin : then, and not till then, shall we know authoritatively whether Down and Antrim propose to remain outside. At present, while the establishment of any Parliament in Dublin is still in controversy, the entire energies of the minority are concentrated on the amiable effort to prevent the majority of their countrymen from obtaining their wishes.

If, then, it should appear in due season that the men of Ulster themselves repudiate any severance from the rest of Ireland, the difficulty, as generally understood, will have disappeared. On the other hand, it may possibly be that a fragment of the north-east will ratify Mr. Chamberlain's utterances and demand to be treated separately. If this should happen, undoubtedly some difficulty would arise. Such a demand sincerely and deliberately preferred by a

decided majority in a considerable area, would enlist a good deal of sympathy. There would be in many quarters a disinclination to impose upon any considerable tract of territory a novel form of government against the wishes of the great majority of its inhabitants. Is Great Britain bound to give way in such a case to the desires of a small population on a matter peculiarly affecting that population, but also touching the welfare of the United Kingdom? This really depends upon the nature of the change involved, and the reality of the supposed danger it would bring in its wake.

That change was recently declared in a speech of Mr. Chamberlain to be in effect a disinheritance of the people from their birthright as British subjects, their withdrawal from the shelter of the British Constitution and from the great traditions of our common history. Both the argument and the rhetoric of that speech assumed that Home Rule was equivalent to separation. Now, every reasonable man would admit that no Government ought for one moment to insist upon any part of the United Kingdom accepting against its will such a change as that. But the whole point is, whether Home Rule does mean separation or not. The Liberal party notoriously affirms and believes that it means nothing of the kind, and some grounds for that belief will appear in the sequel. This is not, however, the occasion for any exhaustive discussion of that controversy. It may be conceded that those who agree with Mr. Chamberlain's predictions not only may, but ought, most strenuously to insist upon the separate treatment of any part of Ireland which demands it. Prophecy is a kind of argument which it is not easy to refute.

Assuming, however, that the fear of separation is put out of view, as it must be if we are to proceed with Home Rule at all, is there anything in the scheme already submitted by Mr. Gladstone in the nature of a disinheritance short of separation—any such injury to the sentiments and traditions of the minority in Ireland—that they are entitled to say, "Rather than make us suffer this thing, you must leave us out of your scheme altogether." The only feature at all admitting of this description was the proposed exclusion of all Irish members from the Imperial Parliament. Certainly this proposal involved a break in traditions nearly a century old; it deprived Irishmen of all share in imperial deliberations, in issues of peace or war, in foreign, colonial, and Indian policy. Regarding Ireland as a whole, no wrong was contemplated, because Ireland as a whole—that is to say, by a large majority—assented to the arrangement. But it may well be said that the right to take part in all these things was the birthright of Irishmen, to deprive them of which would amount to a disinheritance, and that it would not be morally competent for the British Government to take this patrimony from any considerable portion of Ireland against its will. Fortunately, there

is no reason why any difficulty should arise on this score. It is understood that the Nationalist party would indeed prefer to see no more Irish members at Westminster, at all events for the present, but are willing to acquiesce in a contrary decision. Mr. Gladstone has described it as a British rather than an Irish question: he might have added that it is also an Ulster question. The drift of English and Scottish Liberal opinion runs strongly in favour of the retention of Irish members. Accordingly, it may be confidently predicted that no part of Ulster will be required to surrender its representation at Westminster. Care of course will be taken to prevent this concession from being converted into a means of undermining the power and authority of the Irish Parliament. But if Irish members still sit in our midst, with an equal voice in all imperial matters, and with a share of control in the last resort even in Irish matters, it will become impossible to say with any show of reason either that they have been withdrawn from the protection of our Constitution or cut asunder from the traditions and memories of the empire.

When once it is conceded that the members from Ulster are still to retain their seats in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, the strongest part of the "Plantation" argument falls to the ground. A claim to separate treatment on behalf of any portion of Ireland assumes an altered aspect. All are, and all are to remain, a portion of the United Kingdom. What, then, are the rights of a small minority in Ireland itself—an insignificant minority of the entire nation? Clearly they have no title to overrule public opinion in regard to the destinies of that part of Ireland where they are outnumbered. Have they any absolute title to overrule public opinion in regard to their own destinies? If it is a case of real danger to worthy interests—yes. If the danger is imaginary, or the interests sought to be protected are unworthy of protection—no. Groundless alarms, or a desire to maintain ascendancy, confer no right to stand aloof from, and by standing aloof perhaps to mar, a general settlement of Ireland otherwise approved by the judgment of the three kingdoms. The whole question resolves itself into this: "Is there any real danger from Home Rule to the just interests of the minority?"

* A minority, however small, is entitled in an extreme case of intolerable wrong to resist even by force of arms. The Huguenots in France, the Covenanters in Scotland, the Poles in their insurrection against Russian rule, did not flinch from the sword, and history has justified their efforts. In these and similar cases violence had been done to the elementary rights of human nature. The armed minority were able to show that their struggle was simply for self-defence, for the assertion of freedom of conscience, or freedom from gross tyranny. If the minority in Ulster could show equal or

When, however, the arguments are examined, it is found that no real apprehension of unjust treatment in fact exists even in Ulster. To begin with religious persecution. At the general election of 1886 violent and passionate appeals were made, especially in Scotland, against the supposed oppression of Protestantism which would follow Home Rule. Home Rule, it was said, meant Rome Rule. Unscrupulous use was made of the memories or legends of 1641, with occasional allusion to the Sicilian Vespers, the Spanish Inquisition, and St. Bartholomew's massacre. All that pestilent rubbish has now been carted away; it served its purpose in the sudden and fiery conflict of 1886, but the time of cool reflection has arrived, and these mischievous harangues would now be heard with contempt. They would hardly impose even upon Orangemen. It is admitted by Mr. Chamberlain in his recent speeches in Ulster that there is no fear of religious persecution. Such has been the ignominious ending of one of the very worst and most discreditable episodes of the Unionist campaign. Nevertheless, in order to allay the vain terrors even of the most timid, abundant precautions have been promised against religious intolerances as will appear in the sequel.

Take next what may be termed the breeches-pocket objection. Here unfortunately Mr. Chamberlain has given prominence to some of the pretended fears of Ulster Tories. He protests against wealthy Ulster being handed over to the authors of the Plan of Campaign and the no-rent manifesto. He questions the business integrity and capacity of Mr. Parnell and his friends, the salaried members of Parliament; quoting the Tammany Ring of New York and the failure of the land scheme in Mayo. In short, he suggests an alarm lest Ulster should become the prey of dishonest and rapacious adventurers ^{and} coming from the hungry South to the enterprising and prosperous North. Before examining this picture it is necessary to correct a few ^{pet} ~~cons~~ points. Ulster is not the wealthiest of the four provinces of

Ireland. The Mayo land scheme (an enterprise, by the way, attempted from the purest philanthropy for the benefit of the wretched peasants) has not been a failure. The Tammany Ring in New York was a financial conspiracy, in which Anglo-Saxon Americans as well as Irish Americans took part, and for which Mr. Parnell and his friends are no more responsible than they are for the corruption recently disclosed in the affairs of the Corporation of the City of London. Mr. Parnell had no more to do with the Tammany Ring than Mr. Chamberlain himself. Some of the Irish members are believed to be paid, as several English members are paid, because they are poor men. Mr. Parnell was not the author, and has never even expressed approval, of the Plan of Campaign; other Irish members have supported it with enthusiasm, but no one has ever hinted that they derived profit from it; and, right or wrong, the Plan of Campaign is simply a combination against harsh landlords by a miserable peasantry in the interests of a miserable peasantry. The members of Parliament who support it can gain nothing by it for themselves, unless it be a plank bed. This is not the conduct which gives promise of selfish rapacity if these men should come to the government of Ireland. The no-rent manifesto, again, was issued while the Coercion Act of 1881, now universally condemned, was in force, and at the point when the Irish leaders were being imprisoned without trial under its provisions. It was intended as an act of political retaliation for the wholesale arbitrary imprisonment then commencing, and, though unquestionably worthy of censure, it was never designed to realize, and never could by any possibility have realized, the smallest profit to any one of the Nationalist leaders. So far as these things are concerned, an impartial observer will not find in any of them any proof of self-seeking—rather he will find evidence of self-devotion on the part of the Nationalist leaders.

If, therefore, it is sought to exclude Ulster, or any portion of it, from the Home Rule project, on the ground of the predatory propensities of Mr. Parnell and his friends, the ground entirely fails. The political career of these men has been singularly free from any sordid alloy. Absurd as it is, to suppose that men in their senses would single out Ulster, with its powerful British alliances, for their prey, it is inconceivable that they should be able to effect such a purpose. Exceptional taxation of Ulster must be effected either by means of municipal corruption or by some act of the Irish Legislature. The first evil can be prevented by the men of Ulster themselves, to whom alone the working of their own municipal institutions can be entrusted. The latter evil—or indeed any similar expedient for a like purpose—could be instantly prevented by means of the various safeguards which will assuredly be provided to secure fair dealing, and whose nature and efficacy will be discussed presently.

One more "personal" argument requires to be dealt with. It is that which charges Mr. Parnell and an ill-defined portion of his colleagues with directly conniving at and encouraging murder and other crimes, and being therefore unsafe to be trusted with the government of Ulster. This charge can be very summarily disposed of. It was solemnly and exhaustively advanced by the late Mr. Forster in the House of Commons in 1883, and has been sedulously repeated by the so-called Loyal and Patriotic Union up to the present date. How little credit was attached to it by honourable men in full possession of all the secret information of the Irish Government is shown by the following facts. In 1885 Lord Carnarvon, then Lord Lieutenant, sought and obtained an interview with Mr. Parnell to take common counsel for the better government of Ireland. The whole Tory party approved of the common action that followed. Mr. Chamberlain in February of 1886 recommended that Mr. Parnell should be made Chief Secretary for Ireland. Some Liberals disapproved of the policy of this proposal, but no one arraigned it on the ground of Mr. Parnell's complicity with crime. Lord Spencer has repeatedly declared that during his viceroyalty, which covered the period of the supposed connivance with crime, he never came across any evidence of such complicity. Then this year the *Times* reproduced, with some additions, the charges against the Irish leaders at a critical moment during the passage of the Coercion Act of 1887. When challenged, the Irish members claimed that the whole of the accusations should be investigated by a Committee of the House of Commons, composed exclusively of English and Scottish members, of whom a majority should be Conservatives; but the Government refused the Committee. The only possible explanation is, that the Government believed the charges, of which so much capital had been made, would be exposed as baseless. When these circumstances are fairly considered, it seems impossible to credit these persistent libels, and certainly it would be an unprecedented injustice and folly to allow to them the smallest weight in the practical settlement of Ireland.

What, then, is the true value of these alarms? Even if Ireland were cut adrift to-morrow, and allowed to shift for herself, there would be no fear either of the persecution of Protestants or of the plundering of Ulster. We do not live in the days of Attila. Against any unforeseen abuse of power towards Ulster, arising from any naturally evil and depraved tastes of the Nationalist leaders, there is an intrinsic security in the strength and vigour of Ulstermen, and in the sense of justice of Irishmen generally. It is not to Mr. Parnell, but to the Irish people, that power will be conceded, and the evil character, of their present leaders, if it were a reality instead of a fiction, would be soon detected and punished by their countrymen; unless,

indeed, we are to assume what all human experience forbids us to assume—namely, that a whole people, numbering some five million souls, prefers wrong to right, and injustice to justice.

Lest, however, these considerations should fail to reassure us, we may take comfort in reflecting upon the number and strength of the safeguards for minorities which any Home Rule scheme will almost of necessity provide.

Before describing them, a few words will be appropriate as to the general attitude which the British Government should adopt towards an Irish Executive and an Irish Parliament. It will be admitted that the relations between the mother country and the colonies—such as Canada—do not furnish a suitable model. Canada provides for her own defence; Ireland will take part in the common defence of the British Isles. Canada has a fiscal system of her own, as independent of Great Britain as that of Brazil; Ireland is to remain in fiscal unity with Great Britain. Canada has no voice in imperial affairs; Ireland is to take part in imperial counsels, and is to be represented—at all events if she desires it—in the Parliament at Westminster. Canada might obtain her absolute independence to-morrow if she demanded it; Ireland admits that her separation from Great Britain would be unfair to the latter, as well as injurious to herself. There are also wide differences in the history of the two countries, and in the duration and degrees of intimacy of their respective connections with Great Britain. The internal conditions of Ireland too, springing from the tradition of Protestant ascendancy, make it desirable, if only to allay groundless fears, that the constitutional tie between the two Irelands should be of a closer character than is to be found in the colonial model.

On the other hand, it would be a fatal policy to throttle the Irish Parliament by constant interference from Great Britain. A whole catalogue of calamities would ensue: numerous and irritating debates at Westminster by way of appeal from Dublin, entailing a great loss of public time, and encouraging any discontented minority of Irishmen to perpetually re-open internal disputes. A renewed agitation in Ireland for a really free Parliament would soon follow. The two strongest reasons for Home Rule are the congestion of the Imperial Parliament and its proved incapacity or unwillingness to pass laws suitable for Ireland. If a Dublin Parliament were to be constantly checked from Westminster, neither of these evils would be removed. The congestion would still continue, and Ireland would still be unable to procure suitable legislation. The true principle which ought to govern the relations of the two islands under Home Rule flows directly from these considerations. Great Britain ought never to interfere except where necessary for the preservation of imperial unity, or to prevent a real and clear injustice. In

the latter case we should act as umpires, and in the spirit of umpires. Conditions should be embodied in the constitutional Act stipulating for the unity of the empire, religious equality, freedom of conscience, equality of taxation as between the different parts of Ireland, and any other appropriate clauses, such as are embodied in the written Constitutions of the United States. Any violation of these conditions would be a signal for British interposition; any clear wrong would also be liable to correction. But while reserving the power to interfere, interference ought to be not only an exception, but an exception of the rarest occurrence. As much as possible should be made to depend upon the self-acting machinery of the Constitution itself.

A summary view of the proposed checks and guarantees ought to dispel any anxiety as to the safety of minorities in Ireland under Home Rule. The first bulwark would consist of a high judicial tribunal empowered to disallow any law which contravened the stipulated conditions of the Constitution. If any loophole enabled an Irish Parliament to escape this judicial restraint, the Lord Lieutenant, acting in concert with the Imperial Government, should be empowered to refuse the royal sanction to any Bill. It may be said that the royal veto is now extinct in Great Britain; but it is not extinct in the colonies, and in this respect the colonial, not the British, practice would be followed. Lastly, in extreme cases the Imperial Parliament would still retain full powers in regard to Ireland. All these things were comprised in Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1886, and were assented to by the Irish leaders. Thus there is a triple net in which to catch any stray act of injustice; a threefold security against any violation of the proper rights of minorities. The Bill of 1886 provided a fourth—namely, two orders in the Irish Parliament, one of which should be based upon property qualification; but this was really superfluous, and will probably be abandoned. Such is the system of safeguards for minorities which the Liberal party was prepared to offer. Its thoroughness and efficiency can hardly be questioned. Suppose, for example, that an attempt were made to pass some Act in violation of freedom of conscience. It would at once be pronounced void by the legal tribunals; failing that, the Lord Lieutenant would disallow it; failing that, it could be stopped by the interposition of the Imperial Parliament. If any fault has to be found with these safeguards, it is that they are more stringent than the necessity of the case requires.

At the back of these constitutional guarantees there will be the material forces of the empire. This is so provided, because it is essential to the unity of the three kingdoms that there should be unity in military organization—a most undeniable safeguard in the last resort against any departure by the Irish Government from the

treaty of their new Constitution. All government ultimately depends on force, and the force in this case is to abide in the hands of the Imperial Government.

It may be a question whether the Royal Constabulary ought not also to remain under imperial control so long as it continues to exist. That force is really a military force. It cannot be disbanded without incurring a very heavy cost in pensions and allowances. It is doubtful whether, after all that has occurred, the people of Ireland would care to see it absorbed into the purely civil police which will be needed there as elsewhere. Under these circumstances it might be wise to maintain the existing constabulary for the present under the direct orders of the Lord Lieutenant, not replenishing its numbers as they progressively diminish, unless special occasion arose. Side by side with this force the municipal and purely civil police would grow up under local control, as in England and Scotland, and gradually replace the Royal Irish Constabulary. If this were done, there would not be in the whole of Ulster one single armed man, soldier, sailor, or policeman, deriving his authority from the Dublin Government.

If we look the supposed dangers in the face, they prove to be chimerical. If we examine the proposed securities, they are wide enough to cover any possible contingency. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that these arguments are regarded seriously even by those who put them forward. Very much the same was said when the Irish Church was disestablished. Then, as now, Ulster was going to fight; then, as now, the Protestants were to be oppressed; and grotesque appeals for British protection were uttered by the same men. It would be a mistake to take all this too much in earnest. The idea of fighting is simply ludicrous, inasmuch as there would be nobody to fight except British soldiers, and Ulstermen, to do them justice, have nothing but goodwill towards Great Britain. Equally ridiculous is the picture of an Ulster pillaged and persecuted under the very eyes of their kinsmen on this side of St. George's Channel by a Roman Catholic tyranny. No injustice could ensue, no wrong be done to the humblest man in Ulster under Home Rule, even supposing that Mr. Parnell and his friends desired it. It is not fear of suffering wrong which makes the men of Down and Antrim resist Home Rule; it is the unhappy tradition of bigotry, encouraged by ministers of religion and politicians, that underlies their resistance.

Under these circumstances the claim of any part of Ulster to separate treatment cannot possibly be admitted as a right. Whether it would be wise policy to insist upon the extension of Home Rule to a population which had declared against it, is a different matter. The isolation of a few counties would be a great misfortune as long as it lasted. It would tend to the still further

development of religious animosities in a country where too much of that spirit exists already; and the same might be said of racial antipathies. If the great bulk of Ireland, consisting in the main of Celts and Catholics, were to form under one government with a nest of turbulent, or, at least, antipathetic neighbours, mainly Anglo-Saxons and Protestants, just outside their door, there would be a tendency towards keeping alive the old feud with Protestant and Anglo-Saxon England. One of the best results of a willing coalition among all Irishmen in an Irish Parliament would be the certain disappearance of antipathies of race and creed, and the consequent obliteration of hostile memories towards England. In a sense it is true that there are two Irelands, but the points of difference are of a kind which it is in the interests of all, and especially in the interests of Great Britain, to cause to be forgotten. The voluntary reconciliation of the two Irelands under Home Rule would ensure to this country the presence of a large and powerful party in the counsels of the sister island, whose friendliness would be based upon community of blood and faith. It would undoubtedly be an additional security against future friction and misunderstanding.

On the other hand, if a considerable part of Ulster, by a decisive majority, pronounces in favour of isolation, it will probably be wiser for all parties not to do violence to their wishes. A forced union is rarely of much value. To drive these men sullenly up to Dublin would involve a risk of furnishing to the Irish Government an irreconcilable parliamentary party, and breeding disaffection towards Great Britain. The isolation would not last very long: after a few years of really skilful government of four-fifths of Ireland by the Nationalist party, such as their abilities lead us to expect, the cry for reunion in the fifth part would advance by strides, and soon become irresistible. Possibly the consummation would be hastened by the sense that a policy of isolation in such circumstances partakes in no slight degree of cowardice. The hope, however, of all interested in Ireland must be that the men of the North will adopt a more manly policy, and when they see that a Dublin Parliament is inevitable, will heartily cast in their lot with their fellow-countrymen in the work of regenerating Ireland. And those who know Ulster best have no doubt they will adopt that course.

R. T. REID.

WAS THERE A REAL ST. ANTONY THE HERMIT?

I DO not formulate this question with any intention of answering it absolutely in the negative; yet I shall call attention to some facts out of many which show that we must at least exercise much caution in the amount of credence which we attach to the beautiful story of the Egyptian solitary. Many readers—even readers who are well acquainted with ecclesiastical history—will hear with surprise the expression of any uncertainty as to the real historic existence of the Antony who has so long figured in the annals of early monasticism. The story of his life has been accepted almost without question by Church writers from the fourth century downwards. For more than thirteen centuries, so far as I am aware, there was an all but universal acceptance of the main facts of his biography.

Even in the latest works of English scholars—as, for instance, in the recent “Dictionary of Christian Biography” and in Dr. Schaff’s learned “Post-Nicene Christianity”—not a suspicion is breathed as to the authenticity of the stories which are current respecting him.* It is not without reluctance that I confess to historic doubts as to the life of one so popular and so beloved among the heroes of unselfishness; of one who has always been regarded as “the founder of asceticism,” and “a model for monks.”

The outline of his career is as follows. It is derived almost exclusively from the narrative which passes under the name of St. Athanasius. He was born A.D. 250 or 251 at Koma, near Heracleia Minor, on the borders of Upper Egypt. His parents were Egyptian

* I am not aware of any writers who have expressed any doubt as to the historic existence of Antony except Weingarten (“Ursprung des Mönchthums,” 1877), Israel (“Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie,” 1880), and Gwatkins (“Arians,” p. 99). It was only when this paper was in print that I read the article on “Mönchthum,” by Weinarten, in the tenth volume of Herzog-Plitt’s “Realencyklopädie.”

Christians of wealth and good position, and they trained him in pious habits. He was a quiet, contemplative boy, who cared neither for the games nor the studies of his school, but was under deep religious impressions from his earliest years. At the age of eighteen he was left an orphan; and six months afterwards, while he was in church, he heard the words: "If thou wouldest be perfect, go, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor" (Matt. xix. 21). In those days there was no such thing as a science of Scripture interpretation. All texts were currently regarded as equally divine, and were accepted as so many isolated supernatural utterances, apart entirely from their contextual meaning, their limited application, or their historical bearing. A simple youth like Antony, who is said to have been an illiterate person all his life, and (according to some accounts) to have known no language but Coptic,* would naturally understand the words as a *universal* injunction; and being intensely sincere, he did not hesitate to obey the command literally. He sold all that he had, and gave the proceeds in charity, merely reserving a small portion for his only sister. But at his next visit to the church he heard the words: "Take no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself" (Matt vi. 34). In this case also he gave to the words a wholly impossible literalness of significance and, reproaching himself for want of faith in having kept back anything whatever, he parted with the remainder of his possessions, entrusted his sister to the care of some holy virgins,† and, after availing himself of all the instruction which he could obtain about the solitary life, he shut himself up in a tomb not far from his native village. Here he gave himself to the conquest of all sensual desires in gloom, solitude, and the extremest practices of asceticism. He lived exclusively on bread and water, and often closed the entrance of the tomb so that no one could approach him. It was natural that, with a soul terrified by loneliness and superstition, and a body macerated by self-torture, he should clothe his imagination in concrete forms; and in that haunted spot he had many wild and terrific struggles with demons, who seemed to him to assume the visible shapes of black men or of various monsters. Yet he is represented as recognising the psychological truth, that evil desires, in the concrete form of demons, "take the form answering to the spiritual state in which they find us at the time"—ἐλθόντες γὰρ ὁποίους ἀν εὕρωσιν ἡμᾶς, τοιοῦτοι καὶ αὐτοὶ γίγνονται (Athanas. "Vit. Ant." 42).‡ After a time, disturbed by the crowds who flocked to visit him, he retired, about A.D. 285, to a ruined castle near the Nile, where he

* Aug., "De doctr. Christ.," prol. c. 4. There is, however, some discrepancy about the evidence on this point. Several anecdotes about Antony turn on his supposed ignorance; yet elaborate sermons are put into his mouth, and he is represented as an author. The Life says, "γράμματα μαθεῖν οὐκ ἠρέσχετο."

† Vit. Ant." 3: εἰς παρθενῶνα. "Daus un monastère de vierges," says Tillemont.

‡ So in c. 41 Satan says, "οὐκ ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐνοχλῶν αὐτοῖς ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ταπείνουσιν ἑαυτούς." An admirable remark, but wholly strange in the mouth of one who had fought so many visible demons.

abode for twenty years in all but total solitude, until he had acquired an absolute mastery over himself and the sinful desires of the flesh. But in A.D. 311, when he was fully sixty years old, the persecution of Maximin broke out in Alexandria, and he thought it his duty to visit the city in order to encourage the Christians to stand fast. In defiance of the law, he entered the courts, and stood beside the confessors and martyrs during their sufferings. Protected by the halo of sanctity which clung around him, he was left unmolested, and when the brief spasm of persecution was over he retired yet farther from the abode of men, to Mount Colzim, a spot near the Red Sea, where there was a cave, and water and a few palms.* Here he cultivated a small patch of wheat for his maintenance, and rewarded those who brought him food by giving them mat-baskets which he had woven. A multitude of disciples gathered round him, and he founded among them a sort of monastic discipline which has earned him the title of *Abbas*. In A.D. 335, at the age of eighty-five, he revisited Alexandria, at the request of Athanasius, in order to preach against Arianism; but he always refused to make a long stay in any city, for he said "as a fish dies out of water, so a monk cannot live out of his cell." For the last fifteen years of his life he was affectionately tended by two disciples, Amathas and Macarius, and performed many miracles. He announced his approaching death, at the great age of 105, by saying that "he saw and welcomed the approach of friends." He had no possessions except a haircloth garment, which he gave to his disciples, and his sheepskin cloaks, which he bequeathed to Serapion and Athanasius.† Dreading lest he should be embalmed and his relics superstitiously honoured after his death, he directed that he should be buried in the earth, and that the place of his burial should be kept profoundly secret. His disciples are said to have obeyed a precept which showed wise foresight, but was utterly opposed to the tendencies of an age which had already begun to regard the relics of saints with superstitious reverence.‡

We see, then, that it is only on two or three occasions that he is said to have come in contact with the ordinary events of history; once in 311, during the persecution of the Church by Maximin; and once in 335, when he went to Alexandria to oppose the Arians. He is also said to have received letters from Constantine, and from his sons, and to have entirely despised the honour; § and to have written a warning letter to Balacius, the Duke of Egypt,

* Jer. "Vit. Hilarion." c. 31. It is now known as Deir Antonios, over the Wady el Arabah, and there are still some Antonian monks there.

† There is a little difficulty about this sheepskin cloak, for according to one account Athanasius gave it him to bury Paul the hermit in. Paul is not mentioned in the Life.

‡ This caution, however, was in vain; for we are told that his body was recovered by revelation in the reign of Justinian (A.D. 561), and transferred first to Alexandria; then, in 635, to Constantinople; and lastly, in 980, to Vienne, where his relics were very efficacious in curing "St. Antony's fire."

§ He is also said to have written *often* to Constantine (Sozomen, "H. E." ii. 31).

which by the advice of Gregory, the Arian usurper of the archbishopric, Balacius flung contemptuously upon the ground, and trampled and spat upon it. Shortly after, Balacius died of the bite of a horse which had been regarded as very quiet, and his death was looked upon as a divine judgment. In the account of this event there is more than one discrepancy between the "Life" and the allusion to Antony in Athanasius's "History of the Arians" (p. 14). There Balacius is bitten by the horse on which he is riding; in the "Life" he is bitten by the horse of his companion Nestorius. Athanasius could hardly have written both passages, and possibly (as the "History of the Arians" is at any rate interpolated) he wrote neither. A number of spurious writings are attributed to Antony, and among others a monastic rule, various sermons, and twenty epistles. St. Jerome praises seven letters, "apostolical both in their style and purport," which were attributed to him.* They were translated from Egyptian into Arabic, and from Arabic into Latin, and were published in Paris with thirteen others by Abraham Echellensis in 1646. It need hardly be added that their genuineness is more than disputable.

The greater part of the story of his life is made up of miracles, some of which are extremely childish, and of wrestlings with the demons, which represent objectively his internal struggles. His personality is described as full of charm. His pure health, rosy countenance, silver hair, shrewd humour, and cheerful demeanour produced, we are told, a most favourable impression on all who saw him. Many of the sayings ascribed to him are striking and beautiful. To a philosopher who asked him with some disdain, "how he could possibly live without books?" he replied: "My book, O philosopher, is the nature of created things, and it is ever at hand when I wish to read the words of God."† To another, who sneered at his ignorance, which, like the *Curé d'Ars*, he was never ashamed to acknowledge, he said: "Which is older and better—mind or learning?" "Mind," said the philosopher. "Then," replied he, "he who has a sound mind needs no learning." When he visited Didymus, the blind president of the Catechetical School of Alexandria, he asked him "whether he felt deeply the deprivation of eyesight?" Didymus replied that he did. "Do not be grieved," said the hermit, "at the loss of that which is possessed in common with gnats and flies, while you enjoy that inward vision which belongs to saints alone."‡

The polished Synesius spoke of Antony as one in whom the lack of science was compensated by natural ability and flashes of rare intuition.§ But if he neglected culture, he did not neglect religious

* Jer. "De Vir. Illustr.," c. 88.

† Evagrius *ap* Socr. "H. E." iv. 23.

‡ Jer. Ep. lxviii. Comp. Socr. "H. E." iv. 23.

§ Synes. "Dion," p. 51, mentions him with Zoroaster, Hermes, and an Egyptian named Anus. Tillemont (vii. 107).

training. He did not rest secure on his own moral achievements. "The highest duty of man," he said, "is to acknowledge his own guilt in the sight of God, and to expect temptation to his latest breath."

The narrative of his life—whether it be genuine or spurious—is by no means wanting in value and impressiveness. For instance :

"At last, when the dragon could not overthrow Antony even thus, but saw himself thrust out of his heart, then, gnashing his teeth (as is written), and as if beside himself, he appeared to the sight, as he is to the reason, as a black child; and, as it were falling down before him, no longer attempted to argue . . . but, using a human voice, said: 'I have deceived many; I have cast down many; but now, as in the case of many so in thine, I have been worsted in battle.' Then, when Antony asked him, 'Who art thou?' he replied in a pitiable voice: 'I am the spirit of impurity.' Then Antony gave thanks to God, and said: 'Thou art utterly despicable . . . nor shall I henceforth cast one thought on thee.' . . . That black being, hearing this, fled forthwith, cowering at his words."

And again :

"When he had been talking with some who came to him about the departure of the soul, and what would be its place after this life, the next night some one called him from without and said: 'Rise up, Antony, come out and see.' So, coming out . . . he beheld a tall being, shapeless and terrible, standing and reaching to the clouds, and as it were winged beings ascending, and him stretching out his hands, and some of them hindered by him, and some flying above him; and when they had once passed him, borne upwards without trouble. And there came a voice to Antony: 'Consider what thou seest.' And when his understanding was opened, he perceived that it was the enemy who hinders the faithful, and that those who were in his power he mastered and hindered from passing; but that those who had not obeyed him, over them . . . he had no power."

"On another occasion, having seen in vision all the snares and traps of the devil, he said with a sigh, 'Who can ever get through these and not be captured? Then a voice replied to him, 'Antony, it is possible to humility alone!'"*

Scenes like these are illustrative of very great and needful lessons. If we could accept the Life of Antony as genuine, we should feel that, whatever errors of superstition marred the perfectness of his example in outward things, yet, in days of spreading heresy and terrible confusion, in which the ancient Paganism was often only confronted by a conventionalized Christianity, he was raised up to convince a slowly-dying world of the eternal truth which lies in those words of Christ: "What shall it profit a man if shall he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" Certain it is that the story of St. Antony, whether historical or imaginary, exercised a vast influence on the religious development of many centuries. It represented under its most fascinating aspect that eremitical and monastic ideal which, for good or for evil, was identified for a thousand years with the highest form of religious perfection. The story of St. Antony had

* The passages are translated in Kingsley's "Hermits."

a powerful effect in hastening the conversion of St. Augustine. When Potitianus related it to the young African and his friend Alypius, at Milan, and told how the perusal of it had instantly led two of his comrades to throw up their commissions in the Imperial Guards at Trèves, and to devote themselves to the ascetic life, Augustine received an impression which very shortly afterwards culminated in the entire devotion of his soul to God.* If any one is bold enough to question the authenticity of the narrative which produced such blessed effects, may not some of his readers address him in the words of the Geister-Chor in "Faust":

"Weh! Weh!
Du hast sie zerstört,
Die schöne Welt . . .
Sie stürzt, sie zerfällt?"

To whom we make the twofold answer: first, that truth is the most sacred thing on earth, and that a story is not to be considered historic merely because it is edifying and impressive; secondly, that all the moral beauty and significance of the best lessons taught by the life of Antony remain wholly unimpaired, even if the story itself represents legend and not facts.

The historic existence of Antony depends ultimately, and all but solely, on the biography of him which is attributed to St. Athanasius. Two questions at once arise: 1. Is it genuine? 2. Is it a romance or a history?

1. *Is it genuine?* "Esse germanum Athanasii fetum nulla est dubitandi causa," says the Benedictine editor.† "I conceive," says Cardinal Newman, "that no question can be raised about its *substantial* integrity."‡ The word "substantial" implies a suspicion that it is at least interpolated; and that this is the case has long been practically admitted. Scultetus and Rivetus in the seventeenth century treated it with contempt as a lying fable, the production of a commonplace understanding. Basnage and Oudin decisively reject it. "About Antony's frequent conflicts with demons, and the miracles which he performed, his Life, written by St. Athanasius, will teach us, *prout extat hodie, haud parum interpolata*" §—so says the learned Dr. Cave; and again, in his list of the works of St. Athanasius, he implies a suspicion as to its being the work of the great Archbishop: "*saltem non leviter interpolata.*" || It is admitted that many ancient writers regarded Athanasius as the author, and within no long period after his death. The book was known to Gregory of Nazianzus and to Rufinus.¶ Jerome in three places attributes it to Athanasius** in his

* Aug., "Conf." viii. 6, § 14.

† Athanasii Opera, ed. 1777, Batavii, tom. ii. p. 626. The Life was first published in Greek by David Hoeschel in 1611.

‡ "Church of the Fathers," p. 176.

§ Cave, "Script. Eccl.," i. 201.

|| *Ibid.* p. 193.

¶ Ruf. "H. E.," p. 8.

** Jer., "De Vir. Illust.," 125, 87, 88. The expression "*Fertur Athanasii Historia*" might be interpreted to imply a shade of doubt.

"Catalogus," but does not do so twenty years earlier in his "Life of Paul"; nor does Rufinus in his "History of Monks." It was translated into Latin by Evagrius of Antioch, but the genuineness of the work extant in his name is denied by Cave and Oudin. Chrysostom and Augustine both mention the Life without naming the author.* Montfaucon thinks it certain that Chrysostom alludes to the extant Life, but if so it is strange that he should not invoke the authority of Athanasius for the facts to which he refers. The quotations made from the book by Socrates, Palladius, John of Damascus, and others, are still found in the extant work. Yet Cave says no one will deny that it contains much that is frivolous and unworthy of so great a writer. The Benedictine editor warmly maintains its genuineness, but Du Pin confesses that it is at any rate altered and tampered with.

i. The question then arises, How much of it is genuine and how much is not? If the poor and impossible sermons, and the puerile miracles, and the grotesque demonology are subtracted from it, how much remains? Yet we surely cannot think that these passages—not to mention others of very dubious orthodoxy—came from the sound heart and keen good-sense of the great Athanasius. In his historical works he shows no credulity about ecclesiastical miracles of the extravagant character here narrated, and he gives scarcely any sanction to demon stories;† yet in this short work both these elements abound. In the "De Incarnatione Verbi," the genuine Athanasius says that Christ cleansed the air of devils and demons; in the Life the pseudo-Athanasius says twice over that the air is crowded with demons. Then the superscription of the Life is suspiciously vague. It is addressed "to the monks in foreign lands" (ἐν τῇ Ἑξέτῃ).‡ Not to enter into minute criticism, there are confessedly chronological difficulties in the narrative. Among other things, in the prologue (if we accept the reading followed by Evagrius in his Latin version) Athanasius says that he "frequently" visited Antony, and "spent no little time with him, and poured water on his hands." Yet in the Life itself Athanasius makes no mention whatever of these "frequent visits," nor is it at all easy to find a time at which they could have occurred. They certainly could not have occurred after the ordination of Athanasius, which took place at an early age, for we are expressly informed that so far from receiving the ministrations of a disciple from any of the clergy, Antony always paid the profoundest respect to the humblest deacon. Nor is there any room for such frequent visits in the genuine records of the Archbishop's youth.

* Chrys. "Hom. viii. in Matt." ed. Field, i. p. 109. Aug., "Conf.," viii. §§ 14, 19, 29.

† He speaks of demons in "De Incarn. Verbi," §§ 47, 48, and "Ad Episc. i.," but in a tone widely different from that adopted in the Life of Antony.

‡ Some interpret this to mean "the monks of Xene in the district of Scete." The Western monks are generally supposed to be referred to.

ii. Further, if the Life be genuine it is undoubtedly a strange circumstance that elsewhere Athanasius has not once alluded to Antony, except in a single passage of the History of the Arians, in which (as we have seen) he tells, with a variation, the story about Duke Balacius. But

“Nil agit exemplum litem quod lite resolvit.”

It is well known that the History of the Arians has been tampered with, and we cannot be at all sure that this anecdote ever really came from the pen of the Archbishop; and if it did not, then we are confronted by the curious fact, that in all his voluminous writings Athanasius does not once refer to the hermit! This is not a fact that can be swept aside by the remark that it is only an argument *ex silentio*; for the fame of Antony is represented as unique, and Athanasius is fond of marshalling the authority of great names against the Arians and Meletians, both of whom Antony is said to have hated. There is one work in particular in which we should have looked with confidence for a reference to the views and practice of Antony. It is the letter to Dracontius, in which Athanasius endeavours to persuade his friend that it is his duty to abandon the monastic life for the work of a bishop. Dracontius thought that by becoming a bishop he would lose his monastic sanctity. In this letter nothing could have been more apposite than an allusion to the fact that Antony paid profound reverence to the humblest members of the clerical order; but even in this letter no allusion is made to an example, which would have specially appealed to the feelings of a monk, who held the heretical notion that by becoming a bishop he would sink to an inferior grade of holiness. Athanasius refers in this letter to other monks and hermits (c. 7), but of Antony—not a word.*

iii. And it is singular that not one of Antony's other contemporaries, during his long life of 105 years, seems to have been aware of his existence. Surely a man so remarkable could not have been left unnoticed in the abundant literature of that century! Yet the Life by Athanasius, which could not in any case have been written till some ten years after Antony's death, is the first word which we hear about him. All our real information is derived from it. Didymus of Alexandria nowhere mentions Antony. If there was one person who more than another was likely to have given some account of him, that person was Eusebius of Cæsarea, his contemporary for eighty years; † yet Eusebius of Cæsarea, who could not

* Further than this, we know that in A.D. 340 Athanasius visited Rome, accompanied by two Egyptian monks, Ammonius and Isidore, and there introduced for the first time the monastic ideal. Jerome, writing more than seventy years later (A.D. 412), implies that he dwelt much on the Life of St. Antony. If so, is it not very strange that Augustine, though he had been living in Rome, had never heard the name of Antony till he heard his story from Poutianus at Milan in A.D. 380?

† How appropriate, for instance, would have been an allusion to Antony in Euseb., “Dem. Evang.” i. 3.

have failed to know all about such a man, has not a syllable to say of him; for the mention of him in the Chronicle (which Eusebius only carried down to A.D. 325) is due to the continuation by Jerome.* Is there, then, really sufficient ground for believing that the Life is a genuine work? And if it be spurious, there is no contemporary evidence that Antony existed. He was an old man in A.D. 325, yet at the Council of Nice no one referred to his authority.† It is quite true that shortly after the supposed date of his death he is commonly spoken of; but the Life was accepted as genuine, in spite of the internal evidence against it. Antony was consequently regarded as a real person. His name became the nucleus for other legends of the desert, such as are narrated by Jerome, Rufinus, Cassian, and Palladius in his "Historia Lausiaca."

2. But even on the improbable supposition that Athanasius wrote the book, and still more if it be a pseudo-graph, we cannot be at all sure that it was not meant to be a romance in illustration of an ideal. However strange such a notion may seem to us, there is ample proof that it would not have seemed so strange to the great writers of the fourth century. St. Gregory of Nazianzus, if we rightly gather his meaning, seems to imply in so many words that the "Vita Antonii" is a novel. How else can we interpret his remark, that he should like to have written a Life of Athanasius, as *he* had done of the divine Antony, "narrating the ordinance of the eremitic life, ἐν πλάσματι διηγήσεως"? Now, can the words ἐν πλάσματι have any other meaning than "in a figure" or "fiction"? The Benedictine editors glide over the phrase with the rendering "*narrationis specie*," "in the form of a narrative"; but even if the words mean nothing more the whole sentence seems to imply that the story is, in part at least, imaginary.‡ Augustine too does not seem confident; for after telling us that Antony knew the Scriptures by heart from having heard them read, and after mentioning the similar case of a certain slave, he adds: "But if any one think these things false I will not dispute the matter."§ The allusion of Gregory shows how rapidly the Life became known; but his authority in matters of historic criticism is not great. If it were he would hardly have confused Cyprian, the martyred bishop of Carthage, with a mythic martyr who employed magic arts to win St. Justina. He has little historical to tell us about Athanasius, and he would naturally hail a book which glorified his own monastic proclivities.

* Euseb. "Chron.," ed. Schöne, ii. 192, 195.

† The assertion of Sozomen ("H. E." ii. 31) about his letters, is incredible.

‡ Greg. Naz., "Orat.," p. 21: τοῦ νομαδικοῦ βίου νομοθεσίαν ἐν πλάσματι διηγήσεως. The scholiast repudiates this sense; but Nicetas says: σχηματισαμενος διηγείσθαι τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κ.τ.λ.

§ "Prol. de Doctr. Christ.": "At si haec quisquam falsa arbitretur, non ago pugnaciter." It is surely arbitrary to limit the "haec" to the story about the nameless slave.

The vogue obtained by the "Life of Antony" was due in great measure to the immense literary influence of St. Jerome. Jerome, who was himself a hermit, extolled the monastic ideal with impassioned fervour, and in his early days wrote Lives of Malchus, of Hilarion, and of Paul the Simple. He expressly tells us that many of his readers regarded the two latter works as pure romance; and this assertion he does not explicitly refute. Malchus indeed was an historic person, and Jerome had received from his own lips the story of his life. It is much more doubtful whether Hilarion was a real person, and certainly nine-tenths of the marvels which constitute his so-called life are mere incredible inventions. The evidences for any facts of his career, apart from Jerome's Life of him, are neither strong nor early. And what shall we say of Paul the Simple? According to Jerome, *no one had ever seen him*, except, indeed, the legendary St. Antony, the story of whose visit to him is a mass of the wildest absurdities.* Jerome calls Jesus and the angels to witness that Paul may have lived for many years on barley-bread and muddy water, but apparently he foresees no stumbling-blocks to the general credulity in the adventures of Antony with centaurs and satyrs, the feeding of Paul by ravens (who daily brought him half a loaf of bread, but a whole loaf when Antony came to see him), and the digging of Paul's grave by two lions, whom Antony dismissed with the blessing of Christ. And while he recounts all this he takes credit to himself for omitting many *incredible* things, which he does not think it worth while to repeat. If Jerome could write such a story as that of Paul the Hermit, and put it forth as a veracious narrative, there is no reason why a writer a little before his time may not have composed a romance about Antony, and given it currency under the great name of Athanasius. To adopt a pseudonym in those days was an extremely common proceeding, and it was one about which many writers seem to have felt no scruples. Further, the literature of monasticism produced a whole flood of religious stories and anecdotes, of which many are given by the various authors of the "*Vitæ Patrum*," and it would have been strange if none such had been invented, adorned, or magnified concerning men who may have left no record but floating rumours. Of these stories not a few are but variations of the same fundamental thoughts and incidents, attached to different names. If we are ultimately driven by historic criticism to banish the Life of Antony into the region of pure myth, we do not thereby lose one single grain of precious experience, which, amid many follies and perils, came to the souls of men in the desert life. We may learn many a valuable lesson from the "words of the elders," quite

* See Zöckler, "Hieronymus," p. 179: "Die drei genannten Biographien stellen in der That einen stufenmässigen Fortschritt von ungeschickter und schwülstiger zu immer leichter und aussprechenderer historischer Darstellung dar."

independently of the persons into whose mouth they are put, and may read with real profit the *Life of Antony*, even if the self-denying youth of Koma, and the demon-assaulted dweller in the tombs, and the rosy-faced old man in his sheepskin cloak who startled the *Præfect* by his appearance in the streets of Alexandria, existed only in the devout imagination of some unknown ascetic moralist. At any rate, even if Antony was a real personage, and if Athanasius wrote some account of him, we can hardly accept the extant work as a trustworthy witness to the facts of his life. The learned Oudin thinks that in its Greek form it was written by a forger, who merely took the genuine *Life* as the basis for a few facts, and added to it a mass of fables.* But if it was so easy to interpolate spurious passages, it could have been scarcely less easy to palm an entirely spurious book upon the credulity of uncritical contemporaries. And if the "*Life of Antony*" be mainly the romance of an unknown author, how far can we regard Antony himself as an historic character? †

F. W. FARRAR.

* Oudin: "*De Script. Eccl.*" i. p. 367, ed. 1772: Lips.

† I have not here touched on the asserted testimony of Ephraem Syrus, respecting which I must refer to the treatise of Weingarten.

THE FALL OF PRICES.

II.

IN the preceding paper evidence was submitted to the effect that the remarkable decline of prices which has occurred during the last ten or fifteen years—or since 1873—in the case of the various commodities which constitute the great bulk of the trade, commerce, and consumption of the world, has been so largely due to conditions affecting their supply and demand, that if any or all other causes whatever have contributed to such a result, the influence exerted has not been appreciable; and further, that if the prices of all other commodities not included in such analysis had confessedly been influenced by a scarcity of gold, the claims preferred by the advocates of the latter theory could not be fairly entitled to any more favourable verdict than that of “not proven.” But have commodities other than those whose production and price experience have been submitted—more especially such commodities as have not in recent years experienced any marked change in their conditions of supply and demand—exhibited in their recent price movements any evidence of having been subjected to any influences attributable to the scarcity of gold? The answer is, that not only can no results capable of any such generalization be affirmed, but no one commodity can even be named, in respect to which there is conclusive evidence that its price has been affected in recent years by influences directly or mainly attributable to any scarcity of gold for the purpose of effecting exchanges.

In the first place, all that large class of products or services which are exclusively or largely the result of handicrafts, which are not capable of rapid multiplication, or of increased economy in production, and which cannot be made the subject of international competition, have exhibited no tendency to decline in price, but rather the

reverse. A given amount of gold does not now buy more, but less of domestic service and of manual and professional labour generally than formerly; does not buy more of amusements; not more of hand-woven lace, of cigars, and of flax, which are mainly the products of hand labour; of cut-glass, of gloves, of pictures, or of precious stones. It buys notably less of hides and leather, which are the sequences of cattle-growing, which in turn involves time, and for which, in point of economy, large sections of the earth are not adapted; of horses and most other animals; of pepper; of cocoa, the cheap production of which is limited to a few countries, and requires an interval of five years between the inception and maturing of a crop; of malt liquors, eggs, currants, and potatoes; and also of house-rents, which depend largely upon the price of land, and which in turn is influenced by fashion, population, trade, facilities for access, and the like.

How little of change in price has come to the commodities of countries of low or stagnant civilization that have remained outside of the current of recent progress is strikingly illustrated in the case of a not unimportant article of commerce—namely, the root sarsaparilla; which, with a gradually increasing demand, continues to be produced (collected and prepared) in Central America by the most primitive methods, and without any change in the conditions of supply, save, possibly, some greater facilities for transportation from the localities of production to the ports of exportation. Thus, in the case of Honduras sarsaparilla, at New York, which is the principal distributing market of the world, the average price for the best grade is reported as identical for the years 1881 and 1886; while for the "Mexican" the average reported for 1881 was eight cents per pound, and for 1886, with much larger sales, from seven to eight and a quarter cents.

All the evidence, furthermore, tends to show that there has been very little decline in recent years in the prices of such of the commodities of India as constitute her staple exports, which cannot, as will be hereafter shown, be clearly referred to agencies entirely disconnected with any influence assumed to have been occasioned by any increase in the purchasing power of gold due to its absolute or relative scarcity.*

Now, all of the commodities referred to, including labour and per-

* According to Mr. Robert Giffen, in his testimony before the British Commission "On the Changes in the Relative Values of the Precious Metals," 1886, the general result of a comparison of India prices submitted to the Commission on Trade Depression shows a fall of only two per cent. in 1880-84, as compared with 1870-74, or with the period immediately before the fall in silver.

"The general conclusion appears to me to be that the effect of the present relations between gold and silver have not told appreciably on prices in India, or on the relative progress of her import and export trade."—*Testimony of Sir Louis Malet, late Under-Secretary of State for India, Trade Depression Commission, 1886.*

sonal service, and many others which might be specified, whose condition in recent years has not been materially influenced by changes affecting their supply and demand, ought to have exhibited evidence, in a decline of prices, of the influence of the scarcity of gold, if any such had been exerted; but they not only do not, but the drift of the evidence deducible from their price experiences is rather in favour of the position recently taken by some economists, that gold in recent years, in place of becoming scarce for purposes of exchange, has really been more abundant.

The record of extreme changes in prices by reason of circumstances that are acknowledged to have been purely exceptional, is also most instructive, and removes not a few commodities from the domain of any controverted economic theory respecting monetary influences. Thus, from 1862 to 1870, cotton, owing to war influences, ruled so high—from 70 to 800 per cent. in excess of normal prices—that its inclusion in computations, with a view of determining any average of prices, or generalization of causes affecting prices during the years mentioned, would, without proper allowance, completely vitiate any conclusions.

War and interruption of traffic on the Upper Nile have increased the prices of "gum-arabic" and of the drug "senna" in recent years more than 100 per cent. The prices for French and other competing light wines and brandies are much higher than the average for 1866-67, because the phylloxera has so impaired the production of French vineyards that France now imports more wines than she exports. Cochineal and madder have greatly declined in price since 1873, because their use as dye-stuffs has been to a great extent superseded by equivalent and cheaper colouring materials derived from coal-tar; and within a very recent period the discovery of a method of cheaply preparing a chemical preparation from cloves, having all the flavouring qualities of the vanilla-bean, has already diminished the demand, and bids fair to greatly impair the price of this heretofore scarce and costly tropical product. Certain animal products, notably entering into commerce, have rapidly advanced in price in recent years by reason of a rapid diminution in the number of the animals affording them, as buffalo-horns, ivory, and whalebone, which last product has increased in price from 32½ cents per pound in 1850 to 85 cents in 1870, and \$3.50 in 1886.

An agency which has been most influential in recent years in occasioning a decline in the price of commodities, which has acted universally, which is entirely the outcome of new processes, construction, and machinery, and has no connection whatever with matters pertaining to currency or standards of value, has been the reduction in the cost of transportation or distribution. Its influence has also necessarily manifested itself very unequally; occasioning the greatest

price reductions in the case of articles—like cereals, meats, fibres, ores, and all coarser materials—in respect to which transportation constitutes the largest element of cost at the place of consumption; and least in the case of articles—like textiles, spirits, spices, teas, books, and similar products—where great values are comprised in small bulk. The investigations of Mr. Atkinson show that, had the actual quantity of merchandise moved by the railways of the United States in 1880 been subjected to the average rate per ton per mile which was charged from 1866 to 1869, the difference would have amounted to at least £100,000,000, and perhaps £160,000,000, more than the actual charge of 1880. Comparing 1865 with 1885, Mr. Atkinson further shows that, taking a given weight of goods to be moved from Chicago to New York, one thousand miles by the New York Central Railroad, 58 per cent. of the original value was absorbed in transportation and depreciation of the currency in the former year; while in 1885 only 20 per cent. was so absorbed—the charge per ton per mile having fallen from 3.45 cents in 1865 to .68 of a cent in 1885.

The fall in price for the carriage of commodities by sea has also been as remarkable as the decline in the cost of carriage by land. Freight, on the average, between Calcutta and England had experienced a decline of about 50 per cent. in 1885 as compared with 1875. In the case of Indian wheat transported to England *via* the Suez Canal, the decline in freights was from 71s. 3d. per ton in October 1881, to 27s. in October 1885, or more than 63 per cent. Between 1873 and 1885 the tolls and pilotage on the Suez Canal were reduced to the extent of about 33 per cent; but this, it should be mentioned, is an element included in and not additional to the decline in freights.

Freights from New York to Liverpool declined, from 1880 to 1886, as follows (maximum and minimum): On grain, from 9½d. to 1d. per bushel; on flour, from 25s. to 7s. 6d. per ton; on cheese, from 50s. to 15s. per ton; on cotton, from ¾d. to ¼d. per pound; and on bacon and lard, from 45s. to 7s. 6d. per ton. Subsequently, prices recovered somewhat, but by no means to the extent of the rates current in 1880 and preceding years.

It is not, however, to be concealed that numerous economists and statisticians of high repute—Mr. Sauerbeck and others—are nevertheless of the opinion that, allowing all that has been claimed for the influence on prices occasioned by reduction of cost through increased and cheapened production and distribution, the decline in recent years is too great to be “simply explained away” by these agencies. But these authorities have specified no commodities, the analysis of whose production and price experiences in recent years furnish any sufficient foundation for such a general conclusion; and it is interesting to note how the experiences of the few, which at first thought

would seem to indicate the sensible influence of "other" agencies, on analysis prove to the contrary. Thus, in the case of wool, Messrs. Helmuth, Swartze & Co. of London, the best recognized authorities on this commodity, in their annual circular for 1887, after admitting the great increase in the production of wool in the years from 1860 to 1886, nevertheless claim that consumption has at the same time increased to such an extent that the general assumption of an excessive production of this commodity has not been warranted, and in truth has "but slightly exceeded the ordinary growth of population, and that therefore other influences must have been at work to cause the great decline in its price which has characterized the course of events during recent years." But to this it may be replied, that when the supply of any commodity exceeds by even a very small percentage what is required to meet every demand for current consumption—especially in the case of a staple commodity like wool, whose every variation in supply and demand is studied every day, as it were microscopically, by thousands of interested dealers and consumers—it is the price which this surplus will command that governs and fixes the price for the whole; and as this can not be sold readily—as under such circumstances no one buys in excess of present demand, and all desire to dispose of accumulated stocks—the result is a decline of prices in accordance with no law, and which will be more or less excessive or permanent as opinions vary as to the extent of the surplus and the permanence of the causes that have occasioned it.*

Another illustration to the same effect is afforded in the case of silk, which, according to accepted English statistics, has notably declined in price, comparing the average rates of 1867–77 with those of 1885, without anything like a corresponding increase in supply. Hence the inference would seem warranted, that some other agency than increased and cheapened production had occasioned the decline in price, and that the case was one which affords support to the gold-scarcity theory. But a careful examination of all the involved circumstances discloses the fact, that within recent years materials other than silk—more especially the "ramie" fibre—largely enter into the composition of silk fabrications—in the case of the cheaper silks of extensive consumption to the extent of even 60 per cent.—and that other methods of adulterating silk, formerly but little known, are now extensively practised; all of which is equivalent to increasing the supply of silk for manufacturing far beyond what commercial reports respecting the supply of the fibre would indicate.

* The estimates of Messrs. Helmuth, Swartze & Co. were that the wool product of the world increased from 1871–75 to 1886—or during a period of from eleven to fifteen years—35 per cent.; while the increase in the world's consumption of wool from 1860 to 1886—a period of twenty-five years—was from 203 pounds to 266 pounds per head, or in the ratio of 30 per cent.

Such, then, are the leading and admitted facts illustrative of the nature and extent of the extraordinary and most extensive decline in prices which has occurred in recent years, and which has been the most apparent and proximate (but not the ultimate) cause of the period of economic disturbance which, commencing in 1873, still exists, and seems certain to last for some time longer. Such also is a summary of the evidence in support of the view that this recent phenomenal decline of prices is due so largely to the great multiplication and cheapening of commodities through new conditions of production and distribution, that the influence of any or all other causes combined in contributing to such a result has been very inconsiderable, if not wholly inappreciable. Reasoning also from what may be termed the gold standpoint, the evidence to the same effect is not less conclusive.

It would seem, in the first place, that if the scarcity influence of gold on prices had originated and operated as the advocates of this theory claim, such influence would have been as all-pervasive, synchronous, irresistible, and constant as the influence of gravitation; and that something of correspondence, as respects time and degree, in the resulting price movements of commodities, would have been recognized. But no such correspondence has been or can be established. On the contrary, the movement of general prices since 1873—although generally downward—has been exceedingly irregular; declining until 1878-9; then rising until 1882-83; then again declining to an almost unprecedentedly low average in 1886; and in the year 1887 exhibiting, in respect of some commodities, a slight upward tendency. It might also have been expected that the influence of a scarcity of gold would have especially manifested itself at or shortly subsequent to the time (1873-74) when Germany, having demonetized silver, was absorbing gold, and France and the Latin Union were suspending the coinage of silver. But the years from 1875 to 1879 inclusive, taking the English market as the criterion, were characterized generally by an excessive supply of money and currency of all kinds; and the same has been true of the period from 1880 to 1886-87, when, if the supply of money from gold was constantly diminishing, contrary results would seem to have been inevitable.

The divergency in the price movements of different and special commodities has also been very notable; so much so, that out of the long list of articles embraced in the numerous tables that have been prepared by European economists for determining the general average of prices during recent periods, the price movements of no two commodities can be fairly regarded as harmonizing. While in the case of some staple products prices fell immediately and rapidly after 1873; the prices of others, although subjected to the same gold-scarcity influence, and which did not have this influence neutralized by a decline

of production concurrent with continuing demand, exhibited for a long time comparatively little or absolutely no disturbance. This was especially the case in respect of wool, the price of which, long after metals, breadstuffs, chemicals, and cotton goods had succumbed to the wave of depression subsequent to 1873, "continued" (to use the language of the trade) "remarkably healthy," notwithstanding that a continually increasing product was recognized; and it was not until 1884 that the decline in the general prices of this commodity gave any occasion for anxiety.

Careful comparisons of price-movements in recent years also fail to show any exact correspondence of results as respects different countries, the average fall of prices having been apparently less in France and Germany than in Great Britain during the same period; while the average fall in prices in the United States, in respect of all those commodities which enter into the general wants of man, have undoubtedly been greater than in any other country.*

Now, while such results are not in accordance with what might have been anticipated from and cannot be satisfactorily explained by any theory of the predominating and depressing influence of a scarcity of gold on prices, they are exactly the results which might have been expected from, and can be satisfactorily explained by, the conditions of supply and demand—conditions so varying with time, place, and circumstance as to require in the case of every commodity a special examination to determine its price-experience, and which

* The following extract from the "Report of the Chamber of Commerce of Cincinnati, Ohio," for the year ending August 31, 1886, strikingly illustrates the extraordinary decline in the price of staple commodities in this great interior market of the North American Continent:

"There is one condition revealed"—*i.e.*, by the statistics of 1885-86—"that is very noticeable; which is, that prices in general touched the lowest point in a quarter of a century. There were those who supposed that the shrinking processes had been arrested in the preceding year, and yet the figures for 1885-86, in nearly all departments of business, show lower prices than the previous year. In presence of the low prices of 1884-85 it seemed almost incredible that so much of market value could be wrung from them as has been during the past year. Thus, commencing near the top of the alphabetical list, bran declined 9 per cent.; creamery butter, 20·7; butterine, 18; candles, 18·7; soap, 15·2; cattle, 8; coal, delivered, 7·8; middling cotton, 11·9; feathers, 6·7; dried apples, 27·4; No. 2 mixed (shelled) corn, 14·6; No. 2 oats, 5·3; New Orleans molasses, 11·6; Louisiana rice, 13·1; hay, 5; hops, 25·2; mess-pork, 21·1; prime lard, 10·7; lard-oil, 11·7; tallow, 22; white-leaf tobacco, 25; flax-seed, 18·4; starch, 13·4; high wines, not including the taxes, 16·3. In a few articles—tanners' bark, clover-seed, lead, barley, wool, &c.—there was an advance; yet the number is so small as to make them quite exceptional.

"While the depreciation which has taken place during the past year (1885-86), compared with the prices of 1884-85 has been marked, it may be interesting to take a glance at the tremendous reduction which has taken place in the past five years, which, in articles that enter into the every-day wants of man, in not a few instances has been equal to almost one-half their value in 1881-82. The gravitation to a lower plane of value has been so steady as to prevent a full appreciation of the enormous shrinkage to which commodities have been subjected. Thus, in mess-pork the depreciation in the general average price since 1881-82 has been 48·5 per cent.; in prime steam lard, 46; hams, 24·4; shelled corn, 43; oats (which in Europe have shown no tendency in recent years to fall in price), 39·4; rye, 32·6; bran, 33·8; extra butter, 46·9; tallow, 41·4; flour, 34·3; linseed oil, 30; salt, 18·6; cheese, 17·1; fair to medium cattle, 18·3; middling cotton, 21·7; Louisiana rice, 28·9; barley, 18·6; and wool, 15 per cent."

experience, once recognized, will rarely or never be found to exactly correspond with the experience of any other commodity; the leading factor occasioning the recent decline in the prices of sugars having been an extraordinary artificial stimulus; in quinine, the changes in the sources of supply from natural to artificially cultivated trees; in wheat, the accessibility of new and fertile territory, and the reduction of freight; in freights, *on land* the reduction in the cost of iron and steel, and *on the ocean* new methods of propulsion, economy in fuel and undue multiplication of vessels; in iron and steel, new processes and new furnaces, affording a larger and better product with less labour in a given time; in certain varieties of wool, changes in fashion, and in others an increase of production in a greater ratio than population and their consuming capacity; in ores and coal, the introduction of the steam-drill and more powerful explosive agents; in cheese, a disproportionate market price for butter; in cotton cloth, because the spindles which revolved four thousand times in a minute in 1874 made ten thousand revolutions in the same time in 1885; in gum-arabic and senna, a war in the Soudan; in wines, a destruction of the vines by disease, &c. &c. And yet all these so diverse factors of influence evolve and harmonize under, and at the same time demonstrate the existence of, a law more immutable than any other in economic science—namely, that when production increases in excess of current market demand, even to the extent of an inconsiderable fraction, or is cheapened through any agency, prices will decline; and that when, on the other hand, production is checked or arrested by natural events—storms, pestilence, extremes of temperature—or by artificial interference, as war, excessive taxation, or political misrule or disturbances—prices will advance; and between these extremes of influence prices will fluctuate in accordance with the progressive changes in circumstances, and the hopes and fears of producers, exchangers, and consumers.*

It should also not be overlooked that extraordinary price movements, mainly in the direction of further decline, and as the result of continually changing conditions in the production and supply of commodities, are constantly occurring, and are likely to continue to

* In new countries, or countries where industry is confined to the production of a few staple products, like wool, wheat, sugar, &c., a decline in prices exerts a wider and much more disturbing influence than in countries where there is great diversity of industry, and where the sources of income and the opportunities for employment are more numerous and more varied. In the latter, all branches of industry are rarely depressed at the same time, and prosperity in some compensates to a certain extent for adversity in others. But in countries of inferior industrial organization and diversification the interests of the entire community are so common and united that the tendency is always for a change of price in one commodity—either ~~rise~~ or fall—to unduly influence the prices of all commodities. And this, according to the *Statist*, is what has been particularly noticeable in Australia, where such a sympathy obtains between the three great products of that country—wool, wheat, and copper—that it rarely happens that one of them droops in price without the price of the others rapidly weakening.

occur, unless further material progress is in some way to be arrested. Bessemer steel rails, which commanded £4 5*s.* in Great Britain in 1886, sold in Belgium, in June 1887, for £3 16*s.*; sugar, which was thought to have touched the lowest possible price in July 1886, 2·92 cents per pound in New York (for fair refining in bond), sold in July 1887, in the same market, for 2·37½ cents; Western (United States) creamery butter, which brought 27¼ cents in November 1886, declined to 19 cents in July 1887; while sulphate of quinine, which sold in 1885 for 2*s.* 6*d.* per ounce, in 1887, owing to continued cheapening in the production and transportation of cinchona barks and improvements in manufacture, by which more quinine can be made in from three to five days' time than could, a year or two ago, be produced in twenty by old processes, sells for 1*s.* 8*d.*, and one of the largest of the world's manufacturers of quinine, under date of September 1887, writes: "No one can predict the future of this product, as all past experience goes for naught."

But a more interesting question, and one more pertinent to this discussion than any other, is: has gold, in recent years, as an instrumentality for effecting exchanges (by measuring the relation between the various commodities and things exchanged), really become scarce—at least to the extent of occasioning, through its increase of value or purchasing power, a considerable fall in the prices of all commodities? And on this point the following is a summary of the evidence in favour of and in contravention of such a supposition.* The position taken by the advocates or believers in the gold-scarcity theory, is, in brief, that the production of gold in recent years has largely fallen off, and become wholly inadequate to meet the demand for coinage contingent on the increase in the world's trade, wealth, and population; and further, and as a direct consequent, that trade everywhere has been obstructed and depressed; that prices, profits, and wages have fallen, and the burden of public debts and of taxation in general has been augmented.

That the world's annual product of gold—consequent mainly upon the exhaustion of the mines of California and Australia—has largely diminished in recent years, is not disputed. Opinions as to the extent of this reduction of supply are, however, widely at variance. This is illustrated by the following tables, presented in the "First Report of the British Commission on the recent Changes in the relative Values

* To avoid confusion of ideas on this subject, it is desirable that the reader should keep clearly in view that *price* is the expression of the value of a commodity in terms of money, and that the expressions "fall of prices" and "appreciation of gold," for purposes of the present discussion, mean really one and the same thing. "If you have a fall of prices, you have an appreciation of gold; and if you have an appreciation of gold, you have a fall of prices." The problem presented is, therefore, not has gold appreciated in value or purchasing power—for, a fall of prices being admitted, such a result becomes inevitable and coincident—but, has its appreciation been due to something that has befallen commodities, or something that has befallen gold itself, such as scarcity of supply or extraordinary demand?

of the Precious Metals," which gives the estimates of Messrs. Soetbeer, of Germany, and Pixley, of London, two of the best recognized authorities on this subject, as to the average yearly amount of gold available for the supply of coin at different periods since 1850:—

Soetbeer.						Pixley.					
1857-60	...	...	...	...	£22,780,000	1852-60	...	...	...	...	£27,600,000
1861-70	...	...	...	...	14,060,000	1861-70	...	...	...	...	17,600,000
1871-80	...	...	...	...	10,255,000	1871-80	...	...	...	...	18,700,000
1881-84	...	...	...	...	4,050,000	1881-85	...	...	...	...	11,200,000

That trade, in the sense of diminishing volume, has *not* been obstructed, and that the decline in prices in recent years has *not* been occasioned, to any appreciable extent, by reason of the scarcity of gold, would appear to be demonstrated by the evidence that has been herewith presented. For the assertion that wages generally have fallen there is absolutely no foundation, as will be shown hereafter. That profits have fallen must be admitted; but such a result has been due, in almost every case, to the severe competition engendered by the desire to effect sales in face of a continued supply of commodities in excess of any current market demand; while, in contravention of the assumption that the supply of gold in recent years has been inadequate to meet the increased demands of the world for coinage, &c., the following facts are in the highest degree pertinent, if not wholly conclusive.

No one doubts that the amount of gold in the civilized countries of the world has largely increased in recent years. M. Soetbeer names £107,600,000 as the increase from 1877 to 1885. It is absolutely certain that the reserves of gold in the principal banks of Europe and the United States have in recent years largely increased, and not diminished. Professor Laughlin estimates this increase to have been "from £95,400,000 in 1870-80 to £167,200,000 in 1885." In 1871-74 there was, according to the same authority, "£1 in gold for every £3.60 of the paper circulation of the banks of the civilized world; in 1885 there was £1 of gold for every £2.40; the total note circulation increasing during the same time to the extent of £92,800,000, or 29 per cent." In 1870-74 the gold reserves amounted to 28 per cent. of the total note circulation, and 64 per cent. of all the specie reserves; in 1885 "the gold bore a larger ratio to a larger issue of paper, or 41 per cent. of the total note circulation, and 71 per cent. of the specie reserves. This," as Professor Laughlin remarks, "is a very significant showing. What it means, beyond a shadow of doubt, is, that the supply of gold is so abundant that the character and safety of the note circulation has been improved in a signal manner."

Since 1873-74 Germany has radically modified her metallic circulation.

lation, giving preference to and using additional gold, and the United States and Italy have resumed specie payments. But the supply of gold has been sufficient to give to these nations all the gold that they required, without apparently affecting the requirements of other countries.

Again, while the continuing increase in the population of the world, and a more rapid increase in recent years in its production and trade, have certainly necessitated a continually increasing supply of money for effecting exchanges, evidence is not wanting to prove that all such requirements have been met, and any possible deficiencies in the supply of metallic money fully supplemented, through various agencies. The present annual production of gold is enormous, compared with any period antecedent to 1850.* Before 1840 its annual production was about £2,800,000; it rose to its highest point—£31,400,000—about 1853; and for the year 1885 (according to the estimate of the Director of the United States Mint) was £20,300,000. The production of silver has also largely increased in recent years (£7,800,000 in 1850, £10,200,000 in 1870, and £24,980,000 in 1885), and no evidence can be produced to show that there has been any actual diminution in its aggregate use by reason of its so-called "demonetization" in any country.

Never before in the history of the world have there been so many and such successful devices invented and adopted for economizing the use of money. Every increase in facilities for banking and for the granting and extension of credit largely contributes to this result; the countries enjoying the maximum of such facilities requiring the smallest comparative amount of coin for their commercial transactions, as is illustrated by the circumstance that while in Great Britain (according to Mulhall) the ratio of metallic money used to the whole commerce of the country is only 20 per cent., the ratio rises in Germany to 34 per cent., in the United States to 58 per cent., and in France to 85 per cent.

Furthermore, the banking facilities of the world, according to the same authority, have increased since 1840 eleven-fold; or three times greater than the increase in commerce, and thirty times greater than that of population.

The great reduction in the time and cost of distribution of commodities, and the facility with which purchases can be made and credits transmitted by telegraph, have also resulted, not only in an enormous saving of capital, but also in an ability to transact an increased business with diminished necessity for the absorption and use of actual money. A most striking illustration in proof of this, given by Mr. Fowler ("Appreciation of Gold," London, 1885) is, that

* "In the last thirty-five years, one and one-third times as much gold has been produced as in the three hundred and fifty-eight years preceding 1850."—LAUGHLIN.

while the total British export and import trade, aggregating £6,000,000,000 from 1866 to 1875, was accompanied by an aggregate export and import of £530,000,000 of bullion and specie, an aggregate value from 1876 to 1885 of £6,700,000,000, was moved with the aid of only £439,000,000 of bullion and specie. The same authority refers to an eminent English firm, doing business with the East, as stating that "their business could now be conducted with one-fifth of the capital formerly employed," which would seem to warrant the inference that the reduction in the necessity for using so much of their capital as was represented by money had also been proportionate.

For the settlement of international balances—a large function of gold—it is certain that every ounce of this metal—through the great reduction in the time of ocean-transits—is at the present time capable of performing far more service than at any former period; the time for the transmission of coin and bullion having been reduced in recent years between Australia and England from ninety to forty days, and from New York to Liverpool from twelve or fifteen to eight or nine days. Such an increase of rapidity in doing work is certainly equivalent to increase in quantity.

The statistics of clearing-houses, which are everywhere multiplying, also show a continued tendency for the settlement of financial obligations without the intervention of either notes or coin; while in every country which has adopted the "postal money-order" system, the rapidity with which the public resort to that method of effecting exchanges is most surprising.*

In estimating the influence of the diminished production of gold in recent years, it is important to bear in mind a point to which attention has often heretofore been called, and that is, that gold and silver are not like other commodities, of which the greater part of the annual production is annually consumed; but that their use for the purpose of effecting exchanges does not involve consumption, except by loss and wear; that the work they have once done they are equally ready to do over and over again, and that every addition to their stock "is an addition to the fund available for exchanges." The aggregate sum by which the yearly average amount of gold available for coining fell off during the period from 1861–70, as compared with that from 1852–60,† when the mines of California and Australia were most productive, was (adopting Mr. Pixley's estimates) less than £100,000,000, a sum absolutely great, but most inconsiderable—less than one-sixth of one per cent.—in comparison with the amount of gold believed to

* The number of "postal" orders issued by the British Post Office in 1886 was 18,831,164, representing £7,885,347; while money orders, domestic and foreign, were issued during the same year to the amount of £25,012,337. In the countries comprising the Postal Union of Europe the issue of domestic money orders had risen in 1885 to the large amount of £364,200,000.

† It is interesting to note that the yearly average amount of gold available for coining was greater, according to Mr. Pixley's estimates, from 1871–80 than from 1861–70.

have been in existence in civilized countries in 1885,* and that such deficiency—even if a much higher estimate than that of Mr. Pixley's is adopted—has for each and every year for a considerable period been far more than supplemented and made good by the reduction in the amount of capital, in the form of money, which the increased facilities for doing business have permitted and effected, is a proposition also which it would seem could not well be doubted.†

The evidence, therefore, seems fully to warrant the following conclusions: that the tendency of the age is to use continually less and less of coin in the transaction of business,‡ and that, “so far from there being any scarcity of gold, there never was a period in the world's commercial history when the existing quantity was so large as at present, in proportion to the necessity for its use or the purposes it has to serve.”

It is also exceedingly interesting and significant to note here how completely the most distinguished advocate of the desirability of enlarging the function and use of silver in coinage has repudiated the idea that the recent phenomenal decline of prices has been occasioned by a scarcity of gold. Thus, under date of April 24, 1886, M. Cernuschi thus writes in the *Economist*: “The fall of prices which is complained of is not due to what has been called a scarcity of gold—a scarcity which is purely imaginary.” M. Sauerbeck, in referring to this matter (*Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, September 1886), also says: “A scarcity” (of gold), “as understood by bankers, does not exist. Prices have fallen so much that scarcity is not observable. As Mr. Giffen pointed out, there may be enough for present requirements, and the scarcity will only be felt when prices rise.” But if prices have fallen through the ingenuity of man, will prices return to their former level? Certainly not, unless the coming man is less ingenious than his present representatives, and Nature is to be less generous of her resources in the future.

* M. Sauerbeck estimates the total amount of gold in the form of coin and bullion in Europe (excluding the Balkan Peninsula), the United States, and Australia, at the end of 1884, to have been £645,000,000.

† “The trade of the world is carried on by credit and capital, and any causes affecting these essentials have infinitely greater effect on prices than a slight proportionate increase or decrease in the production of gold. A merchant may not hold ten sovereigns, but he may have capital and credit for ten millions. An ingenious statistician has calculated the capital of the world in 1880 at £46,000,000,000, and if credit and capital have had the main voice in the question of prices, how minute must have been the effect on the markets of an annual reduction in the production of floating capital of ten millions (sterling) per annum, from a short period of most exceptional production; especially when the falling-off has been more than balanced by the increased economy in the use of gold?”—NATHANIEL CORK: *What is the True Measure of the Alleged Appreciation of Gold?* London, 1883.

‡ Repeated investigations made in England in recent years prove that only about 0·6 per cent. of coin is used in settling the transactions of banks and bankers of that country; and the results of an inquiry instituted by the United States Controller of the Currency in 1881 showed that of all the receipts by 1,966 national banks in one day in that year (June 30), 95 per cent. were made up of forms of credit, exclusive of even circulating notes; while for New York City the percentage was 98·7. At all the banks the proportion of gold coin to the whole receipts was only ‘65 of 1 per cent.

The answer of Mr. R. Inglis Palgrave, who has recently published extensive memoranda on prices, to a question put to him by the British Gold and Silver Commission (1886), as to "how far the drop in prices is attributable to the alteration in the use of the gold standard?" is also worthy of note, and was as follows: "In my opinion it is only a small part of the drop in prices which is attributable to the appreciation of the standard." The present and rapidly increasing indifference of the business public, alike in Europe and the United States, whose interest in this subject is mainly practical, is also significant, as indicating that the importance formerly conceded to the gold-scarcity theory has not been confirmed by experience.

It will be further relevant to this discussion to call attention here to the manner in which certain admitted facts touching the recent fall of prices have been misunderstood, and more especially have been perverted, with a view of sustaining this same theory and of creating exaggerated ideas respecting impending disasters, and the power of legislation to provide remedies. Thus, in illustration of the assumption that the quantity of gold in the world, available for use as money, mainly regulates prices, and that, prices having fallen by reason of a scarcity of gold, the ratio of debts to assets, or the burdens upon debtors, has been increased, Mr. Moreton Frewen, has frequently in recent years made the following statement:—Premising that the national debt of the United States was £600,000,000 sterling in 1866, and £220,000,000 in 1887, he says:

"Six hundred millions sterling owing in 1866 represent 18,000,000 bales of cotton, or 25,000,000 tons of bar-iron. But at the prices of to-day, only £220,000,000 sterling is represented by some 26,000,000 bales of cotton, or 29,000,000 tons of bar-iron."

Therefore, the burden of the national debt of the United States has been increased, as a greater effort of labour, or an increased amount of the products of labour, is now necessary to liquidate it, than when the purchasing power of gold had not been appreciated through its scarcity; and as with public debts, so also with private debts, especially those in the nature of mortgages on land, or other productive fixed capital.

Now, in reply to this it is to be said, *first*, that the basis assumed for this comparison of prices, in the case of cotton, is entirely unfair and unnatural—the *gold* price of this commodity in the year 1866, owing to a scarcity occasioned by war, having been more than 250 per cent. higher than the average price in 1860 before the war; while the price of iron for that same year in the American markets was also inflated on even a gold basis; and *secondly*, that no consideration is given, or allowance made in the above comparisons for the results of labour at the two periods of 1866 and 1887; not more, and probably much less, actual labour in 1886–87 having produced

6,513,000 bales of cotton in the United States than was required in 1860 to produce 3,800,000 bales; * while in the case of iron the same amount of labour will produce in 1887 more than double the quantity, in the more valuable form of steel, than it could have produced in 1866. In short, if the debtor has got more to pay, he has more to pay with.

Again, it is a popular idea that the steadily increasing supply to the markets of the world during recent years of wheat, the product of low-priced labour from India—seriously affecting, through its competition, the prices and profits alike of the agriculturists of the United States and of Europe—has been in some way occasioned by the change in the relative values or purchasing powers of gold and silver, consequent on the “demonetization” of the latter metal—although no one as yet has been able to trace with any degree of clearness any connection between the two facts—and that an imperative necessity exists for some speedy and international remedial legislation. To all entertaining this idea the following summary of evidence, brought out by the British Gold and Silver Commission in the course of their investigations prosecuted during the present year (1887), is especially worthy of attention: †

There was practically no trade or movement in wheat between Europe and India until two or three years after the opening of the Suez Canal, or until about 1873, in which year exportations were further encouraged by the removal of an Indian export duty on wheat of about 6 per cent. In June 1881 and June 1886 the prices of Cawnpore wheat at Calcutta were at the same level—namely, 2-9 rupees per maund. The cost of Indian wheat in London in 1881 was 42s. a quarter, and 31s. 6d. in 1886, or 10s. 6d. difference. In 1881 the rate of freight on wheat from India to London was 60s. per ton, and in 1886, 30s., a difference of 30s. per ton, or 6s. 6d. per quarter. The decline in freights, therefore, accounts for 6s. 6d. out of the 10s. 6d., leaving 4s. per quarter to be contributed by other agencies. Between 1879 and 1886 the charge for the railway transport of grain between Cawnpore and Calcutta (684 miles) was reduced to the extent of about 2s. per quarter, which represented to the purchaser in Calcutta an equivalent reduction in the cost of Indian production, and in the absence of which the Calcutta and European prices would obviously have been

* The increase in the cotton product of the United States since 1860 has been due mainly to the increased use of fertilizers, better tillage, better conditions for the employment of labour. In what is termed the “oak-upland” regions of North Carolina, the product of cotton in 1880 had increased over that of 1870 in the ratio of 4·5 to 1, or this region in 1880 produced more cotton than the product of the entire State in either 1870 or 1860. “This remarkable result,” according to the special United States census report on cotton for 1880, “was due mainly to the introduction and general use of commercial fertilizers, which not only increase the crop, but hasten its maturity from two to three weeks, and so bring into the cotton belt a strip of plateau country whose elevation, of from 800 to 1200 feet, had placed it just beyond the climatic range of the cotton plant.”

† See “First Report of the British Commission,” Evidence of Henry Waterfield, C.F., Financial Secretary of the India Office, and representing the Government of India, pp. 125, 126.

correspondingly increased. A further reduction of 6*d.* per quarter "is probably owing to a decline, during the same period, in the price of the gunny-bags" in which the wheat is transported; leaving 3*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, which may not unreasonably be referred to, and fully accounted for, by the extraordinary decline of more than 12*s.* per quarter, between the years 1880 and 1885, in the export price of American wheat; which, as the largest factor in determining the world's surplus of this commodity, is also necessarily the largest factor in determining what shall be the price of this surplus in the world's market.

Evidence was also submitted to the British Trade Depression Commission in 1866, to the effect that the increase of the acreage under wheat in India "exactly agrees with the development of the Indian railways," and that "when more railways are made in India, a very much larger wheat production will immediately follow."*

The evidence therefore warrants the belief that the fall in recent years in the price of Indian wheat, and its consequent appearance as an important element of supply in European markets, is to be accounted for mainly, if not entirely, by changes in the conditions of its production and supply, and not by any changes in the relative values of gold and silver; and further, that if every measure for extending the monetary use of silver which has been proposed, should be carried out to the fullest extent, it would produce no sensible influence in restraining the Indian ryot from competing with American and European agriculturists in the sale of wheat in the world's markets,

DAVID A. WELLS.

* On this subject the following testimony was submitted to the British Commission on the Depression of Trade, 1886, by Mr. W. J. Harris, who is recognized as an authority in England on agricultural subjects:

"Our Indian Empire seems able to extend its corn-growing industry to almost any extent, and to produce more cheaply than any other country in the world. I am aware that Sir James Caird gave somewhat different evidence on this question, but I think that neither Mr. Giffen nor Sir James Caird have taken sufficiently into account one or two things in their statistical computation. They both maintain that the population of India is too large, or is getting too large, for the means of production. They do not seem to remember that every unit of population in India consumes about a fifth part of what the unit of population in the United States does. It is a comparison between India and the United States. Both Sir James Caird and Mr. Giffen admit that the capabilities of the United States are very enormous, but they think that the capabilities of India are comparatively very small. I differ from them, and I will give my reasons. If we follow (on the maps of India) the course of the railways which have been made for some time, you will find that the acreage under wheat exactly agrees with the development of those railways; and it appears to me that when more railways are made in India, a very much larger wheat production will immediately follow. I have made several inquiries from the principal merchants who do business with India, and who have agents at many central points, and they all agree that the wheat production in India is not nearly developed yet. The population is not encroaching on the means of subsistence so much as the mere statistician would argue, because he does not take into account the habits of the people; and I believe that the United States population, in consequence of the habits of its people, is encroaching just as fast on their means of subsistence as are the people of India. There is a large acreage in India that is not fully cultivated with anything at the present time, and, where it is, it is very imperfectly cultivated, and the prices of produce are exceedingly low in places remote from railway communication. Agriculture is very rude; they have very little machinery. The system might be greatly improved, and the produce thereby increased."—*Third Report on the Depression of Trade*, pp. 82, 83.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FOR THE PEOPLE.

IT is now all but universally admitted that the old universities must be regarded as the property of the nation—as wealth in which every Englishman has a share. Their endowments were originally intended for the benefit of students, or for the endowment of research, pre-eminently of theological research, for in olden times all learning centred in theology; to employ them to provide livings for priests who preferred the intellectual life of the university to the cure of souls, or for schoolmasters who taught the sons of the wealthy for tuition fees, which represented but a small fraction of the cost (we will not say of the value) of the education provided, was clearly a misapplication calling for redress. But however well the revenues of the universities may now be administered within their own precincts, it remains impossible for any, except a very small minority, to reside during ever so short a term within three miles of Great St. Mary's, or where they can be aroused from their slumbers by the great bell of Christ Church. In educating the clergy the universities doubtless confer a benefit on the whole country, but as every freshman entering college has liberty, to some extent, to select his own course of study, and to say in what subjects he chiefly desires to be trained, so his less fortunate neighbour, who must be content with such intellectual pabulum as he can acquire amidst the busy life of our great cities, has some right also of choice in his share of the wealth produced and accumulated in the national centres of intellectual life and thought.

I have said "his less fortunate neighbour," for there is nothing which can be regarded as quite equivalent to life at Oxford or Cambridge. Other colleges may provide an equally good training in theology, literature, or science; and sometimes in walking through

their courts we are reminded of some old association with our Alma Mater, but though there may be in some respects similarity, there can be no rivalry. The experience of the freshman who was yesterday only a boy at home—the hope of his father, the pet of his mother, and the hero of an admiring crowd of sisters—but to-day finds himself a university man, with a set of rooms all his own, a gyp and bedmaker *occasionally* at his command to do his bidding, a crowd of college servants saluting him as he walks through the courts, with respect for his own intrinsic worth, and only in the inmost recesses of their natures mentally estimating the value of their expectations in regard to “tips;”—his feelings—as, in company with a hundred others, all, like some of Euclid’s figures, “similar and similarly situated” to himself, he takes his seat in Hall, and vainly tries to penetrate the mysteries of those occult operations whereby the skill of the *chef* has transformed what this morning was but a *post-prandial* ruin into a delicacy which the college shoeblack in his capacity as waiter, albeit with the stains and scars of the morning’s conflict fresh upon him, thrusts before him with the words “On-tray, sir;”—his sense of having entered on a new phase of life as, after joining in the Evensong at chapel, he retires to the quiet of his rooms and starts the course of study which is to lead to fame and fortune, or perchance the wooden spoon—these are experiences in themselves unique; they are known only to those who have felt them, and can be felt but once. Life at the university is, if wisely lived, itself a training for the nobler, because more useful, life to follow, and this quite irrespective of book-learning or professors’ lectures. To any youth who has the means and can spare the time, nothing is of so much value as a university course, even though academic honours are not sought. It produces an independence of mind and freedom of judgment which most other courses of training tend to hinder instead of develop. It has been frequently urged that a university education unfits a boy for business. That in many cases it may develop a new taste, and the boy who was intended for the warehouse or the exchange may find that his proper sphere in life is drawn around another centre, to the exclusion of both those useful institutions, and contains perchance within its boundary far less potentiality of gold, may be freely admitted. But who can say that in such sphere he may not “wear more of that herb called heart’s-ease in his bosom,” and be a nobler and more useful member of society, than if he had followed the golden path which worldly wisdom had marked out for him? There are other cases, too, in which a university training unfits a man for certain kinds of business, and that on account of the independence of mind to which allusion has already been made; but in some of these cases at any rate the fault lies with the business. The boy introduced at an early age to the idea that he must not look in commerce for the high

standard of morality which he has been taught to aim at, slowly but surely undergoes a transforming process until he comes to regard as "business" that which to an uninitiated mind would suggest another name. On the other hand, it must be admitted that if a man employ his time unwisely—and for this the universities offer facilities exceeding those presented by other walks in life—he will be unfitted for business, just as he will be unfitted to do his duty in any other sphere. Indolent and luxurious habits may be acquired, and though the fruit of these may be less conspicuous or less censured in some professions than under the severe discipline of the well-ordered counting-house, their evil consequences may be more severe. The safeguard against this is healthy and Christian training in the home; and if the youth has not the moral strength to make the right use of his advantages, by all means let him complete his education where the discipline is more rigorous than in the old universities.

But however desirable a course at Oxford or Cambridge may be, it is to scarcely more than one in a thousand that it is open. Can the nine hundred and ninety-nine be enabled to share in the advantages of the universities? Nearly fifteen years ago, mainly through the exertions of Professor Stuart, the "University Extension Scheme" was inaugurated. Commencing with three courses of lectures and nearly 1,000 students, it provided last winter 109 courses of lectures in 69 towns, besides 60 courses in London, and at these lectures there was an attendance of about 20,000, probably representing 15,000 individuals of all classes. In this way the universities are doing a great missionary work, and showing that they are, to some extent at least, alive to their responsibilities to the nation at large. But, as in all such cases, the benefit does not lie wholly with the outside public. The extended sphere of work reacts beneficially upon the universities themselves, not only in widening their sympathies, but in providing a start in life for many of their students. While affording training to lecturers, the universities have not yet been able to contribute directly to any considerable extent towards the funds requisite for carrying on the extension lectures, so that no portion of their endowments is employed at present in this wider and national scheme of education.

That the universities needed some fields of work which would put them more in touch with the world outside was sufficiently evident to all who knew anything of the habits of thought prevalent among college authorities a few years ago. To some of them the college was the world, and how to sustain the dignity of its officers seemed to be their chief object of thought. Not only must all communications to the master from persons *in statu pupillari* be made through the tutor, but even dumb creatures were expected to pay due regard to the orders of the governing body, and "Dogs are forbidden to enter

these grounds" may be still exhibited on a notice-board in one of the college gardens as a terror to trespassers. In the presence of the master the undergraduate dare not take a seat, however weary he may be of the "perpendicular;" while the well-to-do farmer—for there was a time when farmers were well-to-do—who had just paid to the bursar the rent which would go far to swell the Fellows' dividends, was instructed to retire to the kitchen or buttery, there to enjoy the college hospitality in the company of cooks or waiters. But these relics of a feudal system are fast passing away. The university is learning that there is a greater world outside its walls, and that seniority on college boards is not the only shrine to which respect is due.

But though the University Extension Scheme has effected a great work, it must be regarded only as the beginning of a new order of things—as the dawn of a new light. However admirably each course of lectures may be adapted to the requirements of the audience, it is, after all, generally but an isolated course, and, when over, the lecturer goes his way, and is known no more. The next course is by another man, probably on a totally different subject, and perhaps appeals to the sympathies of another set of students. Under these circumstances the education provided loses the character of a curriculum, and the mental training afforded by courses of lectures on Milton, Astronomy, Political Economy, and Electricity in succession is not calculated to produce steadiness of aim and stability of character.

Under a new statute the University of Cambridge has now the power of granting to a student who passes an elementary examination and attends eight courses of university extension lectures on prescribed subjects, the title of "Affiliated Student," and the privilege of obtaining a B.A. degree with two years' residence instead of three. Five centres (Derby, Hull, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Scarborough and Sunderland) have this year made arrangements with the university for the delivery of consecutive courses of lectures extending over three sessions, so as to enable their students to secure the advantages offered by the new statute. Educationally, there is no doubt that this is a step in the right direction. The difficulty will be to provide sufficient variety in the courses to secure the attendance of large audiences, if the lectures are to be made approximately self-supporting.

But even if no practical difficulty occur in carrying out the "Extension Scheme," as now modified for affiliated students, attendance at one lecture and one class per week during the winter months offers but a poor substitute for life at the universities, and but few will be able to avail themselves even of the two years' residence which will, in future, lead an affiliated student to his degree. Students' associations may, to some extent, replace the social life of the College, but if the

University Extension Scheme is to do the highest work open to it, it must before long lead to the formation of permanent institutions in the great towns, to serve as centres for the further development of its work; in other words, university training must be brought within reach of the populations of large towns through local university colleges. The University College of Bristol owes its foundation largely to the help it received from Oxford. The Nottingham College grew out of the University Extension Scheme, and the permanent professors of the college now give the extension lectures under the general direction of the universities. In this respect it might be possible to suggest an improvement. With the great majority of those who attend extension lectures, novelty is one of the features necessary to popularity, and the fact that every year a fresh lecturer comes from the university is one of the chief elements in the success of the scheme. If the college lectures were to include one course of extension lectures every year, given by a university lecturer who was not a member of the college staff, the spirit of the extension movement would be better kept up among the townsfolk generally, and a more vital connection would be maintained between the university college and the old universities. But to the *bond fide* student who sets before himself a definite curriculum which is to prepare him for his future work, the local college, with its permanent staff of university men as professors, and its regular sequence of lecture courses and laboratory instruction, is the only institution which can supply what is needed. The university college must not regard the extension scheme as a rival; by joint action, each will benefit the other, and, while the lecture-rooms and laboratories of the college should be at the service of the university extension lecturer, many of the students whom he attracts to his short course of lectures may be expected to continue their studies at the ordinary classes of the college.

Considerable misapprehension prevails with respect to the precise place in the educational system which should be occupied by the local university colleges, especially as regards the distinction between the special work in science of these colleges and that of the Government science classes. At present there is in England a State-aided system of primary education, the grant for which amounts to about three and a quarter millions per annum. Then follows a gap which more than 90 per cent. of the children from the elementary schools never cross, so that their education terminates at the fourth, fifth, or sixth standard. This gap is at present but very imperfectly bridged over by the evening continuation school. To make this school a success, a very great deal more elasticity must be given to the Code. It is the custom at present in too many evening-schools to do little more than repeat the lessons the children have received

in the day-schools, and this is necessitated by the system on which the grant for the evening-schools is administered. To make an evening-school a success, the subjects taught must be in advance of those taught in the day-schools, but it is of far greater importance that the *methods of teaching* should be different from those to which the children have been accustomed. During the two or three years which should elapse between a boy leaving the elementary school at the fifth standard and entering the Government science class, it is of far more importance that his receptive faculties should be kept alive and his interest awakened in those subjects which he will afterwards have to study than that he should be taught anything systematically. Elementary experimental lectures with opportunities for the boys to try the experiments for themselves afterwards, magic-lantern displays, and what have recently become generally known as recreative subjects, constitute the kind of teaching which should be encouraged; and, as pointed out by the Bradford School Board, the inspector's report should refer to the character of the teaching provided rather than to examination results, and this report should be the basis on which the grant should be awarded. When the boy reaches the age of sixteen, he may with advantage pass from the evening "recreative class" to the Government science class, there to learn systematically two or three selected subjects bearing upon his daily occupation. By this time he may be expected to study science or art for its own sake, and payment based on the results of examination will not have the same injurious effect as in the case of the evening continuation schools.

Hitherto the system adopted by the Science and Art Department has worked successfully, and, up to a certain point, there is little objection to it. But the system of payment by results makes the highest class of teaching almost impossible in classes which depend principally on the Government grant. Certain subjects included in the syllabus of the department attract but few students, and it is only in very large schools that classes in these subjects can be made to pay their expenses. The same remark applies to the honours stages in nearly all subjects; and the necessity under which the teacher is placed to take his class over nearly the whole range of the subject in the course of about thirty lectures, to a great extent prevents him from doing his best work. Of course it is impossible in a Government science class for a teacher to enter very fully into one branch of his subject. He could not, for instance, give a whole course of lectures on machine design, on the strength of materials, on electrical measurements, on the geology of the district, on the coal-tar colours, or on any one of the thousand subjects that the peculiar conditions of the locality may render of special importance. And here lies one great distinction between the work of the Government science school and that of the university or university college,

or even the university extension lecture. The university teacher may select a portion of a subject on which he is specially qualified to lecture, or which is particularly needed by his class, and may go far towards making his students masters of that portion, while students may come to the university college with the sole object of studying theoretically and practically some particular branch of a subject, and learning all that can be learned respecting it. Obviously, this class of work cannot be supported on the system of "payment by results."

It should be borne in mind that the operations of the university college are not to be confined to its immediate locality. It may reasonably be expected to draw students from distances of twenty miles, and, by sending its professors and lecturers into the surrounding districts, may exert its influence over a still greater area. While this extension of its field tends to render the university college a national institution, it to some extent diminishes its claim on the municipality in which it is situated, though it may be fairly urged that an expenditure incurred by a local authority in conferring the benefits of university education even upon the inhabitants of surrounding towns would prove to be well spent in the interest of the ratepayers.

The instruction given in the university college should not be limited to one or two departments. It should include, besides science and technology, literature, music, and fine art, and should provide a complete university education adapted to the tastes and requirements of all comers.

The relations of the university colleges to technical education constitute an important question which will very soon demand serious attention. All scientific teaching may be regarded as technical education; but, in the restricted sense of the term, technical education implies the teaching of the principles and methods which belong specially to one profession, or industry, or group of industries. The learned professions, of course, come under this head, and most of the following remarks are equally applicable to them as to the mechanical trades to which they more especially refer, but such trades unions as the Incorporated Law Society and the Medical Council of Great Britain do not allow all local colleges a perfectly free field in their special departments. In carrying on technical education, the universities, unaided, can do but little; for not only is an intimate acquaintance with all the practical details of the particular trade necessary on the part of the teacher, but the pure educationalist, however well qualified for his task, would fail to gain the confidence either of employers or workmen. That it is eminently desirable that the technical schools of a district should be intimately associated with some establishment of general and scientific education is evident, inasmuch as such training must form the foundation of all technical

teaching, and it involves a waste of power when technical classes have to make special provision for the teaching of scientific principles. The student of medicine requires a knowledge of the elements of chemistry, physics, mechanics, and biology, and this he can acquire in company with other students at a university college at least as thoroughly as by attending special courses of instruction in these subjects in his college of medicine. The same, *mutatis mutandis*, is true of the engineer, the metal-plate worker, the dyer, the weaver, and of the followers of every other craft, but the special training which distinguishes the dyer or weaver from the man of science must be provided by the craftsman himself. Very much of this special teaching is afforded to the apprentice in the factory or workshop; but, with division of labour carried to the extreme length which now obtains in many industries, there is ample scope for widening in the technical class the narrow training which the trade apprentice too often receives in the works. But even if the technical teaching is confined to the scientific principles on which each trade is based, it is necessary that the course of instruction should be laid down by, or with the co-operation of, those who are actually engaged in the trade, or it is not likely to assume that practical character which is essential in order to appeal to the purely practical man. As pointed out by Professor Stuart a short time ago, in order that a technical school may be successful the initiative must be taken by the employers of labour, and the school should be under the supervision of a committee of the same class; the teaching, however, should, as far as possible, be carried out by those who have made the art of teaching their special study.

The formation of a technical committee of practical tradesmen to superintend the technical teaching in connection with each important industry in the locality amounts to something like the revival of the trade guilds in their ancient educational capacity. But the new guild has in the university college much of the educational machinery which it requires all ready to its hand, and its task consequently becomes a comparatively easy one. The scientific principles would be taught by the staff of the college, the special technical teachers would be nominated by the committee, and the committee would take the direct supervision of any practical work which might be carried out. This would give the public confidence that the teaching provided was such as would prove of real practical value to the students.

But it is necessary to determine a little more definitely what is the precise function of the university college in connection with technical education, and in the first place a distinction must be drawn between a *technical* school and a *trade* school. In a trade school students learn precisely what they would learn in a workshop. Such schools

exist in France and America and elsewhere, and in the trades which require comparatively little skill and inexpensive plant there are many examples in connection with refuges, reformatories, and similar institutions in this country. The technical school is intended, not to take the place of the workshop, but to supplement its teaching. In the workshop the apprentice is taught to *imitate*; in the technical school he should be taught to *think*. In the workshop he learns *methods*; in the technical school he should be taught the corresponding *reasons*. In the workshop he performs the same operation repeatedly and under the same conditions until he acquires *manual dexterity*; in the technical school, if he repeat an operation, he varies the conditions so as to acquire *practical knowledge* and be prepared for any emergency that may arise.

In endeavouring to provide a system of technical education for the whole country, it is necessary to begin with the primary schools. Here the course of education should be directed to the preparation of boys for the workshop instead of the desk. Freehand and mechanical drawing, the elements of mensuration and mechanics, and, in the higher standards, the elements of physical science should be taught. The teaching of geometry should have direct reference to its application in the workshop, and in arithmetic examples should be taken from workshop problems instead of perpetually recurring to the retail shopkeeper for "bills of parcels." Following the primary school should come the evening apprenticeship school, where elementary instruction in special trades should be given, in accordance with the principles specified above, in order to supplement the workshop practice of those who have entered those trades. These schools should be under special technical committees, but their conduct is not properly a part of the work of a university college, though in some cases it may be desirable that university colleges should establish them. The evening apprenticeship school might very well be a municipal institution, supported by borough rates, and under the general management of the corporation or other local authority, while each department should be superintended by its special committee, representing the particular trade, and partly elected by the members of that trade.

It is the almost complete separation of our universities, our training colleges, and public schools, from the world of commerce and manufacture that constitutes one of the weakest points in our educational system, and makes it so difficult for our schools and colleges to provide the kind of education which the artisan, the manufacturer, or the merchant considers most valuable. The language of the schools is different from that of real life, and our textbooks, and too often our lectures, are couched in this foreign language. For instance, in teaching mechanics to artisans, why should not the illustration be

drawn from the workshop instead of introducing all sorts of imaginary and impossible combinations which lead the artisan mind to suppose that the science taught exists only on paper, and has no practical bearings? Is it not time, for instance, to discard the classical "first, second, and third system of pulleys," and to introduce into our schools such tackle as is in use in the workshops of the day? By allowing elementary teachers to receive part of their training in university colleges this difficulty would be to a considerable extent overcome. In the college classes they would study side by side with young engineers or manufacturers to whose requirements the teaching at the college has been specially adapted. When afterwards they have to teach the same classes of students of an earlier age, the teaching they will be able to give, first hand and not from textbooks, will be of a character that will commend itself to their pupils.

The proper technical work of the university college lies in the training of the workman (or premium apprentice) to become foreman or manager, and it should be within the power of every skilled workman to avail himself of the full benefits of the technical department of the college. It is here that the universities can render the greatest help to the national industries. It was the frequent intercourse between James Watt the skilled mechanic and the professors and students of the University of Glasgow that led to the development of the steam-engine, and it is by bringing science in the person of university professors into direct contact with industry as represented by the most intelligent workmen and foremen that we may look for the greatest improvements in our manufactures. The technical department of the college should aim at being more like a laboratory than a workshop. The purely scientific instruction should be given by the ordinary professors of the college, but the services of the best specialists obtainable should be secured for the technical teaching. In some districts, and in special trades, there can be found to-day a constituency ready to profit by technical teaching of the highest order, but generally the university colleges must look to the apprenticeship schools to prepare the students for their technical classes, and in some cases it may be desirable that the college should start by itself establishing the apprenticeship school.

In order to obtain the greatest amount of help from the universities, it is desirable that the bond between them and the local colleges should be as strong as possible. Not only should the principal teachers be university graduates, but they should be encouraged as far as may be to keep up their associations with their universities. A few weeks' residence every year in Oxford or Cambridge would give a freshness and vigour to their intellectual life, and enable them to return to their students with renewed youth. The students also should be encouraged to feel that they are students,

non-resident indeed, but still *bond fide* students of the university. This is effected in part by the university regulating the curriculum and superintending some of the examinations of the colleges, and by the award of university certificates to those who are successful. An annual visit of all the members of the college to the university, when the distance is not too great, helps very much towards the same end; but there still remains too great a gap between the university man resident at Oxford or Cambridge and the matriculated student in the affiliated local college. If degrees were conferred by the universities on the best students at local colleges, a great step would be taken towards bridging over this gap. Some years ago it was proposed at Cambridge that poll men should be allowed to take the B.A. degree only, and that the M.A. and higher degrees should be restricted to those who had taken honours. The suggestion did not meet with a very favourable reception. It might, however, be worth considering whether there would not be some advantage in conferring the B.A. degree on qualified students at local affiliated colleges, and reserving the M.A. as the mark of residence within the university.

By training teachers, and by examining and rewarding students, the universities may do much towards promoting higher education throughout the country. They can do but little in the way of direct contribution towards the cost of the education without seriously crippling their work within their own borders. Indirectly, however, they may contribute to a very large extent towards the expenses. At present there are residing in the universities probably not more than one-third of the total number of Fellows of the several colleges. The remainder hold their fellowships and live where they list. Under the most recent statutes it is possible for the governing bodies of some colleges to prolong the tenure of his fellowship to the holder of a professorial chair in a local college, in the same way as to a public lecturer in the university. If this power were largely exercised, higher education throughout the country would receive a very substantial subsidy.

A word about methods. In dealing with small classes, the teacher has ample opportunity for direct personal intercourse with every member, and it is by this means that his spirit is most readily caught by the student. But when large classes have to be provided for, some other modes of effecting the same result must be adopted. Perhaps there is no other system equal to that enforced by the University Extension Syndicate. The notes of the lecture, placed in the hands of the student before its commencement, enable him to give his undivided attention to the words of the speaker; the free discussion in the class, which follows the lecture, gives him opportunity to state his difficulties and obtain their solution; while the weekly papers

of questions afford him training in the faculty of stating clearly what he knows, and indicate to the lecturer the points, if any, in respect of which he has failed to make himself clearly understood. It is desirable that the method of the extension lecturers should be adopted in all cases where classes of fifty or more have to be dealt with.

If we classify as local university colleges all public institutions in which *higher* education in several departments of study is provided, and which are not themselves universities, such as King's College and University College, London, we find that they already form an organization for providing a fairly complete system of higher education throughout the country. Within twenty miles by rail of the colleges in Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham, Sheffield, and Southampton, there exists a population of about 11½ millions. The number of students attending at the Mason College, Birmingham, is about 550, the Midland Institute taking most of the evening students in the town. At Bristol the number exceeds 700; at Leeds, 1,035; at University College, London, 1,250; at the Owens College, about 1,300; at Nottingham, about 1,400; at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, about 480; at Sheffield, about 420; and at Southampton, 450. At nearly all these colleges the expenditure exceeds the income, and special maintenance funds have to be raised to restore the balance; but even with this help the work of nearly every college is much restricted from want of funds, and its field of operations is generally bounded by its own walls, missionary enterprise in the surrounding district being found practically impossible with the resources at disposal. The endowments of the university colleges have been derived partly from donations, most of which have been given soon after the foundation of each college, and partly from bequests, but one great hindrance to sums of money being bequeathed to the younger colleges is the sense of insecurity induced by the want of a sufficiently permanent income. In fact, some of the colleges at this moment are in a position in which they cannot continue to exist, but must either obtain more support within a few years, or must change altogether their methods and aims, and convert themselves into Government science classes and technical schools instead of continuing as university colleges.

It is frequently urged that education, like ordinary commercial enterprise, should be self-supporting, and that the founders of a college have no more right to ask for a subsidy than the promoters of a commercial company. There is, however, an important difference between the two cases. If a man require gas or water, railway facilities or a steamboat passage, a steel casting or a steam-engine, he is generally in a position to pay for it at once or within a very short time, and, if he require it for commercial purposes, it is to be

expected that the purchaser will begin to receive some return for his outlay soon after it is made. But the case is very different with education. The boy or girl receiving the instruction is, from the very nature of the case, so placed that the wealth acquired must be for a long time unproductive from a financial point of view. The student may or may not have parents or guardians able to pay the value of the education, but, to put the question on a par with a commercial transaction, the student should pay for his education himself by a promissory note, returnable (say) in ten, fifteen, or twenty years, when he has begun to receive some return from his education. Practically, it amounts to this: Each generation, instead of paying for its own education, pays for that of its successor. Robert Stephenson gave £10,000 to the institution to which he was indebted for the greater part of his early education, and what is required is that every one should attempt to pay to the best of his abilities a fair sum for the education he has received when he has lived long enough to learn its value. If this principle were acted upon generally, there would be no need for the university colleges to curtail their work for want of funds to carry it on. On inquiry among the colleges, it appears that an increase of about £4,000 or £5,000 to the annual income of each would enable them to carry out most of what they are desirous of doing. State aid appears to be the only source to which to look for the needed help.

In all foreign countries which have obtained any high degree of civilization, university education is aided by the State. The same is the case in India and our colonies. The universities of Scotland receive about £17,000 per annum from the Imperial Exchequer; the Royal University of Ireland and its associated colleges £26,400 per annum; and recently £12,000 a year has been granted to the University Colleges of Wales. Until a few weeks ago England alone received nothing towards university teaching, for the University of London is an examining body only. The grant to the Science and Art Department is a little over £300,000 per annum. There Government aid to education ceases; private enterprise or benevolence has hitherto done the rest, so far as it has been done at all. A grant to the university colleges of about £50,000 or £60,000 per annum would suffice to create a nearly complete system of university teaching for the whole country.

It may be objected that Government aid cannot be given without Government interference. If this meant periodic examinations of the college students after the manner of the elementary schools or Government science classes, the result would be fatal to the university colleges, which had better struggle on as at present than thus sacrifice their usefulness. But there is no reason to suppose that more stringent conditions would be required than in the case of the Welsh

colleges, and the several governing bodies would not be unwilling to welcome one or more nominees of Her Majesty's Government among their number.

Another objection frequently urged against Government aid is that it would check local support. This is not found to be the case in Wales, Scotland, or the colonies, but the danger, if it exists, is at once obviated by making the subsidy dependent on the amount of local subscriptions or bequests. If the Government grant were fixed at 4 per cent., or 5 per cent., of the subscribed capital of the college, instead of a check, it would prove a great spur to local effort. To prevent very large sums being paid to institutions which stand least in need of help, the subsidy should be limited to £5,000 per annum, while no grant should be given to institutions having a subscribed capital of less than £20,000. The guarantee of permanence thus given to the university colleges by securing to them an income would go far towards attracting donations and bequests for buildings and equipment. A considerable portion of the Government grant to the colleges might with advantage be expended in small scholarships, enabling any student who has passed in the advanced stage in the examination of the Science and Art Department to attend the college classes free of expense either for fees or travelling.

In conclusion, it cannot be too strongly enforced that it is the special feature of university training to provide *education* as distinguished from mere *information*. Those who desire that students should simply be taught facts and methods, who wish to make the college a mere technical school even in its departments of pure science, will be able to find sufficiently good teachers without drawing on the resources of the universities. It is indeed seldom that the university man is an encyclopædia of facts and figures; rather, he is one who has thought deeply on his special branch of study and made it his own from its very foundations. He has acquired the truly scientific spirit, and regards all things from the standpoint thus gained. It is the raising of the student to the same platform as the teacher, the placing him in a position to acquire further knowledge by himself in the best possible way—in fact, nothing short of his intellectual regeneration—that constitutes the essential characteristic of university teaching, and, if this is absent, call the institution what you will, but not a university college.

WM. GARNETT.

THE STORY OF ZEBEHR PASHA.

AS TOLD BY HIMSELF.

III.

IT was during this period of prosperity, shortly after the treaty had been made with the Rezigats, that the history of Mandugba began to connect itself with the recorded history of Egyptian affairs.

A man named Balali, whose previous career of treachery and selfishness in Darfour is too long to enter into here, presented himself at Khartoum and prevailed upon the governor, Dafir Pasha, to give him a small force of Egyptian troops for the purpose of making good a claim which he asserted himself to possess against the Sultan of Darfour. Contrary reports which arrived from Darfour shortly after the soldiers had been granted aroused distrust in the mind of the governor, and it was thought well to impose some check upon Balali. He had declared his intention of entering Darfour from the south by the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Zebchr's name was at this time known as representing one of the most fully organized forces of civilization in the half-explored southern country. Dafir Pasha sent for him, communicated to him all the intelligence which he himself possessed, and gave him a commission to accompany Balali. His instructions were to give Balali every assistance, but to watch and report upon his actions to the Government. Balali's expedition had a month's start of Zebchr, and Zebchr came up to it at Meshrael Rek (about 9° lat. 29° long.). This is a ten days' journey from Ali Imouri's station, and from Ali Imouri to Mandugba is ten days more.* Upon reaching Balali, Zebchr told him of his commission from the Government to assist him, and begged to know his plan of campaign. Balali informed him that his intention was to march by

* A common mistake appears to be in supposing that these merchants' stations of the Bahr-el-Ghazal constituted Zebchr's country. His territory was to the west of this.

way of Mandugba, and it was agreed that it was better for Zebehr to go forward and prepare for the reception of the troops. He accordingly left the expedition and hurried to Mandugba, where he prepared quarters for Balali's army outside the town. In the meantime Kurshook Ali, commander of the Egyptian troops, who distrusted Balali, quarrelled with him, and was, as a consequence, poisoned by Balali on the road. Zebehr was told of the circumstance by friends of the murdered general as soon as the troops arrived at Mandugba, and was warned to be on his guard lest the same fate might overtake him.

Balali remained with him for a year, during which time Zebehr maintained him and his army, expending altogether on that account £7,500. The troops were very much discontented with their position, and caused no little trouble to Zebehr. The situation altogether was one which could not last, and at the end of the year Zebehr entered into explanations with Balali, reminding him that the object of his expedition was supposed to be Darfour, and putting before him that he had now been at Mandugba a year, and that the expense of maintaining such a force was a heavy strain upon hospitality.

To this Balali replied that it was true that he meant to attack Darfour, but that he had a commission from the Government to conquer the provinces of the White Nile first.

"Datir Pasha gave you a commission to conquer the White Nile?"

"Yes."

"If this is true, show me your papers."

Balali angrily denied the right of Zebehr to interfere. Zebehr could not extract any definite statement of his intentions. He was obliged to content himself with reporting the whole interview to Khartoum, adding his opinion that Balali was altogether untrustworthy, and praying the Government to take preventive measures as soon as possible.

Balali sent for mercenary troops from Darfour, where the warlike tribes hire themselves out to whoever wants them. He obtained them to the number of about 2,000, and began to spread the report that he was the Mahdi. Zebehr now kept spies in Balali's camp, and by this means he became aware that Balali had formed a scheme for taking the merchant stations of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, after which he intended to declare himself openly to be the Mahdi, and, if people rallied to him as he expected, to attack Mandugba, drive out Zebehr, and reign in his place.

Possessed of this information, he went to him and reproached him with his intended treachery, but Balali assured him that, so far as regarded himself, there was not a word of truth in it. "It is true," he said, "that I have a secret agreement with the

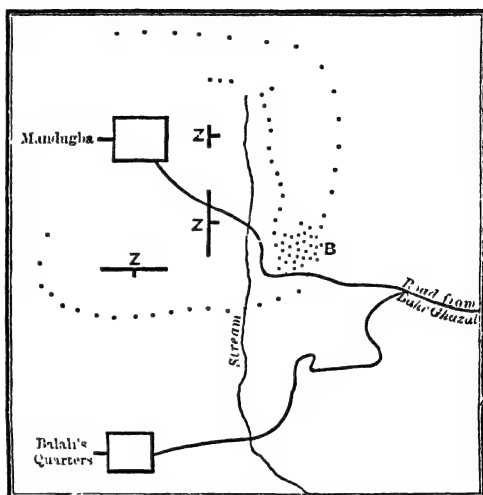
Government of Khartoum which gives me permission to conquer the stations of Bahr-el-Ghazal and to govern them. But you will be my friend. We will govern side by side. You have entertained me now for a year. You have been as my own right arm. How could I repay this by treachery?" Zebehr still feared to be poisoned as Kurshook Ali had been, and he took many precautions against it. When further information reached him that Balali had not abandoned his projects, he had another interview. Balali's protestations were more vehement than before. "You are my brother and my right hand," he said; "how can I war with you?" This was their last interview before Balali set out on his expedition through the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The merchant stations were quite unable to withstand him. They submitted without fighting and he took possession of the following stations, all lying to the east of Mandugba: Moushra-Abekir, Agugu, Arbaba-Zebehr, Ali Imouri, Ali Birsaily, Kurshook Ali, Kharatas, Ashereef, Abd-el-Sammat, Idris Abtar. He took everything that he found in the stations, giving the women to be outraged by his soldiers, and possessing himself of the wealth of the merchants. He put the merchants themselves in irons, bringing them like slaves towards Mandugba. At the same time he proclaimed himself to be the Mahdi, and, as he had expected, many flocked to his standard. At Idris Abtar, which was the nearest station to Zebehr, he would have hung Idris Abtar himself, but his advisers warned him that to do so would alarm Zebehr, who would be prepared to resist him in Mandugba. He answered that he would take Zebehr by cunning, and kill him too; and he sent to beg Zebehr to meet him. Zebehr being informed of all that happened, returned a messenger to ask what he wanted, and Balali threw off the mask. Declaring himself to be master of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, he summoned Zebehr to submit or fight. Zebehr's reply to the summons was: "Have you authority from the Government to take this place from me? If you have, tell me. If you have not, tell me also, that I may decide what I shall do."

To this Balali made no answer, but by means of spies Zebehr knew that his intention was to advance upon Mandugba. Zebehr was well aware that to have retreated at this time before Balali would have been to destroy his prestige for ever, and to have given up his kingdom to ruin. He had sent reports to Khartoum of what Balali was doing, but had received no answer, and in the absence of instructions from headquarters, he was bound to take the responsibility of action upon himself. He accordingly prepared for war.

But his soldiers were distributed through all the towns of his dominions. The troops which he could at that time mobilize in Mandugba were outnumbered by Balali's forces in a proportion of something like ten to one. Zebehr's men were, however, well armed.

and fairly disciplined ; Balali's army was a mere rabble. The encampment which had been assigned to Balali was to the south of Mandugba. A small stream flowed to the east of both places ; and east again of the stream the road by which Mandugba was approached from the Bahr-el-Ghazal split into two branches, one leading north to Mandugba, one south to Balali's encampment. The Pasha drew a plan of the position thus :

When Balali was seen to be approaching, Zebehr drew up his men in three blocks outside the city, determining to wait and see whether Balali would go peacefully to his own encampment, or whether he meant to attack. At the branching of the roads there was no longer any doubt. Balali marched at once upon Mandugba, breaking up his army with the intention to surround the town. Zebehr's men were eager to begin, but he restrained them, allow-



B means Balali's men.]

Z means Zebehr's men.

ing Balali to weaken his force by dispersion, till Balali himself rode out from amongst his men, and began the battle by firing at Zebehr, who was on horseback with the centre of the force. He wounded Zebehr in the lower part of the leg, and was answered by a volley from Zebehr's troops. Firing continued for a few minutes very hotly, people in the station being wounded, as well as soldiers ; then guns were flung away, and the battle was finished in a hand-to-hand contest. "As for me," the Pasha said. "I said in my heart, 'I have no quarrel with these troops. I will kill none but Balali.' Every one was mixed together, but I sought him out. His brother threw himself between us ; I killed his brother. Another brother came between us, and I killed him. Then Balali ran away, but I galloped after him and killed him. My enemies have accused me that I killed Balali without a cause. Now you know the cause ; say, did not that traitor deserve his death ?" *

The battle had lasted one hour. The death of Balali brought it to

* My pale narrative does little justice to the vigour and animation with which the Pasha told this story. The disgust at Balali's early treachery, the scorn of his later protestations, the bitter laugh at his cowardice when he ran away in battle, the candid satisfaction in his death, were not hidden by the interpreter's broken English ; but on pain of falling into invention I must keep to the mere words I received.

an end. Without a leader the blacks at once submitted. Zebehr freed the merchants whom he found in Balali's train, and, collecting all their goods, he begged each man to point out his own. He then restored everything with the exception of arms and ammunition, which he considered to be a fair compensation for the service he had rendered, and the merchants and natives returned to their homes. All that belonged to the Government in Balali's equipment was collected and put on one side, and a full report of the occurrence was sent to Khartoum. Zebehr expressed his willingness, at the same time, either to go up to Khartoum to answer for the action he had taken, or to await a commission of inquiry at Mandugba, as the Government might direct. In reply, Dafir Pasha sent down Ali Bey, a Syrian, and twelve minor men, with a commission to inquire into all the circumstances and to report to the Government. Zebehr laid everything open to their inspection at Mandugba, and Ali Bey reported to the Government in Zebehr's favour. The terms of the report stated Balali to have been evidently a dangerous and dishonest man, and a strong opinion was expressed that if Zebehr had acted differently the whole country would have been in disorder. In consequence of this report the Government offered its thanks to Zebehr, and desired him to send in an account of all that he had spent on account of Balali's troops. By this time the expenses had mounted to £10,000. The Government did not dispute the amount, but desired him to name an agent in Khartoum to whom the money should be paid. He was appointed Governor of the province of the White Nile, and Balali's soldiers and arms were transferred to his command. The Balali incident took place in 1871.* A few months of tranquillity followed and then troubles began to arise in the North.

New tribes of Bedouins had been coming in upon those with whom Zebehr had made the treaty of 1868, and internal quarrels were taking place in which, amongst other things, the new-comers reproached the older tribes with the compact by which they were bound. The older Bedouin tribes had settled down into comparatively peaceful habits of life, doing a very valuable trade in cattle and dairy produce with Mandugba. They received a constantly increasing subsidy from Zebehr for the right of way guaranteed through their country; they had shown themselves satisfied with their treaty, and they had kept it faithfully. Whether the sight of the numerous caravans which passed proved at last too much for their predatory instincts, or whether, in consequence of the infusion of wild races, the party of violence was suddenly strengthened in their councils, the result of their quarrels was that about the beginning of the year 1872, after four years of absolute peace, a big caravan was attacked and plundered. Many of the men accompanying it were killed, the remainder fled to Zebehr.

* After Schweinfurth left.

He sent an embassy to the Bedouins to remonstrate, saying: "You remember our treaty. I have not failed in my part of it, and you have had your benefit. Since the treaty was made you have had money every year and you have traded with Mandugba. We have been at peace and you have been richer. Why, then, do you now break the treaty and kill and rob the people who are coming to me?" But they banded together and replied that they were tired of the treaty. The money they received in subsidies was less, they said, than they could get by attacking the caravans. They preferred to return to their old habits, which were more worthy of a warlike nation than to trade in butter, and they declared that they would be no more at peace with him. He reminded them of their oath. They replied that many rains had washed that away. Still, after much negotiation, they agreed to renew the treaty, on condition that their present offence should be wiped out. Shortly afterwards they again attacked a caravan. When Zebehr again remonstrated they sent as their spokesman one of their chiefs named Braima. This Braima was a very intelligent man. He saw, as Zebehr pointed out, that it was to the advantage of the Bedouins as well as of every one else to keep the road open according to treaty. He promised to try and bring the Arabs to a fresh agreement, and in order to test his power Zebehr sent 600 pieces of ivory of his own to be passed through. Braima, returning with the ivory, called a council of Arabs. But they refused to agree to his proposals. "Why," they asked, "should we do as this man desires? He pays us a small sum; if we rob the caravans we get all." Braima pointed out that when the road was no longer safe caravans would no longer pass that way, and that in grasping at more they would lose the subsidy which Zebehr paid. He pointed out also that they had a market themselves at Mandugba for their milk and butter and cattle; that the advantages were all on the side of peace. They were as unmanageable as other audiences who have made up their minds for an aggressive policy. They replied, "No; this man is too strong. After a time he will come against us and conquer us as he conquered the Bongos and the Nyam-Nyams. It is better that we should fight him now." Braima continued to speak in favour of the treaty till they silenced him, saying: "If you are Zebehr's friend, go and live with him; but if you are a Bedouin, speak as a Bedouin, and act as we act." They took Zebehr's ivory and wrote him a sealed letter: "Do not think that we will make a treaty with you again. If you are strong enough come out and fight us." Zebehr wrote back to them that peace was better than war; that, for his part, he did not wish to fight, but to trade. He reminded them that he, too, was an Arab, and again proposed a treaty with them. They replied that if he was the strong man people called him, he was to come out and fight; if not, that they would go and

attack him, and destroy his city out of the world. Then he gathered his army and went out. Before starting he appointed as his responsible agent in Mandugba the Idris Abtar, whom he had lately freed from the power of Balali. He was an old man. Zebehr believed him trustworthy; but he proved to be one of those who are not to be trusted alone. "A good man," the Pasha said, "can be left to act by himself; one who only seems good shows his nature when he is left to himself."

The enemy came four days' march to meet Zebehr. They numbered about 15,000, of which the greater portion was cavalry. Zebehr's army numbered 4500, chiefly on foot, but well armed. They met at four o'clock in the afternoon. Zebehr had trained his men to shoot lying on the ground, and when the enemy's cavalry advanced to the charge, they fell on their faces and fired. By this manœuvre, with which the Bedouins were unacquainted, the enemy lost an enormous number of cavalry. After half an hour's fighting they were repulsed, but rallied and attacked again. They were repulsed again, but again they rallied, and at nightfall Zebehr was surrounded. The enemy enclosed him on all sides in a long oval. In the night he and two of his chief officers took off their clothes and went naked and silent round the enemy's lines till they knew which was the weakest position. Then they roused their army, and before dawn they attacked. The enemy was completely taken by surprise, and fled, leaving Zebehr master of the position, with 600 horses and other spoils. He began to form a cavalry corps. After this followed seven months of fighting, at the end of which Zebehr was master of Shekka. Three-fourths of the Bedouins submitted to him. The other fourth fled to the Sultan of Darfour, and offered themselves to him, entreating him to espouse their cause, and to attack Zebehr. Zebehr in the meantime fortified himself in Shekka, and wrote to offer his conquest to the Government at Khartoum. The Governor was no longer Dafir Pasha but Ismail.* Zebehr begged him to take over the new country for the Khedive. For his own part, he said that he was a merchant, that he had much to attend to in his own country, and that he preferred to confine himself to his business. "I am," he said, "a subject of the Egyptian Government. I was obliged to fight these people, but I have no wish to take the country for myself. Send down a Governor. I have too much to do to govern the country, but I will do all that I can to help anybody else. Only attend to this matter at once. It is most important that there should be no delay." At that time the Pasha said this letter candidly expressed his views. His business at Mandugba had become very extensive. It was flourishing, it filled

* Ismail Yacoub, known to us by his subsequent opposition to Gordon's plans of reforms.

his hands, and he had no thought of becoming anything but the merchant governor of that province. Upon the receipt of Zebehr's letter Ismail Yacoub referred the matter to Cairo. From Cairo the answer came that Zebehr was the only man competent to govern those wild countries, that their possession would embroil the government in perpetual little wars, and that the best course was to let Zebehr pay tribute for them, and remain otherwise independent, fixing his own taxes and governing as he pleased. Ismail Yacoub fixed the tribute at £15,000 a year. Zebehr accepted the proposal, and a formal agreement was entered into.

In the meantime the Sultan of Darfour, listening to the representations of those Bedouins who had fled to him before Zebehr, had made up his mind to fight the new conqueror. He protested against the compact between Zebehr and the Egyptian Government, claiming Shekka as part of his territory, and denying the right of the Egyptian Government to dispose of it. He summoned Zebehr to evacuate it. Zebehr replied, "This country has been subject to you for thirty-six years. During the whole of that time slave-hunting has continued here, and the roads remain unsafe. You have not the power to keep order. No one can but I. Several times before me you have tried and failed. Now you want me to leave it, but I will not. I am determined to assure the safety of these roads." The reply of the Sultan was to declare war, but letters still passed between them. In all there were eight letters upon this subject.* Zebehr endeavoured to reason with him, and offered to submit the question to a council of wise men, promising on his part, if free discussion were allowed, to accept the arbitration of the council. The Sultan's final answer was, "I am a king and you are nothing. I will not reason with you ;" and he commenced operations of war.

The army which he sent against Zebehr was supposed to number 40,000, including 9000 cavalry and 23 cannon. It was under the

* These letters and all documents to which the Pasha referred in the course of his narrative existed at the time of his arrest by the English. They passed out of his possession at that time. Since my return to England copies of them have been placed in my hands, and an Arabic correspondent has kindly summarized the contents for me as follows: "The first despatch is addressed by Zebehr to Ibrahim, Sultan of Darfour, asking him to send a contingent to Bahr-el-Ghazal to join Zebehr's soldiers in fighting the brigands and marauders who close the roads. In the second, Zebehr warns Sultan Ibrahim to guard himself against the insidious insinuations of Alian Hamed and Manzel, the two leaders of the brigands, who, after being defeated by Zebehr's troops, escaped and took refuge with their chiefs in Sultan Ibrahim's dominions. In the third, Zebehr complains of Sultan Ibrahim for having taken the part of the marauders, and made up to fight against Zebehr, contrary to the laws of the Prophet. In the fourth despatch Zebehr informs Sultan Ibrahim of his triumph, and of the defeat of the contingent sent by Ibrahim to fight against the Khedive's troops, and makes him responsible to God for all the bloodshed. The fifth despatch was addressed by Zebehr to the learned scholars and erudite doctors, and sheiks, dignitaries, nobles, and notables of Darfour. In this despatch Zebehr denounces Sultan Ibrahim, and throws all the blame of the calamitous war upon him. The other three despatches are addressed by Zebehr to different chiefs and notables, and to Sultan Ibrahim; and all of them bear on the same subject of opening the roads and securing them for the safety of wayfarers."

command of a man named Shakta, one of the wisest councillors of the Sultan. Zebehr's army now numbered nearly 9000, including some cavalry but no artillery. Upon hearing of the advance of the army of Darfour, Zebehr marched out with 5000 men. It was in the month of July 1873, that the armies met at a place twenty-four hours' march north-west of Shekka. They fought, and Zebehr was beaten, losing 400 killed besides wounded. He fell back towards Shekka, but within six hours of the station he was overtaken and attacked by the enemy's cavalry. Fighting continued from three o'clock in the afternoon till nightfall, when, with great difficulty, he succeeded in making his way back to the fortified town. In the night Shekka was attacked by cavalry. In the morning the whole host of the enemy was drawn up before it. But Zebehr's position had improved. His troops were refreshed with food, his numbers were nearly doubled, and he was ready for the fight. The battle began at twelve o'clock. By a quarter to one victory had already declared itself for him. Shakta had fallen. A little later and the rout of the enemy was complete. They fled, leaving the whole of their artillery on the field. Besides the 23 guns, Zebehr captured on this occasion 27 camel loads of ammunition, 2000 breast-plates, and 300 steel shields, together with a great quantity of horses, small arms, and the larger part of the camp furniture. The cannon were of a very curious kind. Even in Darfour they were considered to be old-fashioned, having descended from ancestors of the Sultan, and they bore date of manufacture of 480 years ago.* Twenty-one were made of pure copper, and two of iron. The bores were about 3 feet long, with a diameter of 6 inches in the larger guns, and 4 in the smaller. The heavy guns were mounted upon wooden wheels, and the lighter were carried upon camels. All were breech-loaders, having an opening on one side, which the Pasha illustrated by holding his snuff-box on one side and opening the cover downwards. The bullets used were solid round shot of copper. The small arms of the Darfour troops were old Turkish flint-locks, and the powder made in Darfour was very bad. The 300 steel shields had been newly made for the purpose of resisting Zebehr's bullets, but though they were perfectly efficacious against the bullets thrown by the flint-locks of the Darfour army, they were easily penetrable by the French rifles, with which Zebehr's men were armed. Besides the better guns, Zebehr had good powder from Cairo, and he had on his side another terrible arm more dreaded by the men of Darfour than any rifles—the teeth of his soldiers. All who fell in battle were eaten.

The gain of this first victory was enormous, both in prestige and

* This takes us back to within sixty years of the battle of Salado, in which, if I remember rightly, gunpowder is first mentioned as being used in Europe.

material. The Pasha supplied his army from the enemy's stores, and mounted his cavalry upon their horses. When a second army was sent against him, under the command of a chief named Abouna, he was able to advance with confidence to meet it at Kalaka. A battle began at eight o'clock in the morning, and, after hard fighting, Zebehr was again victorious. Abouna was killed and seven of his sons taken alive, besides a great quantity of spoil and ammunition. Zebehr, however, fell back again upon Shekka, taking his prisoners with him. Twenty days later he was attacked by a third army, commanded by a chief called Noor, who was defeated and fled. After this third battle, the Bedouins who had given their allegiance to the Sultan of Darfour, left him and transferred their services to Zebehr, thereby increasing his cavalry considerably. At this time also the Government at Khartoum sent him a troop of 350 soldiers. These soldiers were frightened by the enormous numbers of the Darfour armies, and reports reached Zebehr that they meant to desert. He sent for them and asked them, saying, "I am not dead yet. Why are you going to the Sultan?" They denied it, and by degrees the greater number learned to have confidence in his success. Sixty-one of them, however, did desert.

His army now numbered 12,000 infantry and 10,000 horse, and he felt himself strong enough to advance upon Dara. He took that town and fortified it strongly, digging all round it a ditch which was 12 feet deep and 12 feet wide. Here he sustained a siege which lasted for four months and thirteen days. At the end of that time the Sultan of Darfour came in person with fresh troops, and there was a great battle, in which Zebehr was completely victorious, and Sultan Hussein lost his life. Zebehr then sent embassies to Fascher, saying, "Come and submit to me. My soldiers are wild with victory. It is better that I should not advance to you; send out to me and save your city and your children, and those yet unborn." They listened to him and submitted themselves, and he became master of Darfour.

At this point in the story the Pasha paused and said: "Now all that I had done I did by my own energy and with my own resources. I never received a penny from the Government, yet I had worked for the Government, I had risked my life again and again, I had given my brain, I had spent my money. If an Englishman, or any other European, had done for his country what I had done for mine he would have been rewarded. For me the only reward was that the Government became jealous of my power." Conqueror of Darfour and Shekka, Ruler of Mandugba, commander-in-chief of an army of 20,000 men, and possessed of a very large private income, Zebehr was indeed a power to be considered. He offered Darfour, as he had offered Shekka, to the Egyptian Government, who accepted it,

and wrote to Ismail Yacoub, Governor of Khartoum, desiring him to take over the province. Ismail Yacoub was in Kordofan, at a place called Fodja, where he had been waiting to see how the war went. "Not giving any help," said Zebehr with a queer smile, "but waiting to see whether I should be killed or conquer!" He was afraid to obey the orders of the Khedive and go down to Zebehr, because his friends had persuaded him that Zebehr would be incensed that the Egyptian Government should make Darfour subject to Khartoum, and that he would vent his anger on the person of the Governor. In the meantime Zebehr had received private information of the feeling of fear which his rapid conquests had excited in Cairo. He had been told that the Khedive dreaded to see him establish an independent empire on the borders of Egypt. As he did not contemplate this and did not wish, for the sake of his family established near Khartoum, to embroil himself in any way with the Government, he acquiesced at once in the orders received, sent for Ismail Yacoub, offering him a safe conduct, together with all the assistance that it was in his power to give, and early in 1875 resigned the government of Darfour into his hands.

Darfour was at this time a country out of which a great deal might have been made. It is naturally rich—not possessing the extreme fertility of Nyam-Nyam, which is of all the countries the Pasha has known by far the richest—but having many resources which are still in great measure unused. It is a magnificent corn-producing country. All sorts of European corn are grown there and yield fine crops, and the Pasha named besides these eleven sorts of grain of which the interpreter could only tell me the Arabic names. Wheat ears habitually reach a length of 6 and 7 inches. Indian corn stands higher than a man's head. Cotton and indigo are also among the commonly cultivated and profitable crops. I was shown cotton sheeting grown, spun, and woven in Darfour, of which, although the manufacture did not come near the English in evenness or closeness of thread, the material appeared to be excellent. Some portions of the country are finely wooded. The most striking among the trees of which the Pasha made mention are the Hümme trees, spoken of I believe by travellers as a kind of fig. They grow to a great size and height, measuring sometimes about 12 and 14 feet in diameter, and are used by the natives as cisterns. If properly done the trunk can be hollowed without in any way injuring the tree. In the rainy season they are filled by hand, and the dense foliage keeps the water cool all through the summer. Along the caravan roads they are a source of riches to the natives, who fill them industriously in the season of the rains, and afterwards sell the water to the caravans. The Asilik is another fine tree with an edible fruit, which grows abundantly round Fascher. The Summut,

of which the bark is used for tanning, is plentiful. The Higleege was also named amongst the big trees. There is generally a great deal of fine and useful timber in the wooded districts. Other portions of the country appear to resemble American prairie land. The Pasha described them as wide tracts of grass where the cattle range in herds, which are sometimes to be counted by thousands. The owners of the cattle treat it in very much the same manner as the Western ranchers treat theirs, taking no other care of it than to count the herds once a year. The regular rains cause the grass to grow without cultivation. The cattle owners, however, make hay and store it for winter consumption. Horses, cows, and camels, constitute the principal herds. In some of the pasture lands there is a very considerable trade in dairy produce.

The soil of Darfour is rich, and the water supply is in some parts of the country very good, the land being irrigated by rain and not depending on the overflow of the rivers. The rivers are not known, and are therefore, of course, unmarked upon European maps. When the Nile is full it is possible to go from Khartoum to Fascher by water. There is a branch of the Bahr-el-Arab flowing north by Kalaka, which Zebehr navigated when he was lost upon the rivers in 1862, and by which Fascher can be reached. There have been many explorers of the Soudan, but except in so far as they have special scientific knowledge which enables them, in the Pasha's words, to see more than he could see, the Pasha believes himself to know those countries better than any foreign traveller. From his childhood it has been his habit to observe interesting things, and he has travelled not for a year or two but for the greater part of his life in the Soudan. To attempt to sum up in this place all that he said of it would be impossible. Briefly it was this. There are in the Soudan ivory, feathers, hides, wax, gum, tamarinds, honey, dates, sugar-canes, india-rubber and indigo, cotton, corn, and tobacco, horses, camels, cows, and all the wild animals that I have named. There are iron and copper, and I believe other minerals. But the case stands in this way. Rich as it is in material the Soudan has hardly any manufactures. Except in Darfour it has no factories for the making of clothes, arms, or cutlery, none for cannon and powder, none for ribbons and laces and ornaments. Nor has it any coinage. Whether for beauty, for use, or for war, it possesses scarcely anything which is made. Timber is useless until it is cut. Ivory is no good unless it comes to market. Now, if the roads were open and safe, the goods in which the Soudan is rich would come to Europe, European manufactures would go into the Soudan, and all alike would be richer. More than this, if the roads were open men of science would travel along them, and knowledge; which the natives want more than anything else in those lands, would

go down to them. There are many useful things in the Soudan of which no one knows the existence. I believe it, for instance, to be rich in minerals, but I have not sufficient knowledge myself on that subject to pronounce with certainty. If the roads were open manufacturers also would soon settle themselves near to their bases of supply. Little by little the country would be added to the civilized world. But for any one man to achieve this it is necessary that he should be supported from outside. Had I been the subject of an energetic government, and able and willing to do all that I did by myself, the government would have supported me, and I should have enriched it. But the Turkish Government, even for its own advantage, will not take trouble. As for me, I took great trouble; I worked hard and long. All that I did is wasted now, but if circumstances had gone otherwise, if, instead of living at Cairo for ten years, I had been in Darfour for ten years, it would now be a peaceful country with roads open in all directions, and its riches would be passing out in caravans to exchange with the goods of Europe.

"On the whole, therefore, you think it is a country which would pay for good government?"

"Dear lady, any garden with a good gardener will bring forth fruit. But the gardener must watch it. He must know what is good for rose-trees and what good for apples. He must give water where water is needed. He must know when to dig and when to prune. He must let the green fruit have sun, and gather his harvests when they are ripe. If these things had been done in Darfour, the country would have been prosperous, and this a good governor would do. Those who say that Darfour is barren speak as foreigners. It is badly governed, and nothing prospers; but it is a rich country, and the people are faithful, simple, and good. If they have a good chief, they worship him like God, and do all that he tells them. If they have a bad chief, they are terrified and they run away. For kindness they will do anything, but they can only be governed by kindness."

At the time of Zebehr's conquest, Darfour, although in many respects barbaric, was not a new country like the provinces of the White Nile. It was an old-established empire. Its cities had their traditions. Manufactures and trade were established. Government, imperfect as it was, had a definite organization. For administrative purposes the country was divided into districts, each of which had its governor, or Basha, who held office by the will of the Sultan. Each district furnished tribute and soldiers to the empire. The manner in which the tribute was collected depended upon the individual Basha. Usually the poor gave nothing, while the rich contributed according to their riches. There was an irregularity in the whole method of procedure which, in the hands of a cruel

governor, left opening for hideous injustice, but, administered by a just man, suited well enough with the irregular, half-comprehending wildness of the people. Out of the tribute the Basha was allowed to keep a certain proportion for the purpose of maintaining a military contingent. He did not give his soldiers any pay, but he gave arms and a horse and certain privileges to individuals chosen for military service. They were free in time of peace to do as they pleased, but in return for these advantages they were bound to follow him in war when called upon. Once a year the soldiers of each district were called out and inspected by the Sultan. If he was pleased with their number and condition, the governor of the district was praised and rewarded; if, on the contrary, he was displeased, the Basha was correspondingly censured or, it might be, removed. The internal government of the district depended almost entirely upon the personal character of the Basha. So long as the tribute was paid and the military contingent satisfactory, the Sultan asked few questions. The readiest means of escape from an oppressive governor was for the people to load their goods upon camels and flee into the desert. In a country where wide tracts existed of rich and unclaimed land this was easy to do, and under bad governors whole villages migrated, thus depriving the district of their labour and their tribute. In the most literal manner the rule of the unjust impoverished the land, and was to a certain extent checked by its own consequences. Round Darfour there were wild tribes who made constant raids upon the Sultan's dominions, and the prisoners taken in these border wars were enslaved. Otherwise there was not much slave-hunting in Darfour itself. It was in the neighbourhood of Shekka, along the caravan roads, that slave-hunting was unendurable. At the beginning of the war Zebehr had no desire but to put down slave-hunting, in order to clear the roads. In the eight letters which passed between him and the Sultan this is clearly set forth as the cause of the war. But when at the end of the two campaigns he found himself master of Darfour, his views began to enlarge; he entertained schemes for the government of that great province, and interested himself in the people. While the negotiations between him and the Egyptian Government on the subject of its transfer were taking place, he took one or two steps which appeared to him necessary in organization, and applied himself to a study of existing conditions, entering into relations with the great men of the country, and gathering information from them. He did not forget his favourite policy of opening the roads, but received deputations having that object from the kingdoms lying to the west and north of Darfour.

Ismail Yacoub, for whom the way was thus prepared, was briefly described by the Pasha in a term which the interpreter translated as

a "rubbish man." He came into Darfour knowing nothing of the country which he had undertaken to govern, and having no thought but to get rich. One of his first acts was to seize some of the leading men and even women of high family, and to send them down in irons to Cairo. Some died on the way, others are to this day in prison there. "That," the Pasha commented, "is not the way to govern. He ought to have had every one of those men for his friends." He brought with him a staff of seventy clerks, and proceeded to levy a poll tax of forty piastres upon a people who had never been individually taxed before. The poll tax was to become due at the age of sixteen, so that a man having several sons at home had to pay for them and for himself too. The very poor hitherto had paid nothing. Farmers and others had made their contributions to the government in grain or in any goods that they happened to possess. The notion of a poll tax of two dollars a head, which, in the case of large families, mounted up to such a sum in the year as they seldom saw, filled them with dismay. Although the country is rich the larger number of individuals are excessively poor. They have food but no coin, and could not pay if they would. To be called upon to do so simply terrified them and drove them from their homes.* Deputations came to Zebehr imploring him to intercede, and he remonstrated with Ismail Yacoub.

"This is not government," he said, "it is spoliation. What you are doing will ruin the country, and sooner or later it will rise against you."

Ismail at first resented the interference, and signified to Zebehr that it was no business of his. Afterwards he sent for him, and asked his advice, saying in mockery: "What do you suppose I am going to do? Shall I leave this people untaxed?"

"I do not say that you should leave them untaxed," Zebehr replied, "but that this tax you have put upon them is too heavy for a first year. Hear me! In the first year let the tax for the poor be $2\frac{1}{2}$ piastres, and the tax for the moderately rich 5 piastres, and the tax for rich men be 10 piastres. This shall be as a trial for them and for you."

Ismail replied, "No, I see very well that the country is rich; and the tax that you propose is too small."

Zebehr said, "You think so, but you are mistaken. You have to remember that in many districts where you see crops the people have fled away on account of the war. All is unsettled; and what you have to do is to encourage the people and to draw them back, in order that the country may be at peace and prosper again. Their own

* If a tax of two dollars should seem small as a cause of insurrection, let the reader remember the Irish Tithe riots, when in one parish in Carlow upwards of two hundred of the defaulters were rated at only a farthing a year, and in some cases the tithe fell to the seventh of a farthing.

government has been very bad. It will be easy to teach them to have confidence in you. Put light taxes upon them, they will come back, they will work and grow rich, they will be pleased, and think your government good. Good government taxes the rich and not the poor. It makes people prosperous before it taxes them heavily."

Ismail Yacoub would not listen to reason. His house at home was empty, and he wanted to fill it. He was not a governor, for he had no thought of those he governed, and no sympathy with their wants. He did not wish patiently to cultivate the soil, but to sweep off the crops and go. What he did was like reaping green corn. He ruined the country in order to enrich himself a little. So it has ever been with the governors of the Soudan. That district well governed might be in time the treasury of Egypt, but no one knows how it is despoiled. You have to understand that difficulty of transport makes Khartoum as far, perhaps farther, from Cairo than India is from London. Everything is in the hands of the governors, and it is essential that they should be good men. But instead of this, every governor goes down poor and comes back rich. To change is no use, for it only sends a hungry man in the place of one half satisfied. It is for this reason that the Turkish Government cannot keep the Soudan. Still do not think that the Turkish rule has been altogether bad for these barbarous peoples. There has been some good and some bad in it. When the Turks conquered the country it was very wild. There were no roads, it was impossible that merchants should travel. The good done by the Turkish Government has been to open the roads. The evil has been that greedy officials have cheated and oppressed the natives. But the roads remain, and the habit of trade remains, and some day a better race may go down and teach civilization without oppression.

"When you yourself undertook to pay a yearly tribute to the Egyptian Government, from what source did you propose to draw it?"

"Not from the taxes of the poor! I was a working merchant, as every governor of a semi-civilized State must be if he wants to have a revenue without oppression. I have told you of my income. I had of course a number of clerks who kept my books, and if I were at home I could tell you exactly what profits came from each branch of trade. I cannot carry the details in my memory; but roughly, as well as I remember, my last accounts showed a net profit of £12,000 a month. It was from this that I should have paid my tribute, and it would have been well worth my while to have given £15,000 a year in order to have the support and sympathy of the Government. As you know, I never paid the tribute; for the conquest of Darfour, following in the same year in which the agreement was signed, altered all arrangements."

"But you do not disapprove of the principle of taxing a people in order to meet the expenses of government?"

"On the contrary! On the contrary! So long as the people get full value from the government for what they pay it is just and right that they should be taxed. But in barbarous countries the tax must be very small, and the governor cannot expect to draw a large income from it. In the countries of which we were speaking, a small tax is desirable for two reasons. One reason is to give an excuse for counting the population, and the second is to accustom the people to the idea of government as a valuable thing—a thing which it is worth their while to pay for, and which must be supported by them. Unless there is an idea of mutual duty between the governed and the government political order is not possible. But for both these reasons it was essential that the tax should be scarcely more than nominal. As regards the counting of the people, a heavy tax simply frightened them away. I have told you how it was their habit to flee from their own bad governors into the desert, and far from enabling the governor to count them, the tax evidently caused them to be hidden from him, thus defeating its own end. Again, with regard to teaching them the benefits of settled government, a large tax was in excess of any benefits that they could realize. It seemed to them that they gave more than they received, and instead of a beneficial interchange of profit, government appeared in the light of an organized system of robbery."

This and much more Zebehr laid before Ismail Yacoub. The only result was that Ismail Yacoub sent complaints to Cairo that Zebehr was thwarting him and frustrating his plans, giving up the province to him nominally, but not allowing him to have his own way. The Khedive telegraphed to Zebehr to forbid any interference on his part with the schemes of Ismail Yacoub, and then Zebehr felt that the only hope of saving Darfour lay in a personal interview with the Khedive. Any report that he might write ran risk of suppression, or what was worse, of falsification. He thought that if he saw the Khedive face to face, and reported to him personally of the state of things in Darfour, some good might be achieved. He therefore telegraphed that he wished to go down and see the Khedive at Cairo. The Khedive answered with a very cordial invitation to him to come, and he went down in state. Before starting he disbanded the greater part of his army, and put the remaining 6000 under the nominal command of his son Suleiman, a lad of fifteen.*

He was already on the way when he was overtaken by a deputation from the King of Borku, who offered himself as a tributary, and proposed to open his roads. The letter of this king was also among

* Gordon speaks of this lad as being two-and-twenty years of age at the time of his death. His real age was sixteen.

the papers that were taken at the time of Zebehr's imprisonment by the English. His deputation brought with it two horses as a present to Zebehr. Zebehr sent back four horses fully caparisoned, and said, "If your king is in earnest let him send and meet me at Cairo, where we will discuss these things before the Khedive, and enter into a treaty."

The King of Tagali also came and offered himself, saying, "We have heard a good report of you, and if you will have us we will submit ourselves to you." Tagali is a mountainous district in Kordofan, about three days' journey south of El Obeid, and it is a very wild place, which up to that time had preserved its independence, refusing to submit to the rulers of either Darfour or Kordofan. To the king of Tagali, Zebehr also answered that these matters would be arranged before the Khedive, and he pursued his way. These and many other similar negotiations came to nothing in consequence of the failure of his principal hope.

It was at this period that the commonly related incident of the council under the tree is supposed to have taken place. "There is a large tree," wrote Colonel Gordon, "on the left-hand side of the road from Obeid to Shaka about two miles from Shaka. Under this tree Zebehr assembled his officers and swore them to obey him. If he sent word to them to attend to the arrangements made under the tree they were to revolt." I read this passage from Birkbeck Hill's "Gordon in Central Africa" to the Pasha. He smiled and shook his head. "Another of Idris Abtar's," he said; "there is not a word of truth in it. It is not only untrue. If you think of it you will see that it is so unlikely as to be impossible. At the time at which it is supposed to have happened I was strong and at the head of a victorious army. Every one knows that I am no coward. If I had contemplated a revolt against the Government I should not have been such a fool as to hand over the province to Ismail Yacoub, to leave my army in the hands of a child, and to go and put myself voluntarily into the Khedive's power at Cairo. Also you must know that these are all old stories examined during three years by the Khedive Ismail and proved to have no foundation. It is absurd after so searching an investigation to ask me now to deny them. If there had been foundation for them, do you suppose that I should be alive to give you this contradiction? Assuredly not."

The action of Idris Abtar and his relation to Gordon, which involved to some considerable extent also the Pasha's relation to Gordon, belong properly to a later portion of Zebehr's life, but as I do not propose to carry this narrative further than his arrival at Cairo in 1875, I repeat here some portion of what he told me with regard to it. Zebehr was at Cairo when Gordon went for the second time into the Soudan. They met just before Gordon started for Khartoum,

and they talked over the affairs of the province. Gordon asked Zebehr to give him such help as he could, and Zebehr promised to do so. "You are European and I am Arabic," he said, "but we can be friends. I have a son about sixteen years of age. He is yours! I give him to you, and I will write to him to obey you in everything." He wrote accordingly to Suleiman, telling him to honour Gordon and to follow his instructions. When Gordon got down into the Soudan he was immediately surrounded by natives, many of whom were jealous of Zebehr, and he was told that Suleiman was preparing to make war. Suleiman was at Shekka with 6000 soldiers. He held them at Gordon's disposal; but Gordon was told that they were for the purpose of fighting against him. He did not at first believe it, but he was persuaded by the people about him. He then desired Suleiman to meet him at Dara, which Suleiman did. After compliments, Gordon said straight out to Suleiman, "I hear you are going to make war against me." Suleiman replied that it was not so, that he was prepared to obey him and to honour him in all things. Gordon told him of the interview he had had in Cairo with Zebehr, and called upon him, if he was loyal as he professed to be, to give up his troops. Suleiman agreed to do so, and, at the appointed time, when the troops were drawn up in parade, he sounded his bugle and declared that he gave them into the hands of the governor, and that they were no longer his troops but Gordon's troops. Gordon distributed the soldiers through the provinces, and afterwards went to stay in Suleiman's house at Shekka. He gave Suleiman a medal, made him a colonel, and reported what he had done to Cairo. He also made him a present of arms. "Now all this shows," the Pasha said, "that my son, so far, did his duty as I told him to do, and Gordon was pleased with him."* The mischief arose upon his return to Mandugba.

When the troops had been disbanded at Shekka, Suleiman went to Mandugba and made the discovery of the bad conduct of Idris Abtar, who had now ruled there for three years. He had proved himself thoroughly dishonest. Zebehr's business was ruined, his laws were set aside, the country had been hunted over for slaves; there was riot and anarchy in Mandugba, and Idris Abtar himself was not even living there; he was at Dagu. Suleiman reproached him bitterly, saying, "You were put here as steward for my father, but him you have robbed, and you have wronged his people. Now I will make justice between you."

Upon this Idris was frightened and escaped to Khartoum, where, by means of bribery, he succeeded in laying the story in his own colours before Gordon. He declared that Suleiman was preparing

* The account given by Gordon at the time, although it differs very much in spirit, corroborates this narrative in the main facts.

to make war upon Gordon. Gordon inquired into the matter, but, clever as Gordon was, just and wise, too, as he was, he laboured under one great disadvantage in those countries. He did not speak Arabic well enough. The interpreters were in Idris Abtar's pay. Therefore, all the stories which came to Gordon's ears were modified to fit with what Idris Abtar said. Gordon did his best. He endeavoured to collect natives of ability around him, but they had not been accustomed to honest dealing with the Government. Idris Abtar was very rich, and some of the most eminent men were not above accepting bribes. When Gordon took council with them they assured him that Idris Abtar spoke the truth, and that Suleiman was making ready to fight against the Government. "Now all the time they understood quite well," the Pasha said, "what I want you to bear in mind, that to Suleiman, Idris Abtar was simply his father's servant, appointed by his father and not dependent on the Government. Suleiman was too young to be wise in his conduct at this time. Having so lately assured Gordon of his faith he ought to have known, upon finding disorder and trouble in Mandugba, that it was not for him to try and settle it alone. He ought to have laid the whole matter before Gordon, saying, 'Advise me now what to do.' If he had had the sense to ask him, Gordon would have helped him to put Idris Abtar down and all would have been well. He had twelve uncles with him for councillors. If they had been wise they would have sent him to Gordon, but between them they had no sense, and Suleiman acted like a child not knowing the difficulties of life."

Gordon's councillors at Khartoum advised that Idris Abtar should be made governor of the White Nile. Two thousand soldiers were given to him, and he went down to fight against the boy. Suleiman, hearing of it, wrote to Gordon, saying: "This man is a badly behaved servant of my father's. He lies; he is dangerous and depraved. I blamed him for his conduct and he fled to you. Now you put my servant over me. I cannot for the shame of it submit to him. Send, if you please, any man except this one. Let him be Turkish or European and I will submit; but I cannot to my servant." Before any answer could come Idris attacked. Suleiman fought and was victorious. Many were killed; Idris himself ran away, and returned by water to Khartoum, where he laid his complaint and report before Gordon. The Pasha repeated these circumstances twice over in careful detail, saying to me: "I want you to understand this, that you may know the cause of my son's death was a servant's treachery."

Upon receiving the news of the defeat of Idris, Gordon was angry, and Gessi was sent to reduce Suleiman to submission. At the same time Gordon wrote to Zebehr, calling upon him to fulfil his promise

of helping him with his influence, and Zebehr telegraphed to his son, "I do not wish you to fight; submit to Gessi." This telegram could of course be sent only to Khartoum for Gordon to forward. Gordon received it and sent it on, but fighting had already begun. Suleiman held the place against Gessi altogether for five months. "He was only sixteen," his father said, with a sort of pathetic pride, "and he kept all those troops with a European leader at bay." When Zebehr's telegram arrived, as Zebehr afterwards heard, the boy's uncles strongly advised him to submit, but his blood was up; he was proud, child-like, of his first victories, and he said, "No, if we submit now we shall be all killed." He determined, however, to send messengers to Gordon, who was at Shekka,* begging him once more to send some one else to take possession of the place, and offering in that case immediate submission. Nine men went to Gordon and begged him to appoint a governor. Gessi, hearing of it, sent a message himself to Gordon, that these men were only spies. Gordon naturally believed his own lieutenant, and the men were taken and executed as spies. News of this came to Suleiman. His uncles again urged him to lay down his arms. He would not, but he sent a second embassy to Gordon. The second embassy met with the fate of the first. Gessi in the meantime had obtained several victories. The uncles perpetually urged Suleiman to lay down his arms. Suleiman was finally beaten and surprised at Dara. Then he yielded. Gessi was sent for. He promised that Suleiman and his relations should go free. Suleiman's soldiers were given up, and peace was sworn. The prisoners lived with Gessi on friendly terms for five days, eating at the same table. On the fifth day they were to separate. Suleiman and his uncles were called together under a tree. Gessi spoke with them very kindly, saying, "Now consult together, and let me know what things you require for your journey." His soldiers were all round the tree. He walked away, and in five minutes the twelve uncles and the boy were dead—shot by his orders.†

Now, Gessi, the Pasha said, was a poor man, and he did not know the honour of kings. It is not thus that great men act, nor that such a government as the English would wish to act. Think of those wars with which you may be acquainted. When the French and the Prussians fought together, the Prussians gave back their prisoners with honour. After the Russo-Turkish war the Russians gave back their prisoners. When the French fought in Africa they

* In Gordon's letter this embassy is mentioned.

† I am, of course, acquainted with the official account of this transaction. I give Zebehr's account as he gave it. It is to be remembered that it reached him by report, and is as likely to be inaccurate as ours. But it represents what he and doubtless many other natives believe. He gave me the story twice, with a considerable interval between. I made notes on each occasion at the time. When I compared them afterwards, I found them almost identical.

kept their word to Abd-el-Kader. I, myself, when I took Moto, though he had killed my cousin, did not use him thus. Nor do I believe that Gordon ordered my son's death by treachery. Afterwards Gessi gathered riches, and went to Suez. But there he died, and God now is his judge.

Gordon heard that I was angry because of my son's death, and on his way up to Khartoum the third time we saw each other in the presence of Sir Evelyn Baring, Nubar Pasha, and the interpreters. Gordon said, "You wrote to your son to fight." I said, "No; it is not true. If I had, then it had been I who killed my son. But I did not." Gordon said, "I hear you are very angry." Then everything was explained between us, and all was made clear. Those who were present can tell you of it as well as I. The interposition of bad men, Idris Abtar's wild stories about me, the reports of my double dealing, everything was explained. Gordon said, "I am very sorry for your son's death." I said, "I gave you my son, and when I gave him to you I gave you rights of life and death; but I do not hold you personally responsible for his death. I know that it was English policy and Gessi, not you who killed my son." We shook hands and were friends. On my side, I freed Gordon of the guilt of my son's death, and on his side Gordon acknowledged that I had not acted treacherously. I referred him to the great people of Khartoum, who knew me and my family, and afterwards when he went up he found what I had said to be true. All was wiped out between us. Though he was against me, I know Gordon to be a great and good man. I respected his character, and if he had lived I should count him among my valued friends.*

And now would you like to know something? Would you like to know who killed Gordon? I will tell you. At the beginning of the English war in Egypt, Sir Evelyn Baring came to me with three generals. Sir Evelyn Wood was one of the three generals. I told them that to go to war was a great mistake, that all they could achieve would be to destroy cities and to terrify the people, who would rise and very likely massacre Gordon before he could be reached. "If you believe me," I said, "let me manage this matter for you without bloodshed. My family and children are here. Keep them as hostages, and let me go up. I do not want any money, I will go at my own expense; I will go alone. There shall be no blood between you and the Soudan, and I will undertake to bring Gordon safely back. If I prove in any particular unfaithful, do what you will with my family." I made this offer five times. I urged it upon them in every way, for I knew that to march with armies into the Soudan was useless. But they did not believe me. They thought

* The official account of this interview may be found in Blue Book, "Egypt," No. 12 (1884), p. 38.

my desire was to work mischief, and they went their way. At that time I could have done all I promised. Gordon at Khartoum wanted to have me sent up. I wanted to go up. If I had gone Gordon would have come home safe. Then who killed Gordon? Not the Soudanese. It was the English, who refused to let him have the friend he asked for. The English killed him, and why? Because they were like children, ignorant, frightened, and believing in evil.*

The Pasha put down to Idris Abtar's invention the greater number of the stories known to all who have read the commonly accredited English versions of his career. When they were laid before him he usually dismissed them with a shake of the head. "Another of Idris Abtar's. They are without end." But occasionally he entered into more detail of contradiction. When I told him of the letter encouraging his son Suleiman to revolt, generally reported to have been found among Suleiman's papers, he denied it absolutely. "The letter was never written by me. If it existed, why was it not brought and shown to me face to face, that I might say, 'I have done this thing, or I have not?' If they had such a letter, signed by me with my own name, they had proof of my treachery—all that was needed to condemn me to death. No such letter ever existed. It was only a fabrication of my enemies—either a false letter made on purpose, or no letter." On hearing Gessi's account of the desolate condition in which he found the White Nile provinces, the Pasha replied that it was not so in his time. He could not answer for the effects of Idris Abtar's rule.†

When he left Darfour, towards the end of 1875, he went down to Egypt without returning to Mandugba. He took with him 1000 men-at-arms and seventy-five king's sons, these latter in order that they might be introduced to the Khedive, and have the opportunity to study the life of a civilized city. He took also rich presents for the Khedive, amongst them one hundred horses, four lions, two leopards, and four parrots. On the way he was received with every demonstration of respect. The towns were decorated for his passage, the governors came out to meet him. "There was," he added, with a smile and a wave of the hand, "nonsense—great nonsense of all kinds; it is not for that that I care."

Ismail received him himself at Cairo with equal honour, gave him a palace and allowed £750 a month for his entertainment, but Zebehr had not gone down for the purpose of being fêted and enter-

* On this subject the reader may be referred to despatches contained in pp. 71, 72, 122, 135, 136, 137, and 145, "Egypt," No. 12 (1884).

† Some injustice seems certainly to be done to Zebehr when he is held responsible for the state of Darfour as Gordon found it under Ismail Yacoub, and for the state of the Bahari-Ghazal as Gessi found it under Idris Abtar. It should be remembered that both these men were his opponents and rivals, one was his open enemy. Their views were the exact opposite of his; and by the action of the Egyptian Government in detaining him at Cairo they were enabled to triumph.

tained. He wished to lay before the Khedive an exposition of the true state of things in Darfour, and to obtain a promise of support from the Egyptian Government in the right administration of that province. It was in vain that he endeavoured to approach this object. The Khedive used to meet him in society and talk pleasantly upon general subjects; to requests for business interviews he replied always, "To-morrow." At last, after five months of waiting, the Khedive granted the interview that he desired, and then instead of listening to Zebehr's report he said quite plainly: "It is of no use for us to talk together. I know you are a man of ability, I believe you would govern Darfour well, but frankly, I am afraid of you. You have made yourself too powerful, and I fear that if I gave you the authority you desire you would set up an empire in Darfour which would rival and perhaps even subjugate Egypt. Egypt is not strong enough to tolerate neighbours so strong. Therefore resign yourself to live with me here in Cairo. I will treat you well, you shall be practically free, only you are to go back no more to the Soudan."

Zebehr submitted, and this was the end of his work in those wild countries. It may well have been that the ease of existence, the more genial companionship, the stimulus of exercising influence at the heart rather than at the extremities of his country's political life, combined to reconcile him to his detention at Cairo. He told me much that was of interest with regard to his life there, but the story which I have proposed to myself to tell ends with his arrival in the capital.

He has never revisited the scene of his former labours, but his prophecies with regard to the results of the Turkish system have come true—Egypt has lost the Soudan. "If you were free now to go and govern it," I asked him once, "what would you do?" "Do not ask me to speak idly," he answered. "Twelve or thirteen years ago I could have told you. Now I have lost touch with the country. I do not know what my own family is doing in the neighbourhood of Khartoum, much less what is being done in the countries further south and west. If I went into those countries it would be to go first quietly to my family, where I might consider affairs; then to travel as a merchant or pilgrim, talking with the people and inquiring on all sides. In that way I could judge of things generally and of my own power. After that I might come back and tell you, perhaps, what could be done. But if France or England were to offer me now some millions to go up and settle those countries I could not take it. If I were to accept such an offer I should be acting dishonestly, for I do not now know anything. I only hope. If I went back I hope I should find still many men of good sense in the country, and I should endeavour to bring it to order by means of the good sense which is in it. But to take money now on a definite pledge would be impossible. I am not a selfish nor an ambitious man. All that I want is to keep

truth and to do good work. And I care for my name. Many times when I was in Cairo, friends desired me to fly to the desert. I was not kept there by bars and sentries. I was free to travel, and nothing held me but my name; but I had done no wrong, and if I had fled, the name of Zebehr would have been dishonoured. I have kept it clear so far. I want to keep it clear to the end, and to have it said of me afterwards, 'Zebehr was a gentleman till he died.'"

It was, I think, on the same occasion that he accompanied me, when I took leave, as far as the gate. We stood talking while the sentry unfastened it, and, as the man bungled, a heavy iron bar clanged on the asphalte. I shivered a little nervously at the sudden noise. The Pasha, observing me, said gently, "Do not think I am sorry, I am quite content."

We spoke often about the English, of whom the Pasha had, in two years of close intercourse, acquired some knowledge. He liked and admired them, and especially valued the integrity of English officials. He professed himself glad that the English people should know something of his history, and I can hardly perhaps end this part of it better than by quoting an estimate of them to which the news of his release, announced after these reminiscences had been thrown into shape, has since given a pleasant significance. "So far as my knowledge of them goes," he said one day, "I esteem the English to be an excessively ignorant people, but one which has so strong a natural bent towards justice that when they do know the facts they may be almost certainly trusted to act rightly."

FLORA L. SHAW.

REALISM AND ROMANCE.

THE question attributed to St. Bernard, "Whither hast thou come?" is agitating critical and literary minds. There has seldom been so much writing about the value and condition of contemporary literature—that is, of contemporary fiction. In English and American journals and magazines a new Battle of the Books is being fought, and the books are the books of the circulating library. Literary persons have always revelled in a brawl, and now they are in the thick of the fray. Across the Atlantic the question of Novel or Romance—of Romance or Realism—appears to be taking the place of the old dispute about State Rights, and is argued by some with polished sarcasm, by others with libellous vigour. One critic and novelist makes charges, as desperate as that of Harry Blount at Flodden, into the serried ranks of the amateurs of adventurous legend. Another novelist and critic compares his comrade to Mrs. Partington with her broom sweeping back the tide of Romance: the comparison is of the mustiest. Surely—a superior person may be excused for hinting—contemporary literature is rather over-valued, when all this pother is made about a few novels. There have been considerable writers before Mr. Marion Crawford, and, if we are to love books, the masterpieces of the past might seem to have most claim on our attention. But the world will not take Mr. Matthew Arnold's advice about neglecting the works of our fleeting age. I would make a faint and hypocritical protest against regarding the novels of the moment as the whole of literature, before I plunge into the eddying fray. "Children of an hour," I would say to my brethren, "it is not of literature ye are writing so busily, but of the bookish diversions of the moment." Literature is what endures, and what will endure: of all the novels we fight over

in Reviews and at dinner-tables, will even the impulses and methods and sentiments endure? In changed and modified forms doubtless they will go on living (like the rest of us), but a little toss of the dust that settles on neglected shelves will silence all our hubbub. Therefore do not let us exaggerate the merit of our modern works; only three or four of them will be raised into that changeless world where "Tom Jones" is and the "Bride of Lammermoor," where "Esmond" is and "Pickwick." This warning is merely a matter of conscience and caution, lest one should be confused with the person of wide reading—whose reading is confined to the monthly magazines. All of us, in fact, are like the men of Homer's age—the latest songs, the last romances are dearest to us, as to the Ithacan wooers of old time.

"For novel lays attract the ravished ears,
But old the mind with inattention hears,"

as the ingenious Mr. Pope translates it. However much we may intellectually prefer the old books, the good books, the classics, we find ourselves reading the books of the railway stall. Here have we for travelling companions "The History and Adventures of Joseph Andrews and his Friend, Mr. Abraham Adams" (1743) on one side, and "Lady Branksmere" (1887), by the author of "Phyllis," on the other. The diverting author of "Phyllis" will pardon me for thinking Henry Fielding a greater author than she, but it is about the charming Margaret Daryl, in her novel, that I am reading just now, and *not* about the brother of Pamela. We are all like that, we all praise the old and peruse the new; he who turns over this magazine is in no better case.

"Hypocrite lecteur, mon semblable, mon frère!"

After this confession and apology, one may enter the lists where critical lances are broken and knights unsaddled; where authors and reviewers, like Malory's men, "lash at each other marvellously." The dispute is the old dispute about the two sides of the shield. Fiction is a shield with two sides, the silver and the golden: the study of manners and of character, on one hand; on the other, the description of adventure, the delight of romantic narrative. Now, these two aspects blend with each other so subtly and so constantly, that it really seems the extreme of perversity to shout for nothing but romance on one side, or for nothing but analysis of character and motive on the other. Yet for such abstractions and divisions people are clamouring and quarrelling. On one side, we are told that accurate minute descriptions of life as it is lived, with all its most sordid forms carefully elaborated, is the essence of literature; on the other, we find people maintaining that analysis is *ausgespielt* (as Mr. Bret Harte's critical shoeblack says), and that the great heart of the people demands tales of swashing blows, of distressed maidens

rescued, of "murders grim and great," of magicians and princesses, and wanderings in fairy lands forlorn. Why should we not have all sorts, and why should the friends of one kind of diversion quarrel with the lovers of another kind? A day or two ago, at a cricket match, I was discussing literary matters with an amateur of fourteen, the inheritor of a very noble name in English literature. We were speaking of Mr. Stevenson's "Kidnapped." "I don't care for anything in it but the battle in the Round House," said this critic. I ventured to remark that I thought the wandering on the hills with Alan Breck was very good. "Then it is good—for you," answered the other, and that is the conclusion of the whole matter. That is good which is good for each of us, and why should I quarrel with another gentleman because he likes to sadden himself o'er with the pale cast of Dostoieffsky, or to linger long hours with M. Tolstoi in the shade, while I prefer to be merry with Miss Margaret Daryl, or to cleave heads with Umslopogaas or Sir Lancelot in the sunshine? What can be more ludicrous than to excommunicate Thackeray, because we rejoice in Dickens; to boycott Daisy Miller because we admire Ayesha? Upon my word, I hardly know which of these maidens I would liefer meet in the paradise of fiction, where all good novel-readers hope to go: whether the little pathetic butterfly who died in Rome or she who shrivelled away in the flame of Kôr. Let us be thankful for good things and plenty of them; thankful for this vast and goodly assembly of people who never were; "daughters of dreams and of stories," among whom we may all make friends that will never be estranged. Dear Dugald Dalgetty, and dear Sylvestre Bonnard, and thou, younger daughter of Silas Lapham, and Leatherstocking, and Emma Bovary, and Alan Breck, and Emmy Sedley, and Umslopogaas, and Sophia Western—may we meet you all! In the paradise of fiction there shall be "neither bond nor free," neither talk of analysis nor of romance, but all the characters of story that *live* shall dwell together deathless.

"Our heroes may sleep not, nor slumber,
And Porthos may welcome us there."

What is good, what is permanent, may be found in fiction of every *genre*, and shall we "crab" and underrate any *genre* because it chances not to be that which we are best fitted to admire? I, for one, admire M. Dostoieffsky so much, and so sincerely, that I pay him the supreme tribute of never reading him at all. Of "Le Crime et le Châtiment," some one has said that "it is good—but powerful." That is exactly the truth; it is too powerful for me. I read in that book till I was crushed and miserable; so bitterly true it is, so dreadfully exact, such a quintessence of all the imaginable misery of man. Then, after reaching the lowest deep of sympathetic abandonment (which I plumbed in about four chapters), I emerged, feeling that I had enough

of M. Dostoieffsky for one lifetime. The novel, to my thinking, is simply perfect in its kind; only the kind happens to be too powerful for my constitution. I prefer a cigarette to that massive weed, with a Spanish name, on the enjoyment of which Mr. Verdant Green, greatly daring, ventured at a freshman's wine. To what purpose, then, should I run down Russian novels as tedious and lugubrious? As far as I have wandered across the steppes and *tundras* of Russian fiction, it is vast, wind-swept, chilly, with dark forests and frozen expanses, and, here and there, a set of human beings at unequal war with destiny, with the Czar, with the laws of the Universe, and the nature of things. Nothing can be more true, more masterly, more natural. But it is not exhilarating, and is not salutary for a nature prone to gloom, and capable of manufacturing its own pessimism on the premises without extra charge. The same remarks (purely personal) apply to certain English and American novels. There is a little tale, "A Village Tragedy," by Mrs. Woods, which I view with dread. I know I shall drift into reading it, and adding another stone to the cairn which we all pile so assiduously on the dead body of our youth, on our festivity, on our enjoyment of existence. The worst, not the best of it, is that these legends are all "ower-true tales," and are often written with admirable care and attention. Again, there are stories in which the less desirable and delightful traits of human character are dwelt on, as it were by preference, till a man feels almost as merry as if he had been reading Swift's account of the Yahoos. For example, there is Mr. Howells's "Modern Instance." Here is a masterly novel, and a true picture of life, but of what a life! All the time one is reading it, one is in the company of a Gentleman of the Press, who is not, and is not meant to be, a gentleman in any other sense of the word. He is mean, and impudent, and genial, and unabashed; he has not the rudiments of taste or of breeding; he distresses and diverts one beyond endurance. But even he is an angel of good company compared with his passionate, jealous, and third-rate wife, who may match, as a picture of the wrong sort of woman, with Thackeray's Mrs. Mackenzie. The whole book is a page torn out of life, as people say, and it has wit as well as veracity and observation. Yet it makes one miserable, as Thackeray does not make one miserable, because the book contains no Clive, no Fred Bayham, no Colonel Newcome, no J. J., and no portly father of J. J. No admiration, however enthusiastic or personal, of modern stories of adventure can blind one to the merits of works of Realism like "A Modern Instance," or "Le Crime et le Châtiment," or "The Bostonians." These are real, they are excellent; and if one's own taste is better pleased by another kind of writing, none the less they are good for the people whom they suit; nay, they should be recognized as good

by any one with an eye in his literary head. One only begins to object if it is asserted that this *genre* of fiction is the only permissible *genre*, that nothing else is of the nature of art. For it is evident that this kind of realism has a tendency to blink many things in life which are as real as jealous third-rate shrews and boozy press-men. Of course the distinguished chiefs of Modern Realism do not *always* blink what is pleasant, gay, sunny, and kindly in human nature. The Misses Lapham, or the Miss Laphams (grammarians may choose), seem to me delightful girls, despite their education. The Lady of the Aroostook was (as the young critic might say) a brick. So was Verena, the fair lecturer in "The Bostonians." But (to my mind) the tendency of Realism in fiction is often to find the Unpleasant Real in character much more abundant than the Pleasant Real. I am a pessimist myself, as the other Scot was "a leear," but I have found little but good in man and woman. Politics apart, men and women seem almost always to be kind, patient, courteous, good-humoured, and well-bred in all ranks of society—when once you know them well. I think that the Realists, while they certainly show us the truth, are fondest of showing that aspect of it which is really the less common as well as the less desirable. Perhaps mean people are more easily drawn than generous people; at all events from the school of Realists we get too many mean people—even from a Realist who is as little a Realist as the king was a royalist—from M. Zola. These writers appear not to offer up Henry Fielding's prayer to the Muse, "Fill my pages with humour, till mankind learn the good nature to laugh only at the follies of others, and the humility to grieve at their own." There is not much humour in their works, and little good humour is bred of them. That is the difference between work like Thackeray's, where there are abundant studies of the infinitely little in human nature, and work like that of many modern amateurs of Realism. "It takes all sorts to make a world," and all sorts, by virtue of his humour, Thackeray gives us. He gives us Captain Costigan and Harry Foker, as well as the crawling things in "Lovel the Widower." He gives us gentlemen and ladies, as well as tuft-hunters and the George Brandons of this world. Fielding and Scott have this humour, this breadth, this greatness. Were I in a mood to disparage the modern Realists (whereas I have tried to show that their books are, in substance, about as good as possible, granting the *genre*), I might say that they not only use the microscope, and ply experiments, but ply them, too often, *in corpore vili*. One does not dream of denying that they do exhibit noble and sympathetic characters—now and then. But happy, and jolly, and humorous people they hardly ever show us; yet these have their place among realities. And, on the whole, they do prefer to be busy with the rarer sort of realities, with the Cousines Bettes,

and the like. And they show a sort of cruelty and coldness in their dealings with their own creations. If I were to draw up an indictment, I might add that some of them have an almost unholy knowledge of the nature of women. One would as lief explore a girl's room, and tumble about her little household treasures, as examine so curiously the poor secrets of her heart and tremors of her frame. Mr. Christie Murray, an admirable novelist, has said this, and said it well. Such analysis makes one feel uncomfortable in the reading, makes one feel intrusive and unmanly. It is like overhearing a confession by accident. A well-known book of M. E. de Goncourt's is full of the kind of prying that I have in my mind. It is, perhaps, science—it may be art; and to say that it is extremely disagreeable may be to exhibit old-fashioned prejudice. Good it may be, clever it is; but it is not good for me.

So much one who is not of their school may say for the Realists of our time. Of their style one would rather say little, because naturally each has his own style. The common merits, on the whole, are carefulness, determined originality, laboured workmanship in language, and energetic nicety of speech. The natural defects that attend these merits are inverted adjectives, "preciousness," affectation, "a nice derangement of epitaphs." For one, I do not much object to these errors, or I might be obliged to dislike Charles Lamb and Sir Thomas Browne. But I do object to the occasional apparition, among all the chiselled niceties, of a burly piece of newspaper slang, of a gross, palpable provincial idiom, or a *cliché* of the American reporter. Style, by all means, let us have; but don't let it be so mixed. The realistic style is now and then thus mixed—that is the pity of it.

In trying to estimate modern, especially English and American, realistic fiction as a whole, one has first to admit that it is never fair to do anything of the sort. It is a rough, clumsy way of dealing, to give a name or a nickname to a crowd of writers, and then to decide offhand upon their common qualities. Many of them may object to the name of Realists altogether. They all vary as much as other people in their natural talent, education, and character. But, as far as any modern English and American novels have been written with an avowed æsthetic purpose, and that purpose the unrelentingly minute portraiture of modern life and analysis of modern character, the unrelenting exclusion of exciting events and engaging narrative, we may say that these novels, though often full of talent, are limited in scope, and are frequently cramped in style. The pretension that all modern novels should be composed in this *genre*, and that all others are of the nature of original sin, seems to be an impossible pretension.

At this moment the strife is between the partisans of Realism thus

understood and the partisans of stories told for the story's sake. Now, there is no reason at all why stories told for the story's sake should not be rich in studies of character—peopled by men and women as real as Mr. and Mrs. Bartley Hubbard, both of whom you may (if you are unlucky) meet any day. The "Odyssey" is the typical example of a romance as probable as "The Arabian Nights," yet unblemished in the conduct of the plot, and peopled by men and women of flesh and blood. Are we to be told that we love the "Odyssey" because the barbaric element has not died out of our blood, and because we have a childish love of marvels, miracles, man-eating giants, women who never die, "murders grim and great," and Homer's other materials? Very well. "Public opinion," in Boston, may condemn us, but we will get all the fun we can out of the ancestral barbarism of our natures. I only wish we had more of it. The Coming Man may be bald, toothless, highly "cultured," and addicted to tales of introspective analysis. I don't envy him when he has got rid of that relic of the ape, his hair; those relics of the age of combat, his teeth and nails; that survival of barbarism, his delight in the last battles of Odysseus, Laertes' son. I don't envy him the novels he will admire, nor the pap on which he will feed bearsomely, as Mr. John Payne says of the vampire. Not for nothing did Nature leave us all savages under our white skins; she has wrought thus that we might have many delights, among others "the joy of adventurous living," and of reading about adventurous living. There is a novel of Mrs. Burnett's, "Through One Administration," which the civilized person within me, the Man of the Future within me, heartily delights to peruse. It is all about a pretty, analytic, self-conscious American married lady, and the problem is to discover whom she is in love with, and why. Is it her husband, or the soldier, or the Government clerk? Does she know which it is herself? As they are all "moral men" like Werther, and "would do nothing for to hurt her," the excitement, to a civilized mind, is extremely keen. They all talk about their emotions for ever, and the pleasure which this affords to the Man of the Future in each of us is almost too poignant. I nearly cried when a property Red Indian (not *coram populo*, of course) scalped the true lover, and ended the tale. But the natural man within me, the survival of some blue-painted Briton or of some gipsy, was equally pleased with a *true* Zulu love story, sketched in two pages, a story so terrible, so moving, in the long, gallant fight against odds, and the awful unheard-of death-agony of two Zulu lovers, that I presume no civilized fancy could have invented the incidents that actually occurred. If one were wholly civilized, and "cultured" to the back-bone (if one may mention that feature), the savage tale would have failed to excite. If one were all savage, all Zulu, "Through One Administration" would leave one a little

uninterested. The savage within us calls out for more news about the fight with the Apache, or Piute, who killed the soldier-man.

The advantage of our mixed condition, civilized at top with the old barbarian under our clothes, is just this, that we can enjoy all sorts of things. We can enjoy "John Inglesant" (some of us), and others can revel in Buffalo Bill's Exhibition. Do not let us cry that, because we are "cultured," there shall be no Buffalo Bill. Do not let us exclaim that, because we can read Paulus Silentarius and admire Rufinus there shall be no broadside ballads nor magazine poetry. If we will only be tolerant, we shall permit the great public also to delight in our few modern romances of adventure. They may be "savage survivals," but so is the whole of the poetic way of regarding Nature. The flutter in the dovecots of culture caused by three or four boys' books is amazing. Culture is saddened at discovering that not only boys and illiterate people, but even critics not wholly illiterate, can be moved by a tale of adventure. "Treasure Island" and "Kidnapped" are boys' books written by an author of whose genius, for narrative, for delineation of character, for style, I hardly care to speak, lest enthusiasm should seem to border on fanaticism. But, with all his gifts, Mr. Stevenson intended only a boys' book when he wrote "Treasure Island" and restored Romance. He had shown his hand, as a novelist of character and analysis, in "Prince Otto." But he did not then use just the old immortal materials of adventure. As soon as he touched those, he made a boys' book which became a classic, and deserved to be a classic. "Kidnapped" is still better, to my taste, and indeed Scott himself might have been the narrator of Alan Breck's battle, of his wanderings, of his quarrel with the other Piper. But these things are a little over the heads of boys who have not the literary taste. They prefer the adventures of Sir Harry and the other Allan in Kukuana-land or in Zu-Vendis. We may not agree with their taste, but that is their taste. Probably no critic would venture to maintain that the discoverer of Kôr has the same literary qualities as the historian of John Silver. It seems a pity, when we chance to have two good things, to be always setting one off against the other, and fighting about their relative merits. Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Rider Haggard have both written novels, have both written boys' books. Personally, I prefer their boys' books to their novels. They seem happier in their dealings with men than with women, and with war than with love. Of the two, Jess appears to me real, and the wife of Mr. Stevenson's Prince Otto shadowy. But Mr. Haggard's savage ladies are better than his civilized fair ones, while there is not a petticoat in "Kidnapped" or "Treasure Island." As for "She" herself, nobody can argue with a personal affection, which I entertain for that long-lived lady.

"The holy priests
Bless her when she is riggish,"

Shakespeare says of Cleopatra, and, like the holy priests, I can pardon certain inconsequences in Ayesha. But other moralists must find her trying; poor Ayesha, who "was a true lover," though she did not therefore, like Guinevere, "make a good end." Apparently female characters are not the strong point either of Mr. Haggard or of Mr. Stevenson, as far as they have gone. Consequently it is difficult to compare those agreeable writers with, let us say, M. E. de Goncourt or Mr. Howells. Nor is there much reason in comparing them with each other. Mr. Stevenson is a born man of letters, a born student of style. Since Thackeray no English author has been gifted with or has acquired a manner so perfect, so subtle, so original. And yet he has plenty to say, though he can say it so well, "which is strange." Unlike Sir Walter Scott, he can write English as well as he can write Scotch, and, since Scott, no one has written Scotch like him. If any short story comes second to the tale of "Wandering Willie," it is "Thrawn Janet." In addition to all these accomplishments, Mr. Stevenson possesses an imagination which touches that of Edgar Poe, on one side, and of M. Anatole France on the other. He can be as witty as Mr. George Meredith, as humorous as Burns, as sad as Night, and as jolly as the Jolly Beggars. Perhaps his "Night with Villon" is the most perfect of modern short studies in romance. One cannot be too thankful for a writer with such various endowments. There is no sense in comparing them with Mr. Haggard's gifts: he only resembles Mr. Stevenson in natural daring and inventiveness, and in having written admirable tales of adventure. He is as far as possible from being a born student, or a born master of style. He does not see the world through books, and he writes like a sportsman of genius. Thus one cannot pretend to criticize the style of the Romantic school, as (to a certain extent and with limitations) we may criticize the style of the Realistic school. There is, there can be, no Romantic school. Any clever man or woman may elaborate a realistic novel according to the rules, and may adopt the laborious use of inverted adjectives. But Romance bloweth where she listeth, and now she utters her message to a student and a master of words, like Mr. Stevenson, through whom the tale reaches us, "breathed softly as through the flutes of the Grecians." Now, again, Romance tells Mr. Haggard her dreams beside the camp-fire in the Transvaal, among the hunters on the hills of prey, and he repeats them in a straightforward hunter's manner, and you believe in the impossible and credit adventures that never could be achieved. As works of art, the books of these two writers do not invite comparison, but both are inspired by that same venturous maid of Helicon, who somewhere learned the history of Odysseus' wander-

ings, and revealed them to the man of Chios. Let us be grateful for all good things in literature, and not reject one because it lacks the grace or the glory of another. We are not to sneer at a good story, because the narrative might be better graced. How much Scott cared for style, or even for grammar, is but too manifest, even to persons who have not examined his manuscripts, wherein there is scarce an erasure or an alteration. Sir Walter reeled it off at a white heat. Thackeray's manuscripts are of a different aspect; what Balzac's were like all readers of literary anecdote know very well. To every man his own method, his own qualities, his own faults. Let us be grateful for the former, and a little blind to the latter.

Whatever the merits and demerits of modern English romance, one thing is certain. It is now undeniable that the love of adventure, and of mystery, and of a good fight lingers in the minds of men and women. They are stirred by the diamonds and the rich ingots the "Last Stand of the Greys" (a chapter from actual history), the bland John Silver, and the malevolent Gagool. The moral is manifest enough. The moral is not that even the best boys' books are the highest class of fiction, but that there is still room for romance, and love of romance, in civilized human nature. Once more it is apparent that no single *genre* of novel is in future, or at least in the near future, to be a lonely literary sultan, lording it without rival over the circulating libraries. But to argue, therefore, that there is no more room for the novel of analysis and of minute study of character would be merely to make a new mistake. There will always, while civilized life endures, and while man is not yet universally bald and toothless—there will always be room for all kinds of fiction, *so long as they are good*. A new Jane Austen would be as successful as a new Charles Kingsley. Moreover, it will always be possible to combine the interest of narrative and of adventure with the interest of character. This combination has been possible in the earliest literature. If we take the saga of the Volsungs and Niflungs, we find the union already perfect. What can be more barbaric than the opening of the Saga? Perhaps even Mr. Rider Haggard would not introduce a hero whose brother was a serpent, or a hero who turned into a wolf and bit off an old lady's tongue, and became the father of a family of little wolves. Yet this very saga has the characters of Sigurd and Gudrun; the immortal scene of the discovery of wronged and thwarted love; the man's endurance of it; the woman's revolt, and all the ruin that she drew on herself, her lord, her lover, and her kin. There is no more natural, true, and simple picture of human nature, human affections and passions, in Balzac or in Shakespeare, than that scene from a savage tale which begins with the loves and hates of serpents and were-wolves. What

could be combined in an entrancing whole by a minstrel of Chios, by a saga-man of Lithend, need not be kept apart in modern fiction. We may still have excellent studies of life and character, with little of the interest of story in them. We may still have admirable romances, in which the delight of adventure far exceeds the interest of character, or, very often, the elegance of style. And we may still have novels, like many of Scott's, in which character, and life, and adventure are so mingled in a whole, that we can scarce tell which of them charms us most. There is even room for the novel of disquisition and discussion of life, as no admirer of Fielding, and Thackeray, and George Eliot will deny. Some of us will be better pleased by one kind, some by another. All will be good for some of us, if they are good in their kind. Why should persons of this taste or that give themselves airs, as if they only were the elect? A man need not hate "M. Lecoq" because he delights in "Manon Lescaut." A man may have his hours for "Madame Bovary," and his hours for "Les Cardinal," and his hours for "Le Crime de l'Opéra." "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon;" let us condemn none of the heavenly bodies. I have heard Mark Twain called a "Barbarian." This will not make me say that "Huckleberry Finn" is better than a wilderness of "Prophets of the Great Smoky Mountain." But I will admit that I vastly prefer old Huck, that hero of an Odyssey of the Mississippi. I can even imagine that a person of genius might write a novel "all about religion," or all about agnosticism, which might be well worth reading. I don't expect to live to see that romance, but it may come, for the novel is a perfect Proteus, and can assume all shapes, and please in all. The lesson, then, is that it "takes every sort to make a world," that all sorts have their chance, and that none should assert an exclusive right to existence. Do not let us try to write as if we were writing for *Homo Calvinus*, the bald-headed student of the future. Do not let us despise the day of small things, and of small people; the microscopic examination of the hearts of young girls and beery provincial journalists. These, too, are human, and not alien from us, nor unworthy of our interest. The dubitations of a Bostonian spinster may be made as interesting, by one genius, as a fight between a crocodile and a catawampus, by another genius. One may be as much excited in trying to discover whom a married American lady is really in love with, as by the search for the Fire of Immortality in the heart of Africa. But if there is to be no *modus vivendi*, if the battle between the crocodile of Realism and the catawampus of Romance is to be fought out to the bitter end—why, in that Ragnarök, I am on the side of the catawampus.

ANDREW LANG.

SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF'S VIEWS ABOUT INDIA.

II.

I SHALL now consider the important questions of trade, bullion, population, drain, &c., to which Sir Grant Duff has referred. As promised in my first article, I shall at once proceed to give official facts and figures, which will enable the public to judge for themselves.

I begin with the question of the trade of British India. What is the true trade of British India? The trade returns of British India, as published in Blue-books, both in England and India, are misleading to those who do not study them with certain necessary information to guide them. What are given as trade returns of British India are not such really, as I explain below. The exports of the produce of a country form the basis of its trade. It is in return for such exports, together with ordinary commercial profits, that the country receives its imports. I shall first analyze the so-called exports of British India. A large portion of them, together with their profits, never return to British India in any shape, either of merchandise or treasure; though in every true trade all exports with their profits ought so to return. The present exports of British India consist of—

1. The exports of produce belonging to the Native States.
2. The exports of produce belonging to the territories beyond the land frontiers.
3. The exports of the produce belonging to European or other foreign planters or manufacturers, the profits of which are enjoyed in and carried away out of the country by these foreigners, and do not belong to nor become a portion of the capital of the people of British India. The only interest the people have in these exports is, that they are the labourers, by whose labour, at poor wages, the

resources of their own country are to be brought out for the profit of the foreigners, such profit not to remain in the country.

4. Remittances for "home charges," including interest on public debt held in England, and loss in exchange, and excluding interest on debt which is incurred for railways and other productive works.

5. Remittances for interest on foreign debt incurred for railways and other productive public works. What in this case the lenders get as interest is all right; there is nothing to complain of in that. In other countries, beyond the interest to be paid to the lenders, the rest of the whole benefit of such loans remains to the people of the country. This, however, is not the case with British India.

6. Private remittances of Europeans and other foreigners to their own countries for their families, and on account of their savings and profits. These remittances, together with item four, and what the foreigners enjoy in the country itself, are so much deprivation of the people, and cause the exhausting annual drain out of the very poor produce or income of British India. This is India's chief evil.

7. The remainder are the only *true* trade exports of the produce belonging to the people of British India.

Let us now examine the actual figures of the so-called exports of British India, say for 1885. For easier understanding I give the figures in sterling, taking the conventional £1 = Rs. 10. The amount of merchandise exported is £83,200,528. This, however, consists of not only domestic produce and manufactures of all India, but also foreign merchandise re-exported. I do not include treasure in these exports, for the simple reason that the gold or silver is not produced in India, but is simply a re-exportation out of what is imported from foreign parts. I take all my figures from the statistical abstracts published among parliamentary returns, except when I mention any other source. I take, then, exports of merchandise to be £83,200,528. We must first know how much of this belongs to the Native States. The official trade returns give us no information on this important point, as they should. I shall therefore make a rough estimate for the present. The population of all India is nearly 254,000,000, out of which that of the Native States is 55,000,000, or about 21·5 per cent.; or say, roundly, one-fifth. But the proportion of their exports will, I think, be found to be larger than one-fifth. All the opium exported from Bombay comes from the Native States. A large portion of the cotton exported from Bombay comes from the Native States. According to Hunter's "Imperial Indian Gazetteer," one-sixth of such cotton comes from Kathiawad alone. To be on the safe side, I take the total of exports of the Native States to be one-fifth only—i.e., £16,600,000. Next, the export of merchandise from the frontier countries is about £5,300,000.

I may roughly take only one-quarter of this as exported out of India. That will be £1,300,000.

The exports of coffee, indigo, jute manufactures, silk, tea, &c., which are mostly those belonging to foreign planters and manufacturers, amount to about £11,500,000. I cannot say how much of this belongs to native planters, and not to foreigners. I may take these exports as £10,000,000.

Remittances made for "home charges" (excluding interest on railway and productive works loans), including interest on public debt and loss in exchange, come to about £11,500,000.

Remittances for interest on foreign loans for railways and other public works are about £1,827,000. I cannot say how much interest on the capital of State railways and other productive works is paid in England as part of the interest paid on "debt" (£2,612,000). If I take debt as £162,000,000, and capital laid out on productive works £74,000,000, the proportion of interest on £74,000,000 out of £2,612,000 will be about £1,189,000. If so, then the total amount of interest on *all* railways and public works will be about £6,000,000, leaving all other home charges, including exchange and interest on public debt, as £11,500,000, as I have assumed above.

Private remittances of Europeans and other foreigners for their families, and of savings and profits, and for importing merchandise suitable for their consumption, may be roughly estimated at £10,000,000, though I think it is much more.

The account, then, of the *true* trade exports of British India stands thus :—

Total exports of all India and Frontier States	£83,200,000
Native States	£16,600,000
Frontier Territory	1,300,000
European planters	10,000,000
Home charges	11,500,000
Interest on all railways and public works loans	6,000,000
Private remittances	10,000,000
	<hr/> 55,400,000

The true trade exports of the people of British India £27,800,000

Or say, roundly, £30,000,000 for a population of nearly 200,000,000, giving 3s. per head per annum. If proper information could be obtained, I believe this amount would turn out to be nearer £20,000,000 than £30,000,000 for the *true* trade exports of the people of British India. To be on the safe side, I keep to £30,000,000. It must be remembered that this item includes all the re-exports of foreign merchandise, which have to be deducted to get at the true exports of domestic produce.

Is this a satisfactory result of a century of management by British administrators? Let us compare this result with the trade exports of other parts of the British Empire. As I have no

information about the foreign debt of those parts, for the interest of which they may have to export some of their produce, I make allowance for their *whole* public debt as so much foreign debt. This of course is a too large allowance. I take interest at 5 per cent., and deduct the amount from the exports. I am therefore evidently under-estimating the exports of the other parts of the British Empire. As the exports of British India include re-exports of foreign merchandise, I have taken the exports of all other countries, in a similar way, for a fair comparison. No deduction for any payment of interest on foreign debt is made for the United Kingdom, as it is more a lender than a borrower. I cannot give here the whole calculation, but only the results, and they are these:—

Countries.	True trade export per head (1885).	Countries.	True trade exports per head (1885).
	s. d.		s. d.
The United Kingdom	149 4	Cape of Good Hope (exclusive of diamonds)	35 5
Australia (including bullion and specie which it pro- duces)	271 0	North American Colonies	70 5
Natal	28 8	West India Islands	75 4
		British India, only	3 0

Let us next take some of the foreign countries, and see how wretched British India's trade is when compared with even them. For a few of the foreign countries I can get particulars of their public debt, but not of that portion of it which is foreign debt. I have taken the amount of the *whole* public debt, and allowed 5 per cent. interest on it, to be deducted from the exports, as if it were all foreign debt. In this way I have under-estimated the true trade exports. These countries I mark with an asterisk; those marked † include bullion. For these I cannot get separate returns for merchandise only. In the case of the United States the figure is really a great under-estimate, as I take its foreign debt as equal in amount to its whole public debt, and also as I take interest at 5 per cent. I cannot get particulars of the foreign debts, if they have any, of other countries, and some allowance will have to be made for that. But in all these cases the amount of exports is so large, as compared with the paltry figure of British India, that the contrast remains most striking:—

Countries.	Exports per head.	Countries.	Exports per head.
	s. d.		s. d.
*Russian Empire	12 0	Austro-Hungarian Empire	47 0
*Norway	61 7	†Roumania	27 0
Sweden	61 6	†Greece	39 9
*Denmark	97 5	Egypt	38 9
German Empire	107 2	*United States	55 6
Holland	348 1	†Mexico	20 1
*Belgium	375 2	†Chili	149 0
*France	68 7	†Argentine Republic	90 8
†Portugal	33 9	†Uruguay	198 2
Spain	36 5	Japan	3 8
*Italy	17 9	British India	3 0

Even Japan, only so lately opened up, is exporting more than British India.

After seeing how poor the *true trade* exports are of the people of British India from the point of view of British India's interests, let us next examine the matter from the point of view of *England's* interests. What benefit has England's trade derived, after possessing and administering British India for more than a hundred years, under a most expensive administration, with complete despotic control over it, the people having no voice and no control of any kind. Has British India so improved as to become an important customer for British goods? There was no protection, no heavy duties to hamper British imports, as in other parts of the British Empire itself, or in foreign countries. And yet we find that British India is by far the most wretched customer for British produce or manufactures. Here are the facts:—The total of the exports of British produce from the United Kingdom to India is, for the year 1885, £29,300,000. As I have explained before about exports from India, that they are not all from British India, so also these exports from the United Kingdom to India are not all for British India, though they enter India by British Indian ports. These British exports have to be distributed among—(1) Native States; (2) frontier territories; (3) consumption of Europeans; (4) railway and Government stores; and (5) the remainder for the natives of British India. Let Government give us correct information about these particulars, and then we shall be able to know how insignificant is the commercial benefit England derives from her dominion over British India. I shall not be surprised if it is found that the real share of the people of British India in the British exports is not half of the £29,300,000 imported into India. It must be remembered that whatever is received by the Native States and the frontier territories is in *full* return, with the ordinary profits of 15 per cent., for their exports to the United Kingdom. Their case is not like that of British India. They have no such exhausting drain as that of British India, beyond paying the small tribute of about £700,000. If I take £15,000,000 as British produce received for the consumption of the native subjects of British India, I think I am on the safe side. What is this amount for a population of 200,000,000? Only 1s. 6d. per head. Take it even at 2s. per head if you like, or even £25,000,000, which will be only 2s. 6d. per head. What a wretched result for *four-fifths of the whole British Empire!* The population of British India is 200,000,000, and that of the rest of the British Empire outside India, including the United Kingdom, about 52,000,000.

I now compare the exports of British produce to British India with those to other parts of the British Empire and to other foreign countries. I give the results only:—

BRITISH EMPIRE.

EXPORTS OF BRITISH PRODUCE PER HEAD FOR 1885.

To Countries.	s.	d.	To Countries.	s.	d.
British India . . . 1s. 6d. or	2	6	Ceylon	3	10
North American Colonies . . .	30	8	Mauritius	14	2
West Indian Islands and			Cape of Good Hope and		
Guiana	37	10	Natal	45	8
British Honduras	66	7	West African Settlements . .	57	3
Australasia	155	8	Possessions on the Gold		
Straits Settlements	86	10	Coast	13	10

Some deductions may have to be made from these figures.

What a sad story is this! If British India took only £1 per head, England would export to British India alone as much as she exports at present to the *whole* world (£213,000,000). What an amount of work would this give to British industries and produce! Will the British merchants and manufacturers open their eyes? Will the British working men understand how enormous their loss is from the present policy, which involves besides a charge of dishonourable violation of sacred promises that clings to the British name? If India prospered and consumed British produce largely, what a gain would it be to England and to the whole world also! Here, then, will be Sir Grant Duff's—"India's interest, England's interest, and the world's interest"—to his heart's content, if he will with a true and earnest heart labour to achieve this threefold interest in the right way.

Let us next take other foreign countries, with most or all of which England, I think, has no free trade, and see how British India stands the comparison even with them:—

EXPORTS OF BRITISH PRODUCE PER HEAD.

To Countries.	s.	d.	To Countries.	s.	d.
British India	2	6	Russia (perhaps partly supplied through intermediate countries)	0	11½
Germany	7	3	Greece	10	1
France	7	11	*Turkey in Europe	16	8
Sweden and Norway	10	8	*" Asia	3	10
Denmark and Iceland	19	4	Egypt	10	2
Holland (this may be supplying some portion of Central Europe)	44	3	United States	8	9
Belgium (do. do.)	28	3	*Central America	4	7
Portugal	8	0	*Brazil	10	5
Spain	3	9	Uruguay	54	0
Italy (perhaps partly supplied by intermediate countries)	4	9	Argentine Republic	31	8
Austrian territory (ditto)	0	8	Chili	12	4
			Japan	1	1

Japan, so lately opened, has commenced taking 1s. 1d. worth per head. These figures tell their own eloquent tale. Is it too much to expect that, with complete free-trade and British management, and all "development of resources," the prosperity of British India ought to be such as to consume of British produce even £1 a head, and that it would be so, if British India were allowed to grow freely under natural economic conditions?

In the first article I referred to the capacity of British India for taxation. Over and over again have British Indian financiers lamented that British India cannot bear additional taxation without oppressiveness. Well, now what is the extent of this taxation, which is already so crushing that any addition to it would "grind British India to dust?" It is, as I have shown in the first article, after squeezing and squeezing as much as possible, only 5*s.* 8*d.* per head per annum, and according to the present budget a little more—say 6*s.* Let us see what the capacity for taxation of other parts of the British Empire and of other foreign countries is, and even of those Native States of India where anything like improved government on the British Indian system is introduced. I give results only:—

BRITISH EMPIRE.

GROSS REVENUE PER HEAD PER ANNUM.

Countries.	s.	d.	Countries	s.	d.
British India	6	0	Natal	29	10
United Kingdom	48	9	Cape of Good Hope	53	1
Ceylon	8	6	North American Colonies	31	7
Mauritius	40	5	West India Islands	23	1
Australia	139	8	British Guiana	32	2

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

GROSS REVENUE PER HEAD PER ANNUM.

Countries.	s.	d.	Countries.	s.	d.
Russia in Europe	24	5	Austro-Hungary	40	6
Norway	23	6	Italy	39	10
Sweden	19	8	Greece	37	7
Denmark	26	11	Servia	16	3
German Empire	13	6	Bulgaria	12	3
Prussia	41	2	Roumania	20	3
Saxony	22	8	Egypt (proper)	30	11
Grand Duchy of Oldenburg	18	6	United States (different		
Saxe-Coburg and Gotha	17	0	States have their separate		
Bavaria	44	9	revenue besides)	26	10
Wurtemberg	27	8	Mexico	15	3
Grand Duchy of Baden	27	2	Brazil	26	1
" " Hesse	21	8	Guatemala	24	0
Alsace-Lorraine	24	8	Nicaragua	18	9
Holland	47	1	Salvador	29	8
Belgium	45	7	Orange Free State	36	9
France	73	6	Persia	8	7
Portugal	31	6	Republic of Peru	18	2
Spain	41	10	All territory directly under		
Switzerland	12	2	Turkey	13	3

N.B.—Some of the above figures are worked out of Whitaker's Almanac, 1886.

It will be seen that British India's capacity for paying taxation is very poor indeed, compared to that of any other country of any consequence. Of the above figures I cannot say which may be oppressive to the people. I give this as a fact, that these people pay so much for being governed. But it must be further borne in mind that every farthing of what these people pay returns back to them, which is not the case with British India. Can it be said of any of these countries that one-fifth or one-third of its people goes through

life on insufficient food from sheer poverty of only 40*s.* income, and not from imperfect distribution?

I shall next take the case of some of the Native States of India. I have taken some where, during the minorities of the princes, English officials have administered the State, and put them into order and good government. The capacity for taxation which I give below is not the result of any oppressive taxation, but of the natural developments by improved government, and of the increasing prosperity of the people. I give instances in the Bombay Presidency that I know, and of which I have been able to get some particulars.

GROSS REVENUE PER HEAD.

£1 = Rs. 10.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Baroda	12	3	Gondal	18	0
Cutch	7	11	Morbi	17	2
Bhavnagar	12	6	Wadhwan	18	10

These States have no debts. Baroda, Bhavnagar and Gondal have built and are extending their own railways, and all have built and are building their own public works from revenue, and have good balances. Baroda has a balance in hand of £2,100,000, equal to eighteen months' revenue; Cutch has £140,000, equal to eight months' revenue; Bhavnagar has £560,000, equal to two years' revenue; and Gondal has £150,000, equal to fifteen months' revenue. I give only one or two short extracts from official statements. Sir W. Hunter, in his "Imperial Gazetteer," says about Bhavnagar in connection with Kathiawad: "Bhavnagar has taken the lead in the material development of her resources, and is the first State in India which constructed a railway at her own expense and risk." I may say that Gondal did the same in conjunction with Bhavnagar, and Baroda had done that long before. In handing over the rule of Gondal to the prince on the completion of his minority, Major Nutt, the British Administrator and in charge of the State at the time, says with just pride and pleasure, in reference to the increase of revenue from £80,000 in 1870 to £120,000 in 1884: "One point of special interest in this matter is, that the increase in revenue has not occasioned any hardship to Gondal subjects. On the contrary, never were the people generally—high and low, rich and poor—in a greater state of social prosperity than they are now." The Bombay Government has considered this "highly satisfactory."

At the installation of the present Chief of Bhavnagar, Mr. Peile, the Political Agent, describes the State as being then "with flourishing finances and much good work in progress. Of financial matters I need say little; you have no debts, and your treasury is full." When will British Indian financiers be able to speak with the same pride, pleasure, and satisfaction? "No debt, full treasury, good

work in progress, increase of revenue, with increase of social prosperity, for high and low, rich and poor." Will this ever be in British India under the present policy? No.

There are some other States in Kathiawad in which higher taxation per head than that of British India is paid by the people, though I do not know that it is said that there is oppressive taxation there. I may instance Junagadh as 11s. per head, with £500,000 balance in hand, equal to fifteen months' revenue; and Nawanagar as 16s. 3d. per head, and gradually paying off some debt. I have no doubt that Native States will go on rapidly increasing in prosperity as their system of government goes on improving. I know from my own personal knowledge as Prime Minister of Baroda for one year that that State has a very promising future indeed. There are several other Native States in India in which the gross revenue per head is higher than that of British India. All the remaining first and second class Kathiawar States are from 8s. to 13s. per head; Gwalior, 7s. 8d.; Indore, 13s. 5d.; Bhurtপুর, 8s. 8d.; Dholepur, 8s. 10d.; Tonk, 7s.; Kotah, 11s. 4d.; Jallawar, 8s. 10d. Only just now Sindia lends £3,500,000 to the British Government; Holkar, I think, has lent £1,000,000 for the Indore railway.

There cannot be much oppression in these States, as the Political Agents' vigilance and superintendence, and the fear of the displeasure of Government, are expected to prevent it.

Then Sir Grant Duff maintains that no country on the face of the earth is governed so cheaply as British India. In the first place, this is a fiction, as the heaviness of burden on poverty-stricken British India is more than double that on the enormously rich England; and secondly, Sir Grant Duff's object is, to show that this cheapness is a proof of the success of the present British Indian policy. But, on the contrary, the facts and figures I have given above about British India's wretched income and capacity for taxation, its insignificant trade, and the very paltry commercial benefit to England, are conclusive proofs of anything but success in improving the prosperity of the people. Moreover, for the so-called cheapness, it is no thanks or credit to Government. It is not of choice that Government takes only 6s. per head. On the contrary, it is always longing, ever moaning and using every possible shift to squeeze out more taxation if it can. By all means make British India capable of paying even 20s. per head (if not 50s. per head, like England) for revenue, without oppression and misery; or make its income £20 per head, if not £41, like that of England; and then fairly claim credit for having raised to some material extent the prosperity of British India. Let us have such results, instead of tall talk and self-complacent assertions. Had Government given us year after year correct information about the actual income and condition of the people of British India, Britain

would then have known the deplorable results of the neglect of, and disobedience to, her deliberate and sacred mandates.

Again, Sir Grant Duff's boast of the cheapness of government is wrong, even in the misleading sense in which he maintains it. He tries to show that because British India pays only 6s. per head, it is therefore the most cheaply governed country on the face of the earth—i.e., no other country pays a less amount per head. But even in this he is not quite accurate. He would have found out this had he only looked about in India itself, and he would have saved himself the surprise which he expresses at Mr. Smith being startled when he (Mr. Smith) was told that taxation was lighter in Native States than in British India. As a matter of fact, there *are* some Native States in which the revenue per head is lighter than in British India. Whether that is a desirable state of affairs or not is another question; but when he twits Mr. Smith, he should have ascertained, whether what Mr. Smith was told was at all correct or not. There *are* some of the Native States where the gross revenue is very nearly as low as or even less than 6s. per head: Hyderabad, 6s. 4d.; Patiala, 6s. 4d.; Travancore, 5s. 8d.; Kolhapur, 5s. 6d.; Mysore, 4s. 10d.; Dungapore, 2s.; Marwar, 4s. 10d.; Serohi, 2s. 3d.; Jeypore, 4s. 3d.; Banswara, 3s. 8d.; and Kishengarh, 4s. 10d. Travancore is known as a well-governed country. £15,000 of its revenue is interest on British Indian Government securities, and it holds a balance in hand in Government securities and otherwise of £564,000—equal to nearly eleven months' revenue. Jeypore has the reputation of being a well-governed State. There are similarly even some foreign countries outside India which are as "cheaply governed" as British India: United States of Columbia, 5s. 10d.; Republic of Bolivia, 5s. 11d.

Sir Grant Duff refers to the absorption of gold and silver and to hoarding. What are the facts about British India? In my "Poverty of India" I have treated the subject at some length. The total amount (after deducting the exports from imports) retained by India during a period of eighty-four years (1801 to 1884), including the exceptionally large imports during the American war, is £455,761,385. This is for *all* India. The population at present is 254,000,000. I may take the average of eighty-four years roughly—say 200,000,000. This gives 45s. 6d. per head for the whole eighty-four years, or 6½d. per head per annum. Even if I took the average population as 180,000,000, the amount per head for the eighty-four years would be 50s., or 7d. per head per annum. Of the United Kingdom I cannot get returns before 1858. The total amount of treasure retained by the United Kingdom (after deducting exports from imports) is, for twenty-seven years from 1858 to 1884, £86,194,937. Taking an average of 31,000,000 of population for twenty-seven years, the amount retained for these twenty-seven years is 55s. 7d. per head,

or very nearly 2*s.* 1*d.* per head per annum ; while in India for more than three times the same period the amount is only 45*s.* 6*d.* per head, or 6½*d.* per head per annum. France has retained from 1861 to 1880 (Mulhall's Dictionary) £208,000,000 ; and taking the population—say 37,000,000—that gives 112*s.* per head in twenty years, or 5*s.* 7*d.* per head per annum.

Sir Grant Duff ought to consider that the large amount of bullion is to be distributed over a vast country and a vast population, nearly equal to five-sixths of the population of the whole of Europe ; and when the whole population is considered, what a wretched amount is this of gold and silver—viz., 6½*d.* per head per annum—received for all possible wants ! India does not produce any gold or silver. To compare it with Europe—Europe retained in ten years, 1871–1880 (Mulhall, "Progress of the World," 1880), £327,000,000 for an average population of about 300,000,000, or 21*s.* 10*d.* per head, or 2*s.* 2*d.* per head per annum. India during the same ten years retained £65,774,252 for an average population of say 245,000,000 ; so that the whole amount retained for the ten years is about 5*s.* 4*d.*, or only 6½*d.* per head per annum, against 21*s.* 10*d.* and 2*s.* 2*d.* respectively of Europe. This means that India retained only one-fourth of what Europe retained per head per annum during these ten years. It must be further remembered that there is no such vast system of cheques, clearing-houses, &c., in India, as plays so important a part in England and other countries of Europe. Wretched as the provision of 6½*d.* per head per annum is for *all* wants—political, social, commercial, &c.—there is something far worse behind for British India. All the gold and silver that I have shown above as retained by India is not for British India only, but for the Native States, the frontier territories, and the European population ; and then the remainder is for the native population of British India. We must have official information about these four divisions before we can form a correct estimate of what British India retains. The Native States, as I have said before, have no foreign drain except the small amount of tribute of about £700,000. Some frontier territories receive something instead of paying any tribute. These States therefore receive back for the exports of their merchandise, and for the ordinary trade profits on such exports, full returns in imports of merchandise and treasure, and this treasure taken away by the Native States and frontier territories forms not a small portion of what is imported into India. It must also be considered how much metal is necessary every year for waste of coin and metal, and for the wants of circulating currency. When Government can give us all such information, it will be found that precious little remains for British India beyond what it is compelled to import for its absolute wants. I hope England does not mean to say that Englishmen or Englishwomen may sport as much

as they like in ornaments or personal trinkets or jewellery; but that the wretch of a native of British India, their fellow-subject, has no business or right to put a few shillings' worth of trinkets on his wife or daughter's person; or that natives must simply live the lives of brutes, subsist on their "scanty subsistence," and thank their stars that they have that much.

I will now try to give some indication of what bullion British India actually retains. Mr. Harrison gave his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1871-74 that about £1,000,000 of fresh coinage was more than sufficient to supply the waste of coin or metal. Is it too much to assume that in the very widespread and minute distribution, over a vast surface and a vast population, of small trinkets or ornaments of silver, and their rough use, another million may be required to supply waste and loss? If only a pennyworth per head per annum be so wanted, it would make a million sterling. Next, how much goes to the Native States and the frontier territories? Here are a few significant official figures as an indication: The "Report of the external land trade and railway-borne trade of the Bombay Presidency for 1884-85" (p. 2), says of Rajputana and Central India—"13. The imports from the external blocks being greater than the exports to them, the balance of trade due by the Presidency to the other provinces amounts to Rs. 12,01,05,912, as appears from the above table and the following." I take the Native States from the table referred to.

EXCESS OF IMPORTS IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

From Rajputana and Central India	Rs. 5,55,46,753
" Berar	1,48,91,355
" Hyderabad	8,67,688
Total	Rs. 7,13,05,796

Or £7,130,579. This means that these native States have exported so much more merchandise than they have imported. Thereupon the Report remarks thus:—"The greatest balance is in favour of Rajputana and Central India, caused by the import of opium from that block. Next to it is that of the Central Provinces. It is presumed that these balances are paid back *mainly in cash*" (the *italics* are mine). This, then, is the way the treasure goes; and poor British India gets all the abuse, insult added to injury. Its candle burns not only at both ends, but at all parts. The excessive foreign agency eats up in India, and drains away out of India, a portion of its wretched income, thereby weakening and exhausting it every year drop by drop, though not very perceptibly, and lessening its productive power or capability. It has poor capital, and cannot increase it much. Foreign capital does nearly all the work, and carries away all the profit. Foreign capitalists from Europe and from Native States make profits from the resources of

British India, and take away those profits to their own countries. The share that the mass of the natives of British India have is to drudge and slave on scanty subsistence for these foreign capitalists; not as slaves in America did, on the resources of the country and land belonging to the masters themselves, but on the resources of their own country, for the benefit of the foreign capitalists. I may illustrate this a little. Bombay is considered a wealthy place, and has a large capital circulating in it, to carry on all its wants as a great port. Whose capital is this? Mostly that of foreigners. The capital of the European exchange banks and European merchants is mostly foreign, and most of the native capital is also foreign—i.e., that of the native bankers and merchants from the Native States. Nearly £6,000,000 of the capital working in Bombay belongs to native bankers from the Native States. Besides, a large portion of the wealthy merchants, though more or less settled in Bombay, are from Native States. Of course I do not mean to say anything against these capitalists from Europe or Native States. They are quite free and welcome to come and do what they can. They do some good. But what I mean is, that British India cannot and does not make any capital, and must and does lose the profit of its resources to others. If British India were left to its own free development it would be quite able to supply all its own wants, would not remain handicapped, and would have a free field in competition with the foreign capitalists, with benefit to all concerned. The official admission of the amount of the drain goes as far as £20,000,000 per annum; but really it will be found to be much larger (excluding interest on railway and public works loans):—add to this drain out of the country what is eaten and enjoyed in the country itself by others than the natives of the country, to the deprivation by so much of these natives, and some idea can be formed of the actual and continuous depletion. Now, take only £20,000,000 per annum to be the extent of the drain, or even £10,000,000 per annum; this amount, for the last thirty years only, would have sufficed to build all the present and a great many more railways and other public works. There is another way in which I may illustrate the burning of the candle at all parts. First of all, British India's own wealth is carried away out of it, and then that wealth is brought back to it in the shape of loans, and for these loans British India must find so much more for interest; the whole thing moving in a most vicious and provoking circle. Will nothing but a catastrophe cure this? Even of the railway, &c., loans the people do not derive the full benefit. I cannot go into details about this here. I refer to my correspondence with the Secretary of State for India, published in the *Journal of the East India Association* under the title of "The Condition of India." Nor can

I go here into the calculations about the drain. I can only refer to my papers on "The Poverty of India" and "Condition of India." Let Sir Grant Duff kindly show me where I am wrong in those papers, and I shall be thankful; or he will see that no country in the world, not even England excepted, can stand such a drain without destruction. Even in those days when the drain was understood to be only £3,000,000 per annum, Mr. Montgomery Martin wrote in these significant and distressing words: *

"The annual drain of £3,000,000 on British India has amounted in thirty years, at 12 per cent. (the usual Indian rate) compound interest, to the enormous sum of £723,900,000 sterling. . . . So constant and accumulating a drain, even in England, would soon impoverish her. How severe, then, must be its effects on India, where the wage of a labourer is from twopence to threepence a day! Were the hundred millions of British subjects in India converted into a *consuming* population, what a market would be presented for British capital, skill, and industry!"

What, then, must be the condition now, when the drain is getting perhaps ten times larger, and a large amount besides is eaten in the country itself by others than the people. Even an ocean would be dried up if a portion of its evaporation did not always return to it as rain or river. If interest were added to the drain, what an enormous loss would it be!

In the darkness of the past we see now a ray of light and hope, when the highest Indian authority begins to perceive not only the material disaster, but even the serious "political danger" from the present state of affairs. I only hope and pray that Britain will see matters mended before disaster comes. Instead of shutting his eyes, like an ostrich, as some persons do, the Secretary of State for India only last year, in his despatch of 26th January 1886 to the Treasury, makes this remarkable admission about the consequences of the present "character of the Government," of the foreign rule of Britain over India:—

"The position of India in relation to taxation and the sources of the public revenues is very peculiar, not merely from the habits of the people and their strong aversion to change, which is more specially exhibited in new forms of taxation, but likewise *from the character of the Government* which is in the hands of foreigners, who hold all the principal administrative offices, and form so large a part of the army. The impatience of new taxation, which would have to be borne, wholly as a consequence of the foreign rule imposed on the country, and virtually to meet additions to charges arising outside of the country, would constitute a political danger the real magnitude of which, it is to be feared, is not at all appreciated by persons who have no knowledge of or concern in the government of India, but which those responsible for that government have long regarded as of the most serious order." [The italics are mine.]

This gives some hope. If, after the faithful adoption of the policy of 1833 and 1858, our material condition does not improve, and all the

* "Eastern India, 1838," vol. i. p. xii.

fears expressed in the above extract do not vanish, the fault will not be Britain's, and she will at least be relieved from the charge of dishonour to her word. But I have not the shadow of a doubt, as the statesmen of 1833 and the proclamation of 1858 had no doubt, that the result will be a blessing both to England and India.

A second ray of hope is this. Many Englishmen in England are taking active interest in the matter. Mr. Bright, Mr. Fawcett, Sir C. Trevelyan, and others have done good in the past. Others are earnestly working now—Mr. Slagg, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Digby, Mr. S. Smith, Mr. Hyndman, and several others. A further ray of hope is in an increasing number of members of Parliament interesting themselves in Indian matters, such as Dr. Hunter, Mr. S. Smith, Dr. Clark, Mr. Cremer, Sir J. Phear, Sir W. Plowden, and many others; and we cannot but feel thankful to all who have taken and are taking interest in our lot. All unfortunately, however, labour under the disadvantage of want of full information from Government, and the difficulty of realizing the feelings and views of the natives. But still they have done much good. I must also admit here that some Anglo-Indians begin to realize the position. We owe much to men like Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir G. Birdwood, Major Bell, Mr. Ilbert, Mr. Cotton, and others of that stamp, for their active sympathy with us. Mr. Bright hit the blot as far back as 1853 in his speech of the 3rd of January: "I must say that it is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production, and that notwithstanding the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are that there is some fundamental error in the government of the country." It is not necessary to go far to seek for this fundamental error. It is the perversion of the policy of 1833, which in the more widened and complete form of 1858 is virtually still a dead letter.

Much is said about poor natives wasting money in marriages, &c. I hope it is not meant that these poor wretches have no right to any social privileges or enjoyments, and that their business is only to live and die like brutes. But the fact of the matter is, that this is one of those fallacies that die hard. Let us see what truth the Deccan Riots Commission brings to light. The Report of that Commission says (page 19, par. 54): "The results of the Commission's inquiries show that undue prominence has been given to the expenditure on marriage and other festivals as a cause of the ryots' indebtedness. The expenditure on such occasions may undoubtedly be called extravagant when compared with the ryots' means; but the occasions occur seldom, and probably in a course of years the total sum spent this way by any ryot is not larger than a *man in his position is justified in spending on social and domestic pleasures.*" (The italics are mine.) And what is the amount the poor ryot spends on

the marriage of his son! Rs. 50 to 75 (£5 to £7 10s.) say the Commissioners.

Sir Grant Duff says: "We have stopped war, we are stopping famine. How are the ever-increasing multitudes to be fed?" Is not Sir Grant Duff a little hasty in saying "We are stopping famine." What you are doing is, to starve the living to save the dying. . . Make the people themselves able to meet famine without misery and deaths, and then claim credit that you are stopping famine. However, the true answer to the question, "How are the ever-increasing multitudes to be fed?" is a very simple one, if gentlemen like Sir Grant Duff will ever have the patience to study the subject. The statesmen of 1833 and of 1858 have in the clearest and most emphatic way answered this question. They knew and said clearly upon what the welfare and well-being of the hundreds of millions depended. They laid down unequivocally what would make British India not only able to feed the increasing multitudes, but prosperous and the best customer of England; and Mr. Grant Duff's following kind question of 1871 will be fully answered: "But what are we to say about the state of India? How many generations must pass away before that country has arrived at even the comparative wealth of this (England)?" This benevolent desire of Mr. Grant Duff would be accomplished in no long time. This question of population, of "the ever-increasing multitudes," requires further examination. Macaulay, in his review of Southey's "Colloquies on Society," says:

"When this island was thinly peopled, it was barbarous; there was little capital, and that little was insecure. It is now the richest and the most highly civilized spot in the world, but the population is dense. . . . But when we compare our own condition with that of our ancestors, we think it clear that the advantages arising from the progress of civilization have far more than counterbalanced the disadvantages arising from the progress of population. While our numbers have increased tenfold, our wealth has increased hundredfold. . . . If we were to prophesy that in the year 1930 a population of fifty millions, better fed, clad, and lodged than the English of our time, will cover these islands, . . . many people would think us insane. We prophesy nothing; but this we say, if any person had told the Parliament which met in perplexity and terror after the crash in 1720, that in 1830 the wealth of England would surpass all their wildest dreams, . . . that for one man of ten thousand pounds then living there would be five men of fifty thousand pounds, . . . our ancestors would have given as much credit to the prediction as they gave to 'Gulliver's Travels.'"

I claim no prophecy, but the statesmen of 1833 have prophesied, and the Proclamation of 1858 has prophesied. Do what they have said, and their prophecies shall be fulfilled.

Now let us see a few more facts. Because a country increases in population it does not necessarily follow that it must become poorer; nor because a country is densely populated, that therefore it must be poor. Says Macaulay: "England is a hundredfold more wealthy

while it is tenfold denser." The following figures speak for themselves :

Countries.	Inhabitants per sq. mile about 1880.	Income per inhabitant (Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, 1886).
Belgium . . .	487	£22.1
England . . .	478 (1886)	41 (1882)
Holland . . .	315	26
Italy . . .	257	12
British India . . .	229	2
Germany . . .	217	18.7
Austria . . .	191	16.3
France . . .	184	25.7
Switzerland . . .	184	16
Ireland . . .	153 (1886)	16 (1882)
Denmark . . .	132	23.2
Scotland . . .	128 (1886)	32 (1882)
Portugal . . .	126	13.6
Turkey . . .	120 (Mulhall)	4 (Sir E. Baring)
Spain . . .	85	13.4
Greece . . .	69	11.8
Russia in Europe . . .	41	9.9
Sweden . . .	27	16.2
Norway . . .	15	

The densest province of British India is Bengal (143). Thus here are countries denser and thinner than British India, but *every one* of them has a far better income than British India. Belgium, denser than the densest presidency of British India, is eleven times more wealthy; England, as dense, is twenty times more wealthy. Here are some very thinly populated countries: Mexico, 13 per square mile; Venezuela, 4.7; Chili, 8.8; Peru, 18.6; Argentine Republic, 2.6; Uruguay, 7.8; and several others. Are they therefore so much richer than England or Belgium? Here is Ireland, at your door. About its people the Duke of Argyll only a few weeks ago (22nd of April last), in the House of Lords, said: "Do not tell me that the Irish labourer is incapable of labour, or energy, or exertion. Place him in favourable circumstances, and there is no better workman than the Irishman. I have myself employed large gangs of Irishmen, and I never saw any navvies work better; and besides that, they were kind and courteous men." The population of Ireland is less than one-third as dense as that of England; and yet how is it that the income of England is £41 and that of Ireland only £16 per inhabitant, and that the mass of the people do not enjoy the benefit of even that much income, and are admittedly wretchedly poor?

British India's resources are officially admitted to be enormous, and with an industrious and law-abiding people, as Sir George Birdwood testifies, it will be quite able to produce a large income, become as rich as any other country, and easily provide for an increasing population and increasing taxation, if left free scope.

Lastly, a word about the educated classes, upon whose devoted heads Sir Grant Duff has poured down all his vials of wrath. Here are some fine amenities of an English gentleman of high position: "Professional malcontents; busy, pushing talkers; ingeniously wrong; the pert scribblers of the native press; the intriguers; pushing petti-

foggers, chatterboxes; disaffected cliques; the *crassa ignorantia*; little coteries of intriguers; silly and dishonest talk of Indian grumblers; politicizing sophists threaten to be a perfect curse to India," &c.

I leave these flowers of rhetoric alone. Not satisfied even with this much, he has forgotten himself altogether, and groundlessly charged the educated classes—"Who do their utmost to excite hostility against the British Government," "who do their utmost to excite factitious disloyalty." I repel this charge with only two short extracts. I need not waste many words.

The following, from the highest authority, is ample, clear, and conclusive. The Government of India, in their despatch of the 8th of June, 1880, to the Secretary of State for India, bear this emphatic testimony: "To the minds of at least the educated among the people of India—and the number is rapidly increasing—any idea of the subversion of British power is abhorrent, from the consciousness that it must result in the wildest anarchy and confusion." Secondly, on the auspicious day of the Jubilee demonstration the Viceroy of India, in his Jubilee speech, says:

"Wide and broad indeed are the new fields in which the Government of India is called upon to labour—but no longer, as of aforetime, need it labour alone. Within the period we are reviewing education has done its work, and we are surrounded on all sides by native gentlemen of great attainments and intelligence, from whose hearty, loyal, and honest co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit. In fact, to an Administration so peculiarly situated as ours their advice, assistance, and solidarity are essential to the successful exercise of its functions. Nor do I regard with any other feelings than those of approval and goodwill their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs."

Look upon this picture and upon that!

Two Indian national Congresses have been held during the past two years—the second great one, at Calcutta, having 430 delegates present from all parts of India, and of all classes of the people; and what is it that both these Congresses have asked? It is virtually and simply the "conscientious fulfilment" of the pledges of 1833 and 1858. They are the pivot upon which all Indian problems turn. If India is to be retained to Britain, it will be by men who insist upon being just, and upon the righteous fulfilment of the proclamation of 1858. Any one can judge of this from the kind of ovations given to Lord Ripon and Sir W. Wedderburn on their retirement.

Here, again, our gracious Empress in the year of her auspicious Jubilee once more proclaims to the world and assures us, in her response to the Bombay Jubilee Address last June, "It had always been, and will always be, her earnest desire to maintain unswervingly the principles laid down in the proclamation published on her assumption of the direct control of the government of India." We ask no more.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

CENTRAL ASIA—A MILITARY PROBLEM.

"What man dare, I dare:
Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear;
Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves
Shall never tremble." —MACBETH.

SO much has been said and written during the last few years on the advance of Russia in Central Asia, and of the political and military considerations involved as regards our empire in India, that it may seem almost superfluous to renew the subject; but it is still one of constant discussion, and, having studied the question for years past, my views may perhaps be deemed worthy of some consideration—more especially as the conclusions at which I have arrived do not lead me to attach so much importance to the position of Russia in regard to India as appears to be generally entertained.

Before referring to the advance of Russia, and to her gradual absorption in recent years of the decaying principalities of Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokand, it may be as well to allude for a few moments to what may be called the more ancient history of the question, and to the fears which haunted us in days gone by—fears which still apparently more or less prevail. The first germ of our alarms may perhaps be traced to the apocryphal will of Peter the Great, who is supposed to have foreshadowed some indefinite scheme of conquest of India. It is an unsubstantial ghost, but it occasionally appears even now.

At the very beginning of the century we were under some apprehension of a joint invasion of India by the French, Afghan, and Persian armies, and, with the view of preventing it, entered into a treaty with the Shah at Teheran, in which it was stipulated that, "should an army of the French nation, actuated by design and deceit, attempt to settle, with a view of establishing themselves, on any of the islands or shores of Persia, a conjoint force shall be appointed by

the two high contracting parties to destroy and put an end to the foundation of their treason."

But the French never came.

The next invasion of Hindostan was planned at Tilsit by Alexander and Napoleon, who meditated the junction of a confederate army on the plains of Persia for the purpose. This new peril was, however, checkmated by a second treaty at Teheran in 1809, by which the Shah covenanted "not to permit any European force whatever to pass through Persia, either towards India or towards the ports of that country." Paper treaties sufficed in those days to meet paper invasions.

Subsequently to 1809 a comparative lull supervened: indeed, the subject has always been treated rather spasmodically. As the late Lord Strangford once observed, "we are constantly oscillating between utter neglect and raving panic." In 1837 the fear of a combined attack by Russians, Persians, and Afghans arose. The late Sir John Kaye,* after describing the intrigues of the Afghan Sirdars and the Shah at the time, goes on to say, that "far out in the distance, beyond the mountains of the Hindoo Koosh, there was the shadow of a great northern army, tremendous in its indistinctness, sweeping across the wilds and deserts of Central Asia towards the frontier of Hindostan." This was fifty years ago, and its supposed advance was an anxiety to us during the first Afghan war. That great northern army, as we now know, but as we did not know then, was the feeble column of Peroffski, which left Orenburg to punish the Khan of Khiva, but which perished from famine and pestilence in the snowy wastes of the Barsuk desert, north of the Aral.

In the years gone by, when the power and resources of the Principalities were almost unknown, the very mystery in which they were shrouded naturally increased our apprehensions, more especially as our position in Northern India was not then thoroughly assured. The Punjaub at that time was independent, and our frontier was more or less *en l'air*.

In the present day, however, our line of defence is one of great natural strength; and not only are our resources immensely greater than at the time of the first Afghan war, but we have ample information as to the general characteristics of the Principalities. Sir Henry Rawlinson, writing of the position of Russia in 1847, said: "The old boundary of Russia south of Orenburg abutted on the great Kirghis steppe—a zone of almost uninhabited desert, stretching 2000 miles from west to east, and nearly 1000 from north to south," and which had hitherto acted as a buffer between Russia and the Mahommedan Principalities south of the Aral.†

* "History of the War in Afghanistan": Kaye.

† Parliamentary Paper, "Afghanistan," 1878.

Russia has long since advanced far southward of her boundaries of those days, but it is important to remember that this vast arid steppe, which for years delayed her advance, still remains as a barrier between her forces in Central Asia and the main resources of the empire.

It is not necessary to give an historical account of the gradual advance of Russia southwards, and of her absorption in great measure of the three kingdoms of Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokand. The main outlines are well known; but it is very important to consider the general features and characteristics of the vast area which has been overrun; the condition of the people, and the general want of resources by which it is distinguished. On all these points we now have ample information. The accounts of Rawlinson, Wood, Veniukoff, Baker, Schuyler, McGahan, Boulger, and others, all tell the same story, and describe the region as consisting for the most part of sterile deserts, deficient in food, forage, fuel, and water. Roads, properly so called, do not exist, and the only means of transport are pack animals. It is a wide expanse, but there is little in it; and, except from the Caspian through Merve, there is not a railway in the whole region. There are a certain number of decayed ancient cities here and there, and there are occasional oases of limited fertility; but the general aspect and conditions are as above described.

Speaking roughly, the dominions of Russia in Central Asia south of Orenburg may be taken as almost equal in geographical extent to those of our Indian Empire; but there is this striking difference between the two, that whilst the population of India is computed at 250 millions, that of Central Asia, even at the highest computation, is only reckoned at four or five millions, of whom nearly half are nomadic—that is, they wander about, not from choice, but in search of food and pasturage. The extreme scantiness of the population is of itself a rough measure of the general desolation.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this article to enter minutely into the causes of the sterility of the regions of Central Asia—causes which, to a great extent, have produced similar results in the neighbouring countries of Persia, Afghanistan, and Asiatic Turkey, and indeed in many other parts of the world. It is well known that the general destruction of forests, if persistently carried out, will in the course of time reduce any country to a condition of almost absolute barrenness. The rainfall becomes intermittent and gradually diminishes, and when it comes, the ground, having little vegetation or means of absorption, is torn up; the mountains become monuments of rocky desolation, the rivers are variable in their volume and many of them never reach the sea, and the plains result in being mere saline steppes.

All these are specially marked characteristics of the countries just named, and these, combined with misgovernment, are the main causes of their decay, which has been in progress for centuries. It may be possible, by careful forestry and by process of irrigation, gradually to restore to Nature the riches which the hands of men in previous ages have destroyed; but under any circumstances this must be a consummation to be slowly realized, and which in all probability will never be achieved.

It is, however, in their military aspect that these conditions assume so much importance. However sad may be the spectacle of vast regions destroyed in a measure by human agency, and almost depopulated, the strategic condition of the country, viewed as the base of a possible invasion of India, is one which excites an interest of a different and almost of an opposite kind. If we are to assume that the occupation of the Central Asian States by Russia, and the gradual approach of her forces, may become a danger to our position in India, then there is, from a mere military point of view, a consolation in knowing that the scattered forces of Russia are not only at an enormous distance from the main resources of her empire, but are dotted about in a vast region deficient in everything that an army requires for its maintenance and rapid advance. And yet there are people who become nervous when they hear that a few Cossacks are watering their horses in the Murghab, near Merve, and about 900 miles from the Indus. Railways, when they are made, will to some extent give facilities for transport, but they will not produce fertility; and in a miserably peopled region such as that now under consideration they will not commercially pay a farthing in the pound. Long lines of communication add vastly to the difficulties of modern military operations.

The military position of Russia in Central Asia, therefore, is that of a great but distant Power, which during the last fifty years has overrun and taken possession of extended territories belonging to fanatical Mahomedan tribes. The people themselves are, many of them, warlike and hostile; but they are badly armed, have no discipline, training, or leaders, and are not, therefore, in a position to withstand the advance of regular troops. Consequently, Russia is enabled to hold the country with a comparatively small force of scattered detachments, which, however, are supplied under great difficulties from far distant centres, and her troops are practically incapable of concentration. Indeed, the farther they go the weaker they become; the very magnitude of the area is a cause of weakness. This is a condition somewhat precarious in itself, and would certainly not appear to be an alarming one as a basis of attack against our empire, even were India close at hand.

The original line of Russian advance, as already pointed out, was

from the north, with Orenburg as a main basis ; but of late years the direction of her progress has been easterly from the Caspian, leaning on Tiflis and the region of the Caucasus. There has been some anxiety amongst many persons owing to this change in the scene of operations on the part of Russia. Sir Henry Rawlinson a few years ago took a very desponding view of the situation. Alluding to the conquest of the Caucasus, he said "it was the turning-point of Russian empire in the East. So long as the mountaineers existed, they formed an effective barrier to the ~~side~~ of onward conquest ; when they were swept away, there was no military or physical obstacle to the continuous march of Russia from the Araxes to the Indus !" He describes this "as the unerring certainty of a law of Nature."

This imaginary invasion of India, by an army starting from the Caucasus as a general base, involves issues military, political, and financial, and a short consideration will prove the idea to be of a very fanciful character. From Tiflis to the Indus is over two thousand miles, and this wonderful expedition would have to be conducted through poor and difficult countries from beginning to end. At the very outset political complications might arise were the country of the Caucasus much denuded of troops. If we are to judge by the events of the war in 1878, a great deal might happen in the Armenian highlands as soon as the Russian forces had started to invade an empire in another part of the world ; and at the very outset the line of communication to the Caspian would be open to attack in flank and rear. Then, again, the neutrality, if not the actual support, both of Persia and Afghanistan must be secured, otherwise the line of march, extending for hundreds of miles and gradually growing weaker, would be harassed and cut. As the expedition must be accompanied by siege trains and munitions, &c., transport would be found a great difficulty, especially as, from absence of roads, pack animals would chiefly be required for a considerable part of the journey. From our own experience, we know that Afghanistan, owing to its mountains, deserts, defiles, and general deficiency of resources is a most difficult country to penetrate and to hold. Persia, as a theatre of operations, is in some senses worse. As General Baker, in his "Clouds in the East," pointed out, "The whole eastern centre of Persia is a vast salt plain, uncultivated and uninhabited, and which, from its want of water, can only be passed by small caravans of camels on a few roads, where brackish wells exist, and even then with great difficulty."

Large depôts and fortified positions would be essential all along the route, so that a Russian army of invasion, by the time it reached the Indus, supposing it ever got there, would have shrunk to very small dimensions, and yet would then be only at the real commence-

ment of its enterprise. A modern army on the march, especially when it extends to 2000 miles, does not gather strength and volume like a snow-ball. Then there are other matters to be considered. Are we to assume that England would have no allies and no power of initiation? and that her generals and soldiers are so devoid of courage and enterprise, and are made of such poor stuff, that they would be incapable of striking a blow at those enfeebled battalions as they emerged from the mountain passes and debouched on the desert plains of Scinde?

The late Lord Beaconsfield happily summed up the situation in a few words in 1878. He said: "Her Majesty's Government are by no means apprehensive of an invasion of India by our north-western frontier. The base of operations of any possible foe is so remote, the communications are so difficult, the aspect of the country is so forbidding, that we do not believe, under these circumstances, an invasion of our north-western frontier is practicable."

Notwithstanding the exaggerated language which is so often used in regard to Russia's supposed designs, still the advance of her troops from the south of the Caspian and the construction of a railway along the foot of the mountains, which form the northern boundary of Persia, are points worthy of careful consideration. They may not be an ultimate source of danger to ourselves, but to some extent they alter previous conditions, and have rendered it necessary not only to reconsider the relative positions of Russia and England in the East, but also to define, with more precision than heretofore, the north-western boundaries of the intervening kingdom of Afghanistan. The country from the Caspian towards Merve, which has recently fallen into the hands of Russia, is the home of the Tekke-Turcomans; it is a narrow but in some parts a cultivated tract, watered by small streams, which, flowing from the Persian mountains, are ultimately lost by absorption in the great desert to the north.

Some years ago (about 1872-73), as the Russian troops were gradually approaching the confines of Afghanistan, the situation formed the subject of much correspondence between Earl Granville, then Foreign Minister, and Prince Gortchakoff. It was not that the forces of either Power were at that time on the ground, nor indeed *had the country been visited or surveyed by either; but as Russia was becoming predominant in the Principalities, and as, on the other hand, Afghanistan was admitted to be within the sphere of our influence, the two Governments deemed it desirable to define as far as possible the Afghan boundaries,* and to prevent raids by the neighbouring tribes on either side.*

The negotiations at that time embraced the whole line of frontier,

* Parliamentary Papers, "Central Asia," c. 2164, 1878, pp. 39-40, 69; and c. 2188, p. 108. Also c. 699, 1873, pp. 14 and 15.

including Badakshan* and Wakkan to the north-east; also the northern boundary along the Amu Daria to Khoja-Saleh; and finally, from the latter in a south-westerly direction towards the Heri-Rud. The general object of these arrangements was in the interests of peace; and it is to be noticed that, in the discussions on the subject, the Russian Government in each case finally accepted the proposals of Lord Granville as to the provinces or districts to be included in Afghan territory. It must be understood that whilst Russia claimed † independence of action as regards the Principalities, which are indeed hundreds of miles away from our Indian Empire, and with which we have therefore no direct concern, she fully accepted the principle that Afghanistan was beyond the sphere of her influence, and within that of ours.‡

The difference in the present day as compared to the past is, that whereas our ally, the Ameer of Cabul, formerly had merely a set of lawless, turbulent neighbours along his frontier, he now finds himself in the presence of, and in contact with, the outposts of a great though distant power. This has not only altered to some extent the position of the Afghan ruler, but it also becomes incumbent on us to consider how far it touches our interests, or may ultimately affect our empire in India. This is really the question to be solved. It is one of some importance, but it does not follow that it is necessarily one of danger.

The arrival of Russian troops at Merve, and in that neighbourhood, in fact rendered it necessary to lay down with precision what had heretofore, owing to want of local knowledge, been loosely defined. The arrangements of 1872-73 spoke of certain districts (Andkhai, Saripul, Maimeneh, &c.), which were to be considered Afghan,§ and alluded to the country to the north as being chiefly desert; but the actual boundary-line was not, and could not at that time, in the absence of personal visit or survey, be critically drawn. It was taken as running south-westerly from Khoja-Saleh, on the Amu Darin, towards the Heri-Rud.||

It is not my intention to recapitulate the details of the Penjdeh dispute in 1885, and of the serious complications to which that collision between the Russian and Afghan outposts at one time threatened to lead. My object is rather to describe the general military position of Russia than to renew discussions regarding one small portion of a then dubious boundary. The importance of the question was much exaggerated at the time by violent language in the press on both sides. It was evidently one for diplomatic arrangement, and not

* C. 2164, 1878, pp. 36-37; and c. 699, 1873, pp. 1, 6, 7, 14-15.

† "Central Asia," No. 1, 1884, pp. 7, 8, 14.

‡ C. 2164, pp. 5, 7, 69, 106; "Afghanistan," 1878, pp. 105, 107, 108; "Central Asia," No. 1, 1884, pp. 5, 6, and 92.

§ C. 699, p. 2.

|| "Central Asia," No. 1, 1884, p. 84; and "Central Asia," No. 2, 1885, p. 77.

for war, and has found its solution in the proceedings of the Boundary Commissioners, which have just been completed at St. Petersburg. The details are contained in the papers recently laid before Parliament.* The Marquis of Salisbury, in his speech at the Mansion House on the 10th of August last, happily described the situation as follows: "I value the settlement for this reason, not that I attach much importance to the square miles of desert-land with which we have been dealing, and which probably, after ten generations of mankind, will not yield the slightest value to any human being; but the settlement indicates on both sides that spirit which in the two Governments is consistent with continued peace. There is abundant room for both Governments, if they would only think so."

A careful consideration of the position of Russia in Central Asia does not therefore present itself as at all favourable to the attack of a great empire like India, even if that empire were close at hand. It is possible that in course of time Russia may to some extent consolidate her power in these impoverished lands, and improve her resources; but the general condition of the country is much against it. Russia may or may not have the will and intention of attacking us in India, but she does not appear to possess the power, or to be likely to obtain it, which is a far more important and reassuring consideration.†

Between the newly acquired territories of Russia in Central Asia and our possessions in India lies the country of Afghanistan. In a geographical and indeed in every sense, it seems laid out, as it were, as a natural defence for an empire. Throughout its northerly provinces stretches the great snow-capped range of the Hindoo Koosh, running from east to west—a line of mountains with few practicable passes, and even these are closed in winter. The lowest of these passes, in the neighbourhood of Cabul, is about 12,000 feet above the sea. A correspondent in the *Geographical Magazine* in 1878 wrote: "The spurs of this mountain chain run out on both sides into the basins of the Oxus and Cabul rivers. Its peaks . . . in all probability rise throughout to the region of perpetual snow, and the loftiest attain some 20,000 or 21,000 feet in height. This mighty range has formed in all times the chief barrier between the plains of Hindostan and their invaders from the north-west." But this is not all. It is not merely the line of the Hindoo Koosh itself which stands out as a great barrier. The whole of the southern portion of Afghanistan is traversed by successive ridges from the main chain, which, running down in a south-westerly direction, form a succession of natural defences across the only line of advance.

* "Central Asia," No. 1, 1887, c. 5114.

† The above remarks were written before the appearance of an able article in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, by Sir West Ridgeway; and I am glad to find that my views, both as to the position of Russia and the new frontier, are fully confirmed by so experienced an authority.

Afghanistan is like Switzerland, but its mountains are higher, its defiles more difficult, its resources more scanty, and it has no roads properly so called. As old Dost-Mahomed once said to the late Lord Lawrence: "My country is a land of stones." So that an enemy approaching from the north-west can only advance by one route: that is by skirting and turning, as it were, the successive ridges where they sink into the southern deserts. The Afghans are excessively poor, but brave, hardy, and fanatical. They hate all intruders, but especially Russians, as the bitter enemies of their faith.

In discussing projects of invasion of India, it is, however, often argued that, because in ancient days successful incursions have repeatedly been made from the north-west, there seems nothing to prevent a repetition of the process in our own time. Because Alexander the Great, Genghis Khan, Nadir Shah, and many others were able to penetrate India, at the head of barbarous hordes, in the centuries gone by, therefore Russia may now achieve a similar result. But the conditions are essentially altered. In former days such expeditions required no great amount of previous preparations. The invaders were not encumbered with trains of artillery, munitions, food, and stores. They descended into the plains with few supplies, and spread over the country like a flight of locusts, pillaging and creating desolation as they went; caring little for lines of communication or bases of supply. In those days there was no central government in India, and many of the provincial rulers were as foreign to the inhabitants generally, and as cruel and hateful, as the invaders themselves; so that the country fell an easy prey to the successive wild incursions of the warlike mountain hordes. Not only is all this changed, but the very appliances of modern warfare, whilst they augment the difficulties of invasion, tell equally in favour of defence, especially under the conditions above described.

It now becomes time to consider the military position of our empire in India; and here we are met at once by conditions the very opposite of those prevailing in Central Asia. Whilst Russia has been engaged for many years past in the almost futile effort of establishing her power amongst the remains of decaying principalities, and of introducing modern civilization in regions where almost every element of prosperity is deficient, we have also consolidated our empire in the East. Order now reigns in India in place of anarchy; the government of the law has replaced that of the sword, and provinces formerly almost depopulated by depredation and misrule have become fertile and prosperous. Life is safe, and religion and property respected. The value of land has increased, great commercial cities have arisen, and trade flourishes.* Good civil government is causing contentment to the people, and in developing the resources of the

* "What England has done for India :—" Hunter. 1879.

country gives vast additional strength to our military power. In addition to the British troops we maintain highly efficient armies recruited from the many martial races under our rule, and are able to increase them almost at will. At the same time, the improved means of communication, by a system of railways carried right up to our frontiers, enable us to concentrate our forces, supplies, and munitions with comparative ease. It may seem almost unnecessary to dwell upon facts so well known; but, judging from much of what we now hear and read, the enormous latent strength we possess in India does not appear to be fully appreciated. The Earl of Northbrook, formerly Viceroy of India, in an admirable address delivered at Birmingham some time ago, truly said: "They might rely upon it, that as long as India was governed well, and as long as its revenues were husbanded and the supplies applied to the development of its magnificent resources, as long as its princes were loyal, and its armies were true, and its people contented, they might laugh at the prophecies of danger from without."

What I am anxious to emphasize is, that whilst we hold a central position of great concentration and power, that of Russia is necessarily much the opposite; so that, even were the two empires in contact, the danger would not be on our side. We are the great military and naval power in the East, and Russia is the weak one; and there is nothing in the present aspect and condition of affairs likely to cause any important alteration in these respects. But the two empires are not in contact. The most advanced Cossack outpost on the Murghab is upwards of 900 miles from the Indus; so that, far as the Russians have already advanced, and far removed as their outposts are from the bases of supply, they have still a whole continent of very difficult country to traverse before they will even be in sight of our frontier river, and of the plains of India.

If the views which I have advanced on this important question are sound, then the broad outlines of our policy are clear. Afghanistan stands as a great *outwork*, just beyond the border of the Indian Empire. Our policy, therefore, should be to conciliate and support the Ameer and his people, and to assist them in improving the great natural defensive strength of their country. To foster their nationality and to maintain a government, strong, friendly, and independent, should be our constant aim. By independence it is not intended to use the expression in an absolute and unconditional sense: that is no longer possible. In all that relates to internal government and to the management of their domestic and tribal concerns, we should leave them alone, but their foreign policy should be one with ours. The country is extremely poor and thinly inhabited; but the people are hardy and brave, and although suspicious, and in some respects divided, they have one common feeling of hatred of foreign dominion.

These are the materials we have to work with; and although there are great difficulties, and although the policy indicated must necessarily be of slow growth, it is one which, if steadily pursued, is sure of ultimate success. The shadow of our power already falls far away over the Afghan mountains, and the tribes even of distant and secluded valleys are beginning to look upon us, if not yet as friends, still no longer as enemies. Many of the men of the frontier tribes serve in the ranks of our native regiments, and when they retire with pensions to their villages carry with them a friendly feeling for their British comrades and for British rule. Frontier raids, formerly so frequent and so savage, are becoming rare, and are more matters of police than of military expeditions. Commerce is increasing, and we are gradually gaining the confidence of these brave and hardy races. The country for centuries past has been a prey to disorder; but the knowledge that we are supporting the ruler of Cabul and assisting him with money, arms, and munitions, is having the desired effect.

Holding strongly these views, and having advocated them for many years, I was never able to concur in the policy which led to the late Afghan war of 1878-9. It will be remembered that we entered on that campaign in search of a so-called scientific frontier*—a fantastic idea, which has long since been abandoned even by its original advocates.†

Another declared object at the outset was the separation of the province of Candahar from that of Cabul, and its establishment as an independent principality.‡ Subsequently, when the scientific frontier scheme broke down, the policy changed, and the retention of Candahar for ourselves became the favoured proposal.§ Finally, the district of Herat, the most distant and in some respects the most valuable part of Afghanistan, was intended to have been handed over to Persia.||

In short, the inevitable result of the war of 1878-79, had the original projects been carried out, would have been to disintegrate Afghanistan. As it was, the campaign naturally alienated the population; it cost us twenty millions sterling; and, although we had about 60,000 men actually engaged or on the frontier, we hardly held more than the ground on which we stood. All this is now a matter of history, but its lesson should not be forgotten. Happily, different views now prevail, and by reverting to the old conciliatory policy of the late Lord Lawrence we shall gradually reap our reward by increased security of our empire on its only assailable point.

* Parliamentary Paper, "Afghanistan," No. 2, 1881, pp. 6, 9, 11.

† "Afghanistan," No. 1, 1881, pp. 9, 15, 25, 37, 41; also from p. 55 to p. 87. See also Sir H. Norman, *Fortnightly Review*, January 1879.

‡ Parliamentary Paper, "Afghanistan," No. 1, 1881, pp. 7, 14, 19, 92; and "Afghanistan," No. 7, 1879, pp. 26, 29, 35.

§ "Afghanistan," No. 1, 1881, pp. 62, 64.

|| "Afghanistan," No. 1, 1881, pp. 6 and 33.

It may no doubt be necessary in some future day that we should enter Afghanistan again with our armies ; but in that case we should do so in co-operation with the ruler and people, and the whole difference lies in the fact, that it would be with their consent and in pursuit of a common object.

It is often said that war with Russia is inevitable sooner or later. As Lord Derby once remarked : " Of the two he preferred it later." But in my opinion there is no real cause for war between Russia and England in that part of the world. Our paths and our interests lie far apart. There is ample room for both.

Should war, however, unhappily arise, the difficulties and the chief causes for anxiety would not be on our side. In the first place we are predominant at sea, which is a material consideration in considering the defence of our Indian Empire. Indeed, in such a crisis it would be interesting to speculate as to how many Russian vessels, either war or mercantile, would be on the high seas a few weeks after a declaration of war.

Taking, however, the question in its purely military aspect, I have endeavoured throughout to show that Russia is weak, and scattered over a barren continent amidst hostile races and far from her resources. On the other hand, we are strong and concentrated ; strong in the prosperity, contentment, and loyalty of the princes and races of India ; strong in finance, resources, and supplies ; safe by land and sea, and with a power of rapid expansion and advance which is altogether denied to Russia. It is not necessary to detail the routes by which, in the event of war, our columns could advance, or the countries in which they could act—we have a wide and ample choice ; nor is it necessary to indicate the allies by whom we should be supported. It would no longer be a mere discussion as to Penjdeh, or Khoja-Saleh, or Merve. The armed hosts of England and of her allies would ere long be in direct march for the heart of Central Asia, and the power of Russia in that part of the world would speedily crumble away.

JOHN ADYE,
General.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN THE UNITED STATES.

WHAT may fairly be called the most important political event of the summer in the United States, was the address of Mr. George William Curtis, at the annual meeting of the Civil Service Reform League at Newport. Mr. Curtis has been president of this association since its organization, some eight years ago. The annual meetings occur in mid-summer, and bring together at one of the most charming of American resorts the representatives of the various subordinate associations in different parts of the country. Reports are made, and plans of agitation and action are discussed; but the most important event of the meeting is, invariably, the annual address of the President. This consists of a review of the work of the past year, and a forecasting of the work for the year to come. Its significance, of course, depends on the knowledge, the discretion, and the skill of the speaker. *

Mr. Curtis was one of the first to see, in their full magnitude, the evils that grow out of the present condition of our public service. As editor of *Harper's Monthly* and *Harper's Weekly*—two journals which have an enormous circulation among the more intelligent people of the country—he has had ample opportunity to make his political views known. As an orator, Mr. Curtis is one of the most graceful and finished in the country. Indeed, there are not a few who, since the death of Mr. Wendell Phillips, regard him as the most accomplished of all our public speakers. Though he has hardly been accustomed to the rough work of political life, he has for many years been so well and so favourably known that long ago he fell naturally into the position of leading advocate of a reform of the service. Accordingly, it was but natural that President Grant, when he determined to make an effort to reform the Civil Service, should appoint Mr. Curtis as the Chief Commissioner. In this position Mr. Curtis became familiar, not only with

the evils of the present form of service, but also with the difficulties in the way of removing them. As everybody now knows, President Grant, though he lost none of his appreciation of the necessity of reform, found himself unable to cope with the difficulties that beset the subject; and so, after again and again recommending reformatory measures in his messages, he gave up the contest by formally announcing that he threw all further responsibility in regard to the subject upon Congress itself. Thus he whom the people in the time of the war had learned to call "Unconditional Surrender Grant"—surrendered unconditionally, to that element in our politics whose doctrine was, many years ago, formulated in the saying, "To the victors belong the spoils." When Mr. Curtis abandoned the post of Commissioner, it must have been in the full consciousness that before reform could be brought about, public opinion must be aroused on the subject and must become so imperative in its demands that no politician would dare to resist it. The work to be done was clearly marked out. Mr. Curtis, and those who held the same views, now devoted themselves to making it plain that the subject in which they were interested was the most important political question before the country.

The agitation that followed soon became a factor in American politics, that might be treated with contempt, but could not be overlooked. While the party leaders affected to despise the scruples of the reformers, and to denounce them in vigorous terms, they were astute enough to see that, in some of the States at least, the Independents were sufficiently numerous to hold the balance of power. Accordingly, in the "platforms," that is to say, in the official declarations of principles, of both parties, a reform "plank" was inserted. A small tub was thrown to the whale, in the form of a vague declaration to the effect that a pure and efficient Civil Service was one of the needs of the time. In view of the attitude of the party leaders during the administration of President Grant, and indeed under President Hayes, it was evident that these phrases were meant to be nothing but glittering generalities intended to catch the Independent vote. But the very passing of such resolutions showed that public opinion on the subject could not be ignored. Under its pressure the Pendleton Bill was finally passed, fixing the methods by which a considerable number of the subordinate government offices should be appointed.

Affairs at the last presidential election were in such a condition that the prospects of reform seemed to depend altogether upon the personal inclinations of the candidate elected. The Civil Service is so purely a matter of administration, that it is indispensable to improvement that the head of the administration should be in sympathy with the reform doctrines. Accordingly, when Mr. Blaine and Mr. Cleveland were put up as candidates for the high office of the Presidency, the advocates of reform, most of whom had been Republicans, found themselves compelled

to ask which of these two men, with his own party back of him, was the more likely to assist the reform they advocated. The question was not so simple as it seemed. Probably most of the reformers had more faith in the Republican party than in the Democratic. But, on the other hand, as between Mr. Blaine and Mr. Cleveland, aside from their party affiliations, there was no room for a moment's hesitation. The whole career of Mr. Blaine had justified the belief that, if elected, he would not only make no effort to advance the reform, but would even gladly make use of the very methods of which the reformers complained. Charges of personal corruption were even made against him which were, at least, not cleared up to the satisfaction of the independent voters. Mr. Cleveland, on the other hand, had been a staunch advocate of reform, and had shown unusual firmness in carrying out its principles while Governor of the State of New York. There was good reason to believe therefore that, if elected to the Presidency, he would favour in every practicable way the reform that was sought. But after all the real question was, how much could he do? The Democratic party, twenty-five years out of power, was hungering and thirsting for office. It was certain therefore, in case of Mr. Cleveland's election, that the demand of the party would be loud and long that the Republican office-holders, from highest to lowest, should be turned out, and that Democrats should be put into their places. The question therefore was, could and would Mr. Cleveland resist such a pressure? The query, in case of Mr. Blaine's election, was a very different one. From the President himself the reformers would evidently have nothing to hope. During his administration no possible advance could be made. But, on the other hand, the Republican party would be kept in power, and it was at least possible that four years later a more fortunate nomination might combine all the better elements in a more promising effort. Did this possibility amount to a probability? The question was generally answered in the negative, and accordingly the Independents, as a rule, voted for Mr. Cleveland. In most of the States this vote was insignificant in number, and of no consequence to the result. But it happened that in the very State where the number of Independents was greatest the result was most doubtful, and the electoral vote was of the greatest value. The number of presidential electors to be chosen in New York was so large that it was obvious from the start that neither party could hope to succeed in electing its candidate unless it were to carry this great pivotal State. The vote of the Independents was enough to throw the balance in New York in favour of the Democrats, and Mr. Cleveland was elected.

Under the circumstances of the election it was but natural that the Independents should look with unusual solicitude upon the course of the new administration. The President, in his first official utterances, intimated plainly that he understood the extent of his obligations to

those who had turned the balance in his favour. It soon became evident that a policy must either be declared, or the entire time of the President would be consumed in listening to the clamour for the removal of Republicans and the appointment of Democrats. With a firmness that for a time quite satisfied the Independents, Mr. Cleveland declared that he should adhere strictly not only to the rules, but also to the principles, of the statute that had been passed. It was his purpose to make no removals except in case of demonstrated inefficiency or neglect of duty. Under the latter head he spoke plainly of one of the abuses to which the service had hitherto been subject. Not only the heads of departments, but also officials holding subordinate positions, had often neglected their duties in order to participate in the active work of the political campaigns. Mr. Cleveland seemed determined to strike a blow at the fact that such officials as Post-masters and Custom-house officers have for years been in the habit of using their position to further the influence of their party. He saw not only that clerks have been employed and discharged for party reasons, but also that the whole influence and power of official patronage has been used as a corrupting element to control elections. The President declared that all such use of official position must cease. Efficient Republicans in the subordinate offices would not generally be disturbed; but whenever political activity took the form of "*offensive partisanship*," the incumbent would be dismissed and a new appointment would be made.

This position seemed a natural one, and one against which no reasonable complaint could be urged. But it contained one fatal element of weakness. Who was to define "*offensive partisanship*?" The offices were scattered in all parts of a vast territory. Neither the President, nor the officials immediately about him, could have any direct evidence in regard to the truth or falsehood of charges made. They must depend upon such reports as should come to them from the various districts of the country. The temptation to create and exaggerate evidence was one which hungry office-seekers could not resist. There was no effort made to put those accused on trial, or even to give them a hearing in defence. Everything was made to turn simply on the charges preferred. The consequence was a natural and perhaps an inevitable one. One after another the minor Republican officials were swept out of their positions, and Democrats were put in their places. It was a gradual, but nevertheless a sure process. The very slowness with which the transformation came about tended to obscure the ultimate result. Ten or twenty years earlier the changes would have been immediate. The very fact that the process was a gradual one showed that there was, at least, some little improvement in the service. On the other hand, the fact that the change was taking place at all showed that in the end the party would triumph over the President.

Another fact contributed to the same result. In the early years of

the century the "Tenure of Office" Act limited the term of all civil commissions to four years. Mr. Cleveland has apparently felt himself under no obligations to reappoint Republicans; and accordingly, as fast as commissions have expired, Republicans have gone out of office and Democrats have come in. The numerous appointments ordinarily made by each President soon after coming into office, accounts for the fact that a very large number of commissions have expired during the first two years of Mr. Cleveland's term. This number is the measure of the transformation that has taken place. Mr. Curtis, in the address above referred to, gives the figures. If he is correct, and there is no reason to doubt his accuracy, the whole number of unclassified officials in the Civil Service, not amenable to the Civil Service law, is now fully 100,000. Of this number, some 58,000 are chief officers, of whom no less than 37,000 have gone out of office since the accession of the President, and as many new appointments, of course, have been made. The figures seem to leave no room for doubt that the *personnel* of the service has already been, for the most part, changed. Mr. Curtis does not attempt to conceal the fact that the new appointments have been nearly as numerous as they would have been in the ordinary course of events, had there been no claim on the part of Mr. Cleveland to a desire to reform the service. The naked fact is that from 50,000 to 60,000 officials, the most of them with an experience of four years, have been swept out of office, and as many others, for the most part with no experience whatever, have been put in their places.

The importance of the address of Mr. Curtis is in the fact that it is practically an official confession of disappointment, if not of failure. It has, of course, been so regarded by the stalwart Republican newspapers, and must very generally be so regarded by the Independents themselves. The question that everybody is asking is, what will be the influence of this condition of affairs on the votes of the Independents, and on the results of the next Presidential election? It is too soon to answer the question with confidence, and yet it is easy at the present moment to give some indications of the tendencies of public opinion.

The voters who have identified themselves with the movement for Civil Service Reform were committed to the support of Mr. Cleveland so long as there was no ground for reasonable complaint. It is probable that they will now generally regard themselves as absolved from further obligations. They will at least feel free to act at all times in the direction of the greatest promise. It is extremely probable that Mr. Cleveland will be re-nominated by the Democratic party, and it is quite certain that the Republicans will be loud in their taunts of the "Mugwumps" that the only result of the independent effort four years before to reform the Civil Service and establish fixedness of tenure has been to have all Republicans turned out and to have all vacant places filled with Democrats. The reproach will certainly be a difficult one to meet. But

the real question after all will be in regard to what is the prospect for the future. There is no probability that Mr. Cleveland, in case of re-election, will remove the officials he has appointed; on the other hand, there is every probability that a Republican President will remove them all. How are the independent voters likely to regard such an alternative? The answer depends upon two things: first, on the strength of the voters' preference for the Republican party, and secondly, on the general character of Mr. Cleveland's appointments.

As to the first consideration, it may be said that the party preferences of the Independents are very feeble. While, as already stated, they have generally voted with the Republican party, they question very seriously whether the party as such has any longer any *raison d'être*; and they are strongly of the opinion that the reform of the Civil Service is now a matter of such transcendent importance, that in comparison with it all other political questions sink into insignificance. If the Democratic party holds out greater promises of the desirable reform, they will vote with the Democrats without hesitation or regret. If the Republicans make the mistake of nominating a candidate who, either by his utterances or his character, is shown to be opposed to reform, it is certain that the independent vote for the Democratic candidate will be larger than it was at the last election. This, of course, is on the supposition that nothing further occurs to weaken the confidence of the country in the Democratic candidate. And this brings us to the second consideration—namely, as to the general character of Mr. Cleveland's appointments.

* It cannot be successfully claimed that the appointments have been generally bad. And yet it is undoubtedly true, on the one hand, that some of the appointments have been, at least, exceedingly unfortunate; and on the other, that the removals have very generally resulted in a positive injury to the character and efficiency of the service. Perhaps both of these results were inevitable. The President, in cases of appointment, has been obliged to depend on the commendations of others; and it would be marvellous indeed if, in the universal scramble of the party for the spoils, he were not sometimes imposed upon. The injury to the quality of the service by the removals was a still more necessary result. It is probable that between twenty and thirty thousand of the Post-offices of the country have passed from old and experienced officials into new and untried hands. But even that prodigious fact is not all. Subordinates and clerks—Republican, of course—have generally been swept out and Democratic subordinates put in their places. The simple fact is, that the doctrine that public office is a legitimate reward for party service has become so deeply rooted, that every Democratic Postmaster regards it as his duty to dismiss every Republican clerk and reward a partisan of his own with the vacant place. The result is, that thousands upon thousands of the Post-offices are now under the management of persons who, a few months ago, had no practical knowledge.

whatever of postal affairs. The inevitable consequence has followed. Our mail service, which really had become very prompt and skilful, now shows unmistakable signs of carelessness and inefficiency. Surely it is not strange that thoroughly unskilled hands should sort the mail with bungling slowness, that new mailing clerks should despatch letters in wrong directions, and that untrained carriers should often deliver the packages to the wrong persons.

Time will undoubtedly correct many, if not all, of these abuses. But in the meanwhile the public is suffering much inconvenience. From one point of view, the experience through which we are passing is helpful to the reform of the service. It gives emphasis to the utter absurdity of a system which makes it possible, as the result of a political election, to put so large a part of the postal service into the hands of utterly untried men. Such a system adopted by either of the great Express Companies or Railways would be the laughing-stock of all business men. And yet this absurdity, and all its train of inconveniences, are simply what have been pointed out again and again by the advocates of reform, as the natural fruit of the thoroughly bad system that has come to prevail. It is to be hoped that the experience will teach its true lesson, and that the fact will not be overlooked, that precisely the same inconveniences will be the result if there is occasion to make a "clean sweep" after the next general election. What the country wants is not raw hands in the Post-offices, be they Democrats or be they Republicans, but that skilful and prompt service which can result only from some measure, at least, of training and experience. More than that, it needs to be freed from the vision and the power of those mighty spoils which now, in the shape of office, debauch public opinion and rob our elections of their true significance. Our Civil Service is still really worse off than was yours in England before the Reform of 1853.

Intimately connected also with the prospects of the next Presidential election is the Irish question. The tremendous import of the subject may be realized when it is remembered that during the last half-century Ireland has been steadily emptying itself into this country. What we used to call New England, has become New Ireland. In the north-east quarter of the United States Irishmen form the great mass of the labouring population. They are now beginning to carry their star of empire west of the Mississippi. Wherever they go, they take with them what they call, at least, the wrongs of Ireland. They hate England and the English people, and they tolerate even Mr. Gladstone only because they believe he is now disposed to be of assistance to their cause. In every city of any considerable size they have a newspaper, the lurid rhetoric of which is devoted to praising their friends and denouncing their enemies. In every election they are a power to be courted and dreaded. They generally vote with the Democratic party, though their party allegiance is not so strong as to make their conduct at the polls a

matter that may be counted on with confidence. They are the easy victims of prejudice, and any indiscretion drives them in flocks to the other party. An indiscreet reference by an absurd Republican speaker to the Democratic party as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," is thought by many to have been the cause of Mr. Blaine's defeat at the last Presidential election. It is at least possible that the one middle word of the phrase drove away from the Republican ranks enough Irish voters to account for Mr. Cleveland's small majority in the State which really decided the contest.

Under these circumstances, it is easy to understand the attitude of the American press towards the Irish question. It may as well be taken for granted that the subject of the wrongs of Ireland, in any other than a very general sense, is one which the American people cannot, in any event, be brought to interfere with. There is no more possibility of intervention, or of governmental aid to assist the establishment of Home Rule in Ireland, than there is to prevent the downfall of the Republic and the restoration of monarchy in France. There is undoubtedly a very general feeling of deep sympathy with the wretched condition of the people of Ireland. If the question could be determined by a show of hands in America, Home Rule for the Irish would undoubtedly be carried by an overwhelming majority. But, at the same time, there is very far from unanimity of feeling. At the clubs, and in the social circles, one will often hear the opinion expressed that Home Rule would be a misfortune, and that the judgment of Mr. Gladstone in this matter is as far wrong as it was in regard to our Civil War. But such expressions of opinion seldom get into print, for the sufficient reason that no possible benefit and much harm could come from their publication. The newspapers all have their political alliances, and are all desirous of securing and keeping the Irish vote. The louder they applaud Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gladstone, the more votes they are likely to secure. The fact, therefore, that the press seem overwhelmingly in favour of Home Rule, is always to be interpreted in the light of self-interest.

The Socialistic movement, if one may judge from outward signs, appears to be burning itself out. The decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, that the condemned anarchists of Chicago have no legal cause for complaint over their sentence, has exerted a wholesome influence; for although the final decision galvanized Herr Most into new contortions, it also served to show the real insignificance of the element he represents. Meanwhile, we are coming to more intelligent methods of discussing the fundamental questions involved. A year ago, a very large proportion of our thoughtful writers were inclined to take it for granted that the wage-workers had a grievance that could, in some way, be corrected. The opinion was very general, that, of the abounding and exuberant prosperity of the country, the masses of people did not receive their fair

share. But those who have been most emphatic in their complaints have utterly failed, whenever they have been asked to point out a remedy. The *Evening Post* and the *Nation* have again and again demanded of the Labour Reformers that they present something tangible that may be made the basis of legislation. The demand has met with no satisfactory response. It may fairly be said that Mr. George, wild and impossible as his scheme appears to most of the people, is the only one of the reformers who has a theory or a plan. The others proceed to analyze elaborately the grievances complained of, and then end in a goodish recommendation of a more general practice of the Christian virtues.

Meanwhile, some of our best political thinkers are firm in the belief that the wage-worker has no real grievance. Mr. Edward Atkinson, one of our most painstaking statisticians, is clearly of the opinion that he has not; and has recently published a series of articles in the *Century* to show the correctness of his position. By a careful analysis of the cost of living, his effort is to prove that there has never been a time, either in this country or in any other, when a labourer could buy so much with his daily wage as he can at the present time in America. Not only that, but he appears to be also of the opinion, though on this point he does not as yet express himself quite so clearly, that the wage-earner is receiving a full and just share of the prosperity that prevails. The opinions of Mr. Atkinson may not endure the test of careful examination, but they are presented with such cogency that they are entitled to respectful attention; and so long as the question remains in the region of doubt there is no reason to fear any general movement for a fundamental change.

The same general drift of public opinion shows itself in its attitude towards that vast organization from which so much was expected, the Knights of Labour. Two or three years ago, some of our much respected political economists looked to this association with a somewhat confident hope that it would, at least, find a way of correcting some of the evils that were thought to beset the present organization of society. But they have been sorely disappointed. They see that the Knights of Labour have not only failed to propose any remedies of general and practical importance, but they have not even succeeded in pointing out with any clearness the nature of the grievances of which they complain. It is an important fact that in the numerous strikes of the past year they have generally, though not quite invariably, failed to carry their point. Even where the Knights have been most numerous and most thoroughly organized, employers have usually found little or no difficulty in assuming an attitude of independence. Such repeated failures have not only made strikes more infrequent, but have also led to disagreements as to the general policy and management of the organization. It is evident to everybody that factions abound, and, unless all indications are at fault, the days of the greatest strength of the order are past.

On the whole, it must be concluded that the Socialistic movement is turning out to be a far less formidable affair than was anticipated three or four years ago. It is coming to be seen that the great accumulations of certain individual men, of which so numerous complaints were made a few years ago, are the inevitable consequence of opportunity on the one hand, and liberty on the other. So long as the abounding resources of the country appeal to the people for development, nothing but the exercise of a tyranny, that is not for a moment to be thought of, can prevent men of enterprise and skill from reaping the legitimate fruits of their labours and their intelligence.

An account of public opinion, however, would not be complete without a statement in regard to the recent movements of Mr. Henry George. This adroit agitator has succeeded in organizing a "party," and the organization thus called into being has put a ticket into the field, with Mr. George at the head of it. The canvass which is in progress as I write is showing great vigour, and it is by no means improbable that a very large number of votes will be cast for the new ticket. It is of interest to note, however, that neither of the great parties has put anybody into the field for the special purpose of refuting the speeches of Mr. George. In fact, both Republicans and Democrats are relying upon what is called "organization" rather than upon any influence they might exert on public opinion.

What Mr. George expects to accomplish by his canvass for the post of Secretary of State for New York is not difficult to understand. He cannot hope to be elected; but the opportunity of speaking in every large town in the State enables him to bring his views before the people, as he could not do by the unaided means of his journal. It is probable that he expects to make such an impression as to give him a vantage-ground two years hence, and possibly at that time, or a little later, to carry the Legislature, and thus have the opportunity of putting his views of taxation into the form of positive statute. As to how far his anticipations are likely to be realized, it will be difficult to form a very definite opinion before the results of the approaching election are known. The followers of Mr. George are confident of a very large vote.

There is one other subject, and one of a more general nature, that is coming to attract more and more attention, and to excite more and more solicitude. The perils involved in the heterogeneous deluge of immigration that is pouring itself over the country, are certainly matters of great importance: None can deny that the foreign element has contributed enormously to the material development of the country. As a rule, the immigrants from Germany and Scandinavia are peaceful, frugal, and enterprising. In all parts of the country evidences of their thrift are to be seen. Go into any Western town or city, and you will see Teutonic names emblazoned on the signs of a very large proportion of the most flourishing business houses. But the good and the evil are everywhere

contending for the mastery. In a University city the most conspicuous business block had for some years at one corner the sign "J. Gott"; at the other, "A. Teufel." I am sorry to say that, as the years went on, the Teufel end of the block outstripped the other. Mr. Dorchester is authority for the statement that a late report of the Howard Society of London shows that 74 per cent. of the Irish discharged convicts have found their way to the United States. According to the late census, the population of foreign extraction in New England has been guilty of 75 per cent. of the crime. The figures show that the tendency to crime, on the part of the Celtic foreign element, is twelve times as great as on the part of the native stock. The worst class of all seems to be made up of American-born children, of foreign parentage. Of 680 discharged convicts, who not long since applied to the Prison Association of New York for aid, 536 reported foreign parentage, while 144 were children of parents born in America. The census shows that of the traders and dealers in liquors 63 per cent. are foreign born, while of the brewers and maltsters the proportion is fully 75 per cent. Wherever the proportion of foreigners is greatest, there turbulence is most prevalent. The nests of anarchy in the cities are made up almost exclusively of people who have come to this country with their brains full of senseless visions of prosperity without labour, and who in their disappointment have turned their wits against the institutions of the land, and indeed against the institutions of civilization. In many parts of the extreme West, whole communities are often made up of persons speaking some foreign and unknown tongue. They bring their own customs with them, and it was in recognition of this fact that some one has rather wittily said that the Ten Commandments are not binding west of the Missouri.

These facts are sufficiently startling in themselves; but they become of transcendent importance in view of the extent of the immigration that is now pouring in upon us. The figures for July were greater than ever before. The tax collector is driving the people out of Italy. A speaker in the Reichstag, not long since, cried out: "The German people have but one great want—money enough to take them to America." The other countries seem to be moved by a similar impulse. The number coming to the United States this year for a permanent home, will not fall much short of a million. This means that every two years we have a peaceful invasion, by an army as large as that of the Goths and Vandals, that swept over Southern Europe and destroyed the western Roman Empire. We have now a foreign population of nearly eighteen millions, and at the present rate of increase, the number at the end of the century will be not less than about forty-five millions. Obviously, one of the great questions of the day is, whether America is not ceasing to be American.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS.

CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

I.—MODERN HISTORY.

IF history is not an exact science it is not the fault of its votaries. In recent times they have been more than ever busy about its foundations; and we cannot but be struck by the energy with which the publication of documents and of new editions of the materials of history has been lately pushed forward, and the elaborate care with which the old materials are being sifted and tested. The former class of publications appeals too much to specialists for it to be permissible to dwell upon them in detail here. The issues of the Master of the Rolls Series and the Calendars of State Papers go on as fast as the Treasury will allow them, though they do not quite keep pace with the desires of students of the different periods. The State Papers of the Commonwealth have now at last been calendared to the end; and the new editions of the older chroniclers, Newburgh, Rishanger, Higden and his continuators—to name only a few—are gradually advancing or are already completed. The Camden Society, even after the long succession of volumes it has already printed, shows no signs of exhaustion. On the contrary, the last three works issued by it are of distinct and varied interest. Mr. S. R. Gardiner has done a real service to students of the period of which he is the greatest living master, by editing the reports of the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts* for a year (1631-1632) *in extenso*. We are too apt to judge these courts by a few famous cases of iniquitous sentences; a continuous set of reports gives a very different and certainly more favourable impression, at least, so far as the Star Chamber is concerned. Abridged reports of the latter have long been accessible in Rushworth, but the full reports are of course much more interesting and valuable. The action of the Star Chamber was principally directed against unlawful combinations (for instance, for the purpose of libel), against riots, perjury, and forgery; but it had not lost sight of one of the chief objects of its institution (or reorganization) by Henry the Seventh, namely, the bringing to justice of powerful offenders. Thus we find the Court intervening in the protection of the Derbyshire lead-miners against a local oppressor (p. 89). It was also energetic in enforcing the laws relative to trade, put down forestalling and enhancing of prices, and looked into cases of fraudulent manufacture, as when a delinquent made hatbands of base metal (p. 115.) The Court of High Commission was no doubt oppressive in putting down conventicles; but most of the cases that came before it relate to charges of immorality or heresy against the clergy. There are several interesting examples of

* "Report of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, 1631-2." Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D. Camden Society. 1886.

its censorship of the press, as when a printer was fined for keeping Geneva Bibles, and another punished for accidentally omitting the "not" in the seventh commandment. This is the famous case of the "wicked" Bible.

The second Camden Society volume which we have to notice is the first instalment of the Nicholas Papers, edited with the scholarly care and thoroughness that we might have expected from Mr. Warner, of the British Museum.* Some of the best part of the correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, who was Secretary of State to Charles the First from 1641, has been already well-known through its publication in an appendix to Bray's edition of Evelyn's "Diary;" and the freshness of Mr. Warner's own manuscripts has been somewhat taken away by the constant use made of them in the tenth volume of Mr. Gardiner's "History." Still the latter only contains bare references, and now we have the letters at length. The selection edited in the volume before us begins in 1641; the early part contains a good many letters from Sir Henry Vane and others relating to King Charles's visit to Scotland in 1641: it contains also the remarkable autograph instructions for the impeachment of the five members (p. 62), from the erasures in which it appears that the addition of Lord Mandeville's name was an after-thought; a fact which had not escaped Mr. Gardiner's notice, though the document itself is now printed for the first time. After this there is a gap of more than two years, and the letters during the progress of the Civil War are disappointingly few. It is interesting to notice that the battle of Naseby was not at the time regarded in royalist circles as the turning-point in the war. On the contrary, Lord Digby writes in September 1645: "It is not imaginable howe faire a game wee had before us; all Wales likely within a few dayes to be happily settled, fondacions layd for a good armye suddainly, and such a designe form'd for y^e reliefe of Bristoll within ten dayes or a fortnight as probably could not have fail'd us." This was until Rupert's "prodigious surrender" of Bristol, which, in Lord Digby's eyes, and probably also in the king's, brought the royal cause "into a desperate condicion" (p. 64). The rest of the volume is mainly occupied with the various intrigues and schemes of the royalists abroad, not the least curious document being a "relation of the Lord Culpeper's reception at the emperiall cittie of Mosco," whither he went to borrow money for Prince Charles in 1650 (pp. 182-185).

We are glad to see that the Camden Society has not quite given up printing mediæval documents. The "Customals of Battle Abbey"† form a valuable addition to our knowledge of land-tenure and its conditions in the south of England in the thirteenth century. A useful analysis is prefixed. In company with this work we may allude to the important materials for our early financial history which are furnished by the publications, not less elegant in form than solid in substance, of the Pipe Roll Society.

From the editors we pass to the critics. The application of a

* "Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State." Edited by George F. Warner. Vol I., 1641-1652. Camden Society. 1886.

† "Customals of Battle Abbey in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., 1283-1312. From Manuscripts in the Public Record Office." Edited by S. R. Scargill-Bird. Camden Society. 1887.

rigorous criticism to old and accredited documents has produced results which may be unsettling to those who forget how much more of the materials of history is left unassailed by it. The work of M. Julien Havet * has destroyed the credibility of a great deal which has hitherto passed as authoritative evidence for our knowledge of the Merovingian period. For an earlier time it has been attempted, not without success, to invalidate the testimony of the "Secret History" of Procopius, and thus to banish from historical currency the view of the character of the Empress Theodora which has made its way from Procopius into Gibbon, and so into the common consciousness of modern times.† To have vindicated the reputation of the wife of Justinian—if the proof be finally accepted—is in itself no light service. But Procopius has also been attacked from another quarter, for Mr. Freeman has just now shown how little he is to be relied on for the events of the age preceding his own.‡ A "pious fraud" of a different kind has at last been proved, it may be hoped definitively, in the manuscript of Králové Dvůr, in which patriotic Bohemians long saw priceless reliques of their mediæval literature, containing not a few historical poems. The collection, once thought to belong to the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, is found by modern scholars§ to be some five hundred years younger, its very diction showing reminiscences of the Czech translation of "Paradise Lost," which was published in 1811. For a more recent period M. Desclozeaux has proved|| to demonstration that the memoirs which Sully had composed under his eyes abound in falsifications of a glaring kind—forged letters of King Henry the Fourth, forged insertions in genuine ones, forged notices of all sorts—with the simple object of glorifying the Minister at the expense of his colleagues, and of showing what a great man he was at Court, and how indispensable to the king. The exposure of the "Squire Papers,"¶ which Carlyle believed in, and used in his book on Cromwell, was hardly unexpected to students of Cromwell's time; but it is satisfactory that it should be decided once for all that the Papers, even though they may have a slender basis of genuineness in their reproducing a few family memoranda, are as a whole barefaced and wilful forgeries by a contemporary of Carlyle's. These are but a few samples of the way in which critics are subjecting authorities to examination. It is not so many years since Richard of Cirencester, *De situ mundi*, and Ingulf of Croyland were treated as genuine materials; but forgeries relating to modern times are more startling, one is puzzled to understand how they can have passed current so easily and so long.

Among substantive histories Miss Norgate's "England under the Angevin Kings" ** claims grateful recognition. So much has been

* "Questions Mérovingiennes." Originally published in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*.

† A. Debidour, "L'Impératrice Théodora: étude critique." Paris: Dentu. 1885. C. E. Mallet, "The Empress Theodora," in the *English Historical Review*, ii. 1, January 1887.

‡ "Aetius and Boniface," in the *English Historical Review*, ii. 417, July 1887.

§ See J. Gebauer in the Prague *Athenæum*, February 1886, and a summary of the controversy by I. Goll in the *Revue Historique*, xxxiii. 2. March 1887.

|| *Revue Historique*, xxxiii. 2, March 1887.

¶ See a series of papers in the *English Historical Review*, April 1886—April 1887.

** "England under the Angevin Kings." By Kate Norgate. Two vols. London: Macmillan. 1887.

done—notably by the Bishop of Chester—in the preparation of materials for the history of England in the twelfth century, and in the working up of special departments, that it is high time for these results to be combined and incorporated into a standard history. And as such, we have no doubt, Miss Norgate's work will at once take rank. It is written with ripe and comprehensive learning and in a clear unembarrassed style, which, especially in descriptive passages and in the drawing of character, has a remarkable charm. The main course of the narrative is not impeded by the discussion of doubts and difficulties; these are left to be elucidated in scholarly dissertations at the end of each chapter. If Miss Norgate's loyalty to her "master," John Richard Green, has led her into a few mannerisms of style and title, we certainly will not complain, since it was to Green's influence that the book owed its beginning, and to it, we are sure, is due that careful and minute study of places which with the well-executed maps and plans adds so much to the life and reality of the story. The author's literary descent is not traceable to Green in those earlier books in which he perplexed the critics by hard sayings without any notes to explain or justify them, but to the historian as we see him in the "Making of England," laboriously checking his facts by reference to authorities, and balancing discordant statements in terse and ingenious foot-notes.

Miss Norgate's skill is peculiarly displayed in the manner in which she combines the double interest, English and continental, of the age she treats of. The book opens with a vivid picture of "the England of Henry the First." The next three chapters take us through the history of the rise of the House of Anjou. Then the two threads are connected, and we are given an account of the relations of England, Normandy, and Anjou during the last years of Henry, and so on through the time which "for want of a better name we call . . . the years of civil war and count . . . as part of the reign of Stephen." The meagreness of the sources for this history, of which complaint has often been made, is after all only relative; and the neglect with which the time has been generally treated is due far more to the lack of interest which it possesses by comparison with the time before and after. Miss Norgate has succeeded in throwing a good deal of light upon it; and she enters into the military operations with a fulness of detail and of local knowledge which has not hitherto been attempted. Her account of the English Church of the time, and of the religious energy which was then at work throughout England, of the labours of Henry of Winchester, and of Theobald of Canterbury, is naturally written with more zest, and is in some ways the best chapter in the book. Miss Norgate has a clear and comprehensive knowledge of church matters, the technicalities of which so often prove a stumbling-block to the unwary. She has a close sympathy with the education and scholarly work of the time, and her notices in this department are remarkably good. The account of John of Salisbury is, however, disappointing, and contains some errors of fact as well as, we think, a certain want of appreciation.* It is strange also that she should seemingly not be convinced of his authorship of the "*Historia Pontificalis*," to which she only alludes in a foot-note (vol. i. 483):

* Miss Norgate, by the way, takes John's "*justitie errantes*" to be "*judges*" in the ordinary sense; they were really "*sheriffs*" (vol. i. 487.)

it has, however, been made out, one would say, with practical certainty by Professor von Giesebrecht.

Through the tangled history of the relations of King Henry with St. Thomas Becket we have a calm, impartial, perhaps even too dispassionate, guide in the work before us; but the importance of the struggle is hardly sufficiently dwelt upon until we reach the retrospect in the closing chapter—oddly entitled “The New England”—of the entire book; nor again are the constitutional measures of the king elucidated as fully as the scale of the history would lead one to expect. It may also be regretted that the authoress has felt herself precluded from relating at length the adventures of King Richard’s crusade as “lying outside the sphere of English history.” Yet no doubt this self-restraint was necessary in order to keep the book within bounds. As it is, the two volumes extend to above a thousand pages. They break off with the loss of England’s possessions over sea,—a division which seems rather to underestimate the influence of personal character on history; but on the other hand we should be the last to deny that the separation of England from the Continent made a vital change in its political position, without which the Great Charter might never have been won. Still one would have liked to end not with the catastrophe but with the moral.

We have already referred to Miss Norgate’s thorough-going use of her authorities. Every statement is checked by a reference; and in matters of genealogy and chronology the author is as punctilious as she is in matters of topography. It would have been an advantage to have put a running date at the head of the page; and we think it needlessly, almost irritatingly, scrupulous to repeat the name of the editor, page after page, wherever a given chronicle is referred to. As a contrast to this, one singular instance of inadvertence may be noticed. The writer, who is published and commonly known as Robert de Monte, is here uniformly cited as Robert of Torigni, without any editor’s name; and it is not until some way in the second volume (p. 194) that the reader unversed in such things is enabled to identify the person. Still more strange is it that Miss Norgate should cite a compilation like Mr. Henry Morley’s “English Writers” alone among English works on the Arthurian romances (vol. ii. 449 note), and omit all reference to the treatment of the subject in Mr. H. L. D. Ward’s masterly “Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum.” We have remarked a few slips (*e.g.*, “the wild *Celts* of Galloway,” vol. i. 290) and some omissions; but they are as nothing in comparison with the mass of sterling facts here presented in an admirable shape to the historical student, much of it presented for the first time to the greater world of educated readers.

A new book of first-rate importance by a new writer has claimed special notice from us. Others, by scholars whose fame is already established, continuations of works which already occupy an authoritative position, may be mentioned briefly—more in order to keep this record up with the times than to pass a superfluous judgment on their merits. Professor Creighton, Mr. Gardiner, and Mr. Lecky have all lately given fresh proofs of their activity. The new volumes of the “History of the Papacy,”* which extend from 1464 to 1518, are in mere outward shape

* “A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation.” By M. Creighton, M.A., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University Cambridge, Canon

less substantial than the previous ones; but to most readers they will prove of distinctly deeper interest. The Great Schism, the Councils of Constance and Basle, the restoration of the Papacy on a basis of "culture," do not arrest the attention in the same way as the more complex and varied moral and social forces which held sway in the latter part of the fifteenth century; though we should be the last to deny the service which Mr. Creighton did to the true appreciation of the religious changes of the sixteenth century, by beginning his history at so early a date. To the popular notion, in which the Reformation is more or less synonymous with the work of Luther, it must be an instructive lesson to read a "History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation," in which the name of Luther does not appear except in a single incidental allusion, until the last page of the fourth volume. Perhaps at a first reading Mr. Creighton may seem to treat his subject too much from the point of view of a disinterested spectator. He has an epigrammatic way of putting things that sometimes looks like cynical indifference. But the truth is, he dislikes being always pointing a moral, and prefers to let the facts speak for themselves. On the rare occasions when he is less reticent, he delivers himself plainly enough. Take, for instance, his general remarks on the occasion of the death of Alexander the Sixth, whom one has now and then been tempted to accuse him of white-washing:—

"The Borgia have become legendary as types of unrestrained wickedness, and it is difficult to judge them fairly without ^{seemingly} ~~seemingly~~ to palliate iniquity. Yet justice demands a consideration how far they ^{represented} ~~represented~~ the tendencies of their age, and how far they went beyond them. The secularized Papacy and the immoral politics of Europe can excite no ^{but} ~~but~~ disgust; but the secularization of the Papacy was begun by Sixtus IV. as profound under Innocent VIII. as under Alexander VI., and was ^{much} ~~much~~ mended under Julius II. and Leo X. Political perfidy was ^{as} ~~as~~ we see in Italy; and Louis XII. and Ferdinand of Aragon were as ^{perfidious} ~~perfidious~~ as the Pope. The end of the fifteenth century shows the political and social corruption that followed on the decay of religious belief, just as the history of the sixteenth century shows how long a time was needed before a religious revival could re-establish morality or influence politics. The exceptional infamy that attaches to Alexander VI. is largely due to the fact that he did not add hypocrisy to his other vices. But however much his own times may have forgotten that there was any meaning in the position of Head of the Christian Church, it is impossible for after times to adopt the same forgetfulness" (vol. iv. p. 44).

In the present volumes Mr. Creighton has had the advantage of several new authorities which he has used extensively: for instance, the recently published diary of the Venetian diplomatist, Marin Sanuto; the diary of John Burchard, the Papal master of ceremonies, which has only of late been known in its entirety, thanks to the edition of M. Thuasne (1883-1885); not to speak of smaller materials, such as the diary of Luca Landucci, a Florentine disciple of Savonarola, published in 1883. These volumes are also distinguished from their predecessors by the fact that Mr. Creighton has succeeded in enriching his work with a fair number of documents and extracts from unpublished manuscripts at Cambridge, London, and Rome. Among these the passages here printed

from the diary of another Papal master of ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, are of special interest.

The first volume of Mr. Gardiner's "History of the Great Civil War"* runs on in direct continuation of his previous books, which are now collected in ten volumes under the title of a "History of England from the Accession of James the First to the Outbreak of the Civil War." The new instalment goes to the end of the year 1644. Mr. Gardiner confesses, with a touch of irony, "I cannot describe battles which I have not seen as if I had." Yet in his new character of a military historian he is fully as successful as in his previous studies of political history. The pains he has taken to ascertain the precise details of locality on which one's understanding of a battle depends, and the care with which he has illustrated each portion of the campaigns with special maps, call for our warmest admiration. It would be impertinent to say anything of Mr. Gardiner's exhaustive knowledge of his materials, or of the calm judgment which he displays throughout. We cannot, however, but notice the evident pleasure with which he turns from the strife of war or wrangle of words to insert a chapter (xiv.) on Fuller and Chillingworth and liberty of conscience. The volume adds new proof of the injury which the king's personal character did to his cause, while it ^{ap-}tainly increases our opinion, if not of the wisdom, still of the spirit and ^{the}voted energy of his queen.

The fifth and sixth volumes of Mr. Lecky's "History of England"† do ^{rupt-}give us very far in point of years. More than twelve hundred ^{ance}pages in ten years seems an inordinate proportion, until we see that the ^{and}permeatedcludes not only the wild experiment of an independent parliament in Ireland, but also the beginning, the establishment, and the degradation of the revolutionary movement in France. To these chapters the reader will instinctively turn, and he will be rewarded by some of the ripest political teaching that Mr. Lecky has yet given us. Nor should we omit to notice the brilliant and masterly portrait of William Pitt which opens the fifth volume. His study of the causes of the French Revolution has led the author to the conclusion that "though undoubtedly prepared by causes which had been in operation for centuries," it "might, till within a very few years of the catastrophe, have been with no great difficulty averted. . . . The position of the French monarchy on the accession of Louis XVI. was far from desperate" (vol. v. 441). The effect of the revolution on English politics is examined with singular penetration and freedom from bias: the remarks on Burke's attitude with respect to the question are typically just (vol. v. p. 521 *et seqq.*). The history of the Irish Parliament from 1782 has unfortunately been drawn of late into modern party controversy; but the truthfulness of Mr. Lecky's narrative will scarcely be impugned, while his criticisms will appeal equally to the historical student and to the politician (vol. vi. pp. 303-321, &c.) He notices that so early as 1792 the idea of a union had long been in Mr. Pitt's mind; but the history of the means by which that union was carried out is reserved for a future volume, the present instalment ending in 1793. In the meantime the

* "A History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649." By S. R. Gardiner, LL.D. Vol. I.: 1642-1644. London: Longmans. 1886.

† "A History of England in the Eighteenth Century." By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. Vols. V. VI. London: Longmans. 1887.

subject has been treated in a special treatise by Mr. Dunbar Ingram,* which, though written too much in a forensic spirit, and though the writer repeats himself too often, will still be found an honest and valuable collection of facts and an opportune corrective to a good many false views which have won currency through ignorance of the real state of the case.

Mr. Spencer Walpole, in the concluding volumes of his "History of England from 1815," brings his account down to 1858.† The book is so temperate and written in so kindly a spirit, it shows the fruit of so much industry and patient wading through Blue Books, Parliamentary Reports, and sources of information, official and independent, of all sorts, that one is sorry not to be able to rank it as highly as one would wish. Mr. Walpole has tried to write a history after Mr. Lecky's manner, by means of a series of essays, but unfortunately he has not Mr. Lecky's special genius for the task. The facts he has amassed are of the greatest value for the student. Mr. Walpole has rightly chosen them from a far wider field than those merely of parliamentary or military or diplomatic history; he is an attentive observer of those economic changes which have given the present century its peculiar character, and he notes with care and evident sympathy the social effects of the industrial revolution that took place during the age with which he deals. His book is a storehouse of knowledge of the greatest interest to any one who wishes to make himself acquainted with the immediate causes of modern social and political problems, and with the antecedents and motives of recent legislation; and the excellent indices with which each volume is provided make the contents readily accessible. But it would be extravagant to say that Mr. Walpole has succeeded in sustaining the interest of his narrative; while his chapters on foreign policy, on the Crimean war, and on the history of our Indian government, careful as they are, look more as though they were written because they had to be written, than because the author had any special predilection for writing them. Mr. Walpole's method of treatment also is too optimistic, and he is apt to speak as though Liberalism were something in the nature of things admirable and beyond compare. Whatever be one's personal opinion in party matters, one cannot help feeling that this is not the proper attitude of mind for the historian.

Mr. Archibald Weir's book on "The Historical Basis of Modern Europe" ‡ is disappointing. "Though historical in form," the author says, "the book does not pretend to be a history, but aims only at presenting such a preliminary view of the antecedents of modern civilization as may supply a convenient, though of course arbitrary, basis for the study of our age." Mr. Weir has attempted too much. History, politics, literature, philosophy, political economy, the progress of science, all come in for treatment; but the treatment is that of a laborious compiler rather than that of a worker at first hand, and the style is cumbrous and commonplace. Mr. Weir might produce a far

* "A History of the Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland." By T. Dunbar Ingram, LL.D. London: Macmillan. 1887.

† "A History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815." By Spencer Walpole. Vols. IV. V. London: Longmans. 1886.

‡ "The Historical Basis of Modern Europe, 1760-1815; an Introductory Study to the General History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century." By Archibald Weir, M.A. London: Sonnenschein. 1886.

more useful book if he were to devote himself to mastering a small part of the enormous subject he has chosen.

We have left ourselves little space to refer to recent local histories. Colonel Cooper King's "*History of Berkshire*,"* is rather a series of articles on different sides of Berkshire history than a consecutive history of the county. It might have been useful if it had been at all carefully compiled. As it is, the book suffers from the writer's ignorance of general history; it is throughout inaccurate, and is badly arranged. The series of "*Historic Towns*," edited by Professor Freeman and the Rev. W. Hunt, has started excellently.† Mr. Freeman's own book on "*Exeter*," may serve as a model to the rest, while Mr. Hunt's "*Bristol*," is a thoroughly sound piece of work. In the volume on "*Oxford*," Mr. Boase has struck out what is almost a new line in treating of the growth of the town as something with a unity distinct from the university which long overshadowed and oppressed it. The book cannot be praised too highly. The usefulness of all the volumes in the series which have yet appeared, is much increased by the two or three historical maps of the towns which accompany each. Meanwhile the University of Oxford has been the subject of two histories, very different both in compass and value. Dr. Brodrick‡ gives an interesting account of the institution from its beginning to our own day. He would hardly claim for his work anything but the character of a compilation; but although there are a good many mistakes in it, there are few serious ones, and for the history of the last two centuries it fills, and fills creditably, an acknowledged gap. Mr. Maxwell Lyte's history,§ on the other hand, breaks off in the reign of Henry VIII. It is the fruit of many years close and indefatigable study of the original materials, and will deservedly rank as an authority on its subject. It is, however, to be regretted that Mr. Lyte published it without consulting the important work of Father Denifle on the universities of the Middle Ages,|| which, though treating but slightly of Oxford itself, throws a mass of collateral light upon the numerous problems that arise about the origin and meaning of early academical institutions. The independent researches of Mr. Rashdall have recently confirmed and elucidated many of Father Denifle's results.¶

An exceedingly serviceable collection of charters and State Papers, illustrating American history, has been put forth by Mr. Howard Preston.** It begins with the three Virginian charters, the charters of New England, Maryland, &c. Then we have the different schemes for

* "*Popular County Histories:—A History of Berkshire.*" By Lieutenant-Colonel Cooper King. London: Elliot Stock. 1887.

† "*Historic Towns: Exeter.*" By E. A. Freeman, D.C.L.—"*London.*" By the Rev. W. J. Loftie, B.A.—"*Bristol.*" By the Rev. W. Hunt, M.A.—"*Oxford.*" By the Rev. C. W. Boase, M.A. London: Longmans. 1886-7.

‡ "*Epochs of Church History.*" Edited by the Rev. M. Creighton—"History of the University of Oxford." By the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, D.C.L., Warden of Merton College. London: Longmans. 1886.

§ "*A History of the University of Oxford from the earliest times to the year 1530.*" By H. C. Maxwell Lyte, Deputy Keeper of the Records. London: Macmillan. 1886.

|| "*Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400.*" Von P. Heinrich Denifle. Berlin: Weidmann. 1885.

¶ "*The Origines of the University of Paris.*" By the Rev. H. Rashdall, M.A. (in the *English Historical Review*, i. 639, October 1886); "*The Early History of Oxford*" (in the *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 46, January, 1887.)

** "*Documents illustrative of American History, 1606-1863.*" With Introduction and References by Howard W. Preston. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1886.

the union of the colonies from the New England Confederation in 1643, and Franklin's plan of 1754 to the Articles of 1777, and the Constitution of 1787. Lastly come the Ordinance of Secession of 1860, the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, and the great instruments which closed the Civil War. The references prefixed to each document are good, but a commentary would be a real gain should the book reach, as it deserves, a second edition. More attention should also be given to textual matters. Mr. Preston does not say from what source he prints: sometimes he modernises the spelling, sometimes not; sometimes he gives the contractions of the original, elsewhere he expands them. But these are small blemishes in a highly meritorious work.

REGINALD L. POOLE.

II.—PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF RELIGION.

IN this province there continues to be remarkable literary activity, but scientific works, philosophical and historical, are by no means abundant. To begin with the philosophy, the first place is due to the "Outlines" * of the late Professor Pünjer. The work, which is little else than a series of lecture-notes, is posthumous, and edited by his former master and later friend and colleague, Professor Lipsius. Pünjer intended to supplement his critical "History of the Philosophy of Religion since the Reformation" with a work setting forth his own positive or constructive system, but his untimely death defeated the design, and all that we have of it is the fragment now before us. It must be judged as at once posthumous and incomplete, the incompleteness referring alike to arrangement and to details. It handles three questions—the historical, psychological, and metaphysical. The historical discussion is mainly remarkable for the absence of any attempt at classification, or at the study of the religions, either in their historical or morphological affinities and differences; and also for its omissions, no reference, *e.g.*, being made to Islam. But there are two interesting sub-sections on the universal and the primary element in religion, though he fails to show the relation between these two. If the subjective be the original and the objective the derivative element, then the groups of similar phenomena which emerge in all religions only represent or express permanent subjective activities, every variation in the phenomena being explicable through differences in the conditions that help to determine the subject. The psychological discussion is precisely what Pünjer's History would have led one to expect; he refuses to regard any single faculty as the special organ of religion; in its genesis and development feeling, intellect, and will are all concerned and all active; but his analysis fails to find the impulse or cause which determines the concurring faculties towards religion. His definition is somewhat clumsy, but comprehensive: "Religion, as subjective, is the experience of a divinely operated movement of the personal life; and, as objective, is the sum both of the doctrines dominant in a community concerning God and His relation to the world, and of the laws for the behaviour of man in relation to God, which doctrines and laws produce a definite relation of men to

* "*Grundriss der Religionsphilosophie.*" Braunschweig: Schwezshke und Sohn. 1886. (Pp. viii-71.)

God, and states of mind and emotion conditioned thereby." But the third, or metaphysical, is the most interesting section; it shows throughout the joint influence of Lotze and Biedermann. Pünjer takes his stand on experience, and argues that it involves a system, not of transcendental, but of immanent metaphysics—what he terms an idealistic monism. The interdependence and interaction of all things implies an inner unity, and the nature of this unity is best revealed in the spiritual being of man. From the human Spirit he ascends to the Absolute, whose being it pre-supposes and requires; and as we must interpret the Absolute through the revealing relative, we necessarily distinguish in it the three constitutive elements of all spiritual life. And so the Absolute of metaphysics becomes the God of religion, and "idealistic monism" the philosophic form of the religious truth, "in Him we live, move, and have our being." It is unfortunate that this philosophy is but a torso, and even as such without the fine final touches of the master's hand. The primary problems of a philosophy of religion are here glanced at; its ultimate problems are not discussed. Its function is to interpret the religions of history through the ideas gained by the psychological and metaphysical discussions; and to fulfil this function is the best test of its truth or sufficiency. Here we have a discussion preliminary to a *Religionsphilosophie*, but no more.

A suggestive little brochure we owe to Professor Holsten.* I cannot quite make out why he should have presented us with both a series of theses and a lecture, unless it were by repetition the more emphatically to state and commend his views. He wishes to escape what he thinks the speculative paralysis of the Neo-Kantism and the religious Nihilism of Feuerbach, and he seeks to explain the origin and essence of religion by developing the principles of Schleiermacher, who, he says, set but did not solve the problem for our century. He starts by formulating three conclusions he has reached from his historical studies: 1. Religion is a universal form or expression of the life of man, raised to consciousness by means of speech. 2. What man in all his historical religions reveres as God is what he has experienced as potency of life, creative and destructive. 3. The religions stand everywhere under a law of development—move from the sensuous worship of a sensuously conceived God to the spiritual worship of a God who is Spirit. Schleiermacher failed because he started with a philosophical conception of God, which he owed mainly to Spinoza; Holsten hopes to succeed because he starts with one he owes to the religions, though he gets it by a process as purely philosophical as that Spinoza followed. His question, How does God enter into the human consciousness? he attempts to answer by a fine and skilful analysis of the factors and stages in the natural history of mind, individual and collective. Organism and environment live together, act and re-act on each other; the germ holds in it living energies; these exercised, beget sensation, sensation develops into feeling; and through sensation and feeling man becomes soul, whose life is but unbroken reciprocity with Nature. As yet, religion is not possible; in order to its being, soul must become consciousness, Ego, Spirit. This is achieved when man develops out of the merely receptive or sentient the creative or idealizing faculty; sensation becomes thought, Soul is transformed into Spirit,

* "*Ursprung und Wesen der Religion.*" Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1886. (Pp. 44.)

and over against spiritual man stands no longer a mere sensuous nature, but the Spiritual God. This God appears as the Absolute Potency of life, but He cannot appear as this without the question being raised—What is He in and to Himself? The experience is religion; the question begets first mythology, then theology, finally philosophy. The completion of the subjective leads to the objective analysis; and here Holsten has some luminous remarks and combinations. The first and rudest expression of the theistic idea is Fetishism, which sees in separate objects the power of life and death, or simply the presence of the divine. This is the form of idea and religion proper to peoples without a history—hunters, fishers, &c. Then comes settled life in its earliest form—agriculture; order reigns in Nature and Society, and so in the celestial hierarchy, now organized into a system, the source and articulation of law. Man then advances to commerce, and through it develops a new ~~new~~ and new faculties; comes into history, knows himself as part of a whole, inherits the past, creates the present, transmits to the future; and so, coming to conceive of God as a single permanent and universal Will, Monotheism is achieved, and a spiritual religion realized. The positions are all general; difficulties emerge only with the attempt to work them out in detail. But this much is certain: Holsten's method is right; religion cannot be studied in isolation—must be studied through the whole man and the whole of man. Every change in it expresses a corresponding change in him and in his conditions; and the true philosophy of religion will be equally a philosophy of man and history, of human nature and human civilization.

The work of Dr. Hugo Delff* hardly calls for mention. It has no scientific character, is the production of one who, if not an amateur in philosophy and criticism, yet thinks and writes as one; displaying all the qualities, passions, prejudices, and inability to understand an opponent or his standpoint, distinctive of the mere amateur.

We gladly welcome the translation of Lotze's "Dictate."† It ought to be a useful textbook—not, indeed, very intelligible by itself, but most suggestive with a living interpreter behind it. He would have abundant opportunity of explaining Lotze's "Metaphysics," and reading in their light the discussion and criticism of the theistic evidences. But the evidences are less significant than the doctrine of the Absolute, which, so far from involving the ideas of the impersonal and non-relative, yields to Lotze's analysis the ideas of "perfect personality" and an intra- rather than extra-mundane relation. His realistic yet teleological idealism is here duly emphasized, but the book is more a philosophy of theism than of religion; and one rather regrets that the author of the "Mikrokosmos" does here so little to elucidate the religions of history, or to show the relation between the conscious theistic process of the thinker and the unconscious religious process of the race. The translation, while fair, is not always intelligible or correct. Here is a sentence which not only misses the point of the original, but speaks sheer nonsense: "As often as science has undertaken to give an account of its profits, it has done this in a doctrine of the 'Proofs for the existence of God'" (p. 8); on p. 6 *Weltbau* is rendered "construction of the world," when it means system;

* "Die Hauptprobleme der Philosophie und Religion." Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedr. Schönbach. 1886. (Pp. vi-310.)

† "Outlines of the Philosophy of Religion." Translation edited by George T. Ladd. London: Trübner & Co.

on p. 26 *eine prinziplose Thatsache* is translated, with grotesque literalism, "a fact devoid of all principle"; on p. 69, *Vereinbar* is so Englished as to spoil the antithesis; "perfect personality is *reconcilable* only with the conception of an Infinite Being; for finite beings only an approximation to this is attainable." The proper term is *compatible*, not *reconcilable*. Yet due allowance must be made for the peculiar difficulties of translation, and gratitude expressed for a book so likely to be serviceable.

Pfleiderer's important and exhaustive work has already been noticed in an earlier Review, but two volumes of an English translation now before us deserve a cordial word of praise.* These two volumes, corresponding to the first of the original, contain the critical history of the Philosophy of Religion from Spinoza till to-day; and are, though preparatory to the second, which deals with the speculative and constructive philosophy, quite complete in themselves. Pfleiderer is clear, incisive, vigorous; his composition is always lucid, and his criticism independent. The translation, so far as we have collated it with the original, is admirable; often free, but always faithful, hitting the golden mean between a mere paraphrase and slavish reproduction. It is a real pleasure to find a translation that preserves so much of the spirit and force of the original, and yet is so true to the idioms and even the graces of the new tongue.

Turning now to history, the first place belongs to the latest but certainly not the least important of the "Hibbert Lectures."† There is no subject on which knowledge is more needed or harder to get than the one here treated, and this book will convince many that we have not so much attained knowledge as got on the way towards it. It is an able book—learned, ingenious, fertile in theory and suggestion; bold in analysis, statement, combination, and inference. Professor Sayce everywhere exhibits the modesty and courage of the pioneer; shows himself equally ready to retrace his steps, to venture along new paths, and from new standpoints and under new lights to read old signs; and so he means us to feel that his researches have, in some of their main elements, resulted in hypotheses rather than discoveries, in probable rather than assured conclusions. And in such a matter this is the true scientific spirit and attitude, for it is only through provisional hypotheses that we discover the very factors of the problem and the conditions of solution. There is nothing so provocative of criticism as a constructive endeavour, and the value of the book before us lies in its being no exception to the rule. A religion is only truly interpreted when it is proved the real interpretation of its people and their history; and the interpretation has to follow so many lines, philological, geographical, ethnographical, historical, and to solve so many distinct and most dissimilar problems in each, that in a case like the present we may safely say it represents the most difficult synthesis known to science. The questions tend meanwhile to grow more rather than less complex and perplexing. If Egypt is allowed to have affected the earliest art of Mesopotamia (p. 33), can we exclude it from all influence on the religion? Has this anything to do with the

* "The Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History." By Dr. Otto Pfleiderer. Translated by Alexander Stewart, M.A., and Allan Menzies, B.D. London: Williams & Norgate. 1886 and 1887.

† "The Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians." By A. H. Sayce. London: Williams & Norgate. 1887.

ideas and mythology as to an after- and under-world, so much more pronounced and developed than we meet among either the Ural-Altaic or the Semitic peoples? Then, have we really reached the truth as to the relations of the Mesopotamian languages and peoples? We have many instances of the survival of an extinct speech as a sacred language, notably Sanskrit and Latin, the latter being the more curious that it does not owe its consecration to the Sacred Books, but to a Church; but the survival of the Sumero-Akkadian language in the Babylo-Assyrian literature and religion is altogether peculiar and anomalous. It is preserved by a sacred caste, alien in race and speech, a priesthood formed of "the encroaching Semites," who have "dispossessed the older dynasties," and forced the older people "to till the ground, irrigate the fields, and become serfs." Now here is the strange point: that a sacred caste should be formed out of the conquerors for the preservation and cultivation of the language, mythology, worship—in a word, religion—of the conquered. Of course, the terms "conquerors" and "conquered" are here apt to be misleading: the peoples lived long together, mixed freely, while now the one and now the other was in the ascendent. But this, so far from simplifying, complicates the problem: races, which are here conceived as comprehending distinct religions do not easily blend, and when they borrow they mark the thing borrowed in too decisive a way to permit it to be mistaken. These are very general considerations, and only general considerations are possible here; but they may serve to indicate grounds for caution, and even, in some important respects, scepticism. I am very doubtful about much of what we may term Professor Sayce's natural history of the Babylonian gods. A scientific discussion of comparative Semitic mythology might have modified, very largely, some of his conclusions, and made certain of his Akkadian filiations much less possible. But while I feel that there are many points in these lectures not proven, yet I wish to do justice to their varied excellencies. They are the work of a singularly candid and open-minded inquirer, who cultivates his subject as one who loves it, and commends it as only a loving cultivator can. Intricate and recondite as these discussions often are, they everywhere breathe the spirit of the genial and enthusiastic scholar, who can use his subject to shed light on things beyond its province, and can illuminate it by lights gathered from researches in many fields. Much of the material here is of great value. The appendices will prove specially useful; while the students of the Old Testament and of comparative mythology and religion will find everywhere hints, suggestions, and discussions for which they will, in their several ways, be deeply and lastingly grateful.

The first volume of what promises to be a very useful handbook of the History of Religions lies before us.* Dr. Chantepie de la Saussaye is painstaking, lucid, full, and interesting. The qualities of special scholarship ought not to be expected in a work of this kind, but intelligent and discriminating use of the best authorities. And this is what we everywhere find: a fine and genial spirit, who loves man too, well to despise his religions, and delights to seek in them elements of truth and righteousness, here essays to lead us through the

* "*Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte.*" Von P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, Doctor und Professor der Theologie in Amsterdam. Freiburg: Mohr. 1887. (Pp. x-465.)

greater historical faiths. One of the defects of the book springs from the author's scrupulous fairness; he states rival theories and positions often with a cogency and fulness of detail that bewilders the reader. But that is an excellent fault; some men are the better for being forced to a suspense of judgment, and others for being compelled to judge on the evidence or between the conflicting theories. In the history of religions we are beset more than anywhere else with insoluble problems, and philosophers and scholars alike have here to learn how either to leave the insoluble unsolved, or be content with an approximate solution. The plan of the book is simple. There is an introductory discussion of certain general questions (pp. 2-47); then a part devoted to the phenomenology of religion (pp. 48-170); then an ethnographic part (pp. 172-231); and finally an historical part, concerned with the greater religions; those treated in this volume being the Chinese, Egyptian, Assyrio-Babylonian, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Hinduism. The introductory discussions, which are partly philosophical and partly critical, well exhibit the cautious eclecticism of the author. He will not allow the legitimacy of the dilemma—religion proceeds either from the nature of man or an act of God; but holds that the nature from which it comes acts under influences and conditions pervaded by the divine activity. He believes that neither the animist nor the mythologist holds the key to the problem of its origin, but that each explains a cycle of phenomena, and so occupies a more or less justified position. The best chapter of the book is the one dealing with the phenomenology. Here everything is careful, critical, and judicious; the significance and relations of idea and act in religion, idolatry, sacred stones, trees, and animals, the worship of Nature and man, magic and divination, sacrifice and prayer, sacred times, places, persons, the religious community, literature and doctrine—these and similar points are well described and discussed. Indeed, it would be hard to find more admirable examples of careful statement, balanced judgment, and conscientious criticism, though one would now and then like a more incisive and decisive treatment. In the historical sections we find everywhere the same anxious and conscientious effort to be just, and to follow the best lights; and the reader who studies these pages will form a coherent image of the various religions presented, while, if he wishes to pursue his inquiries, he will also find in the bibliography guides to the more special sources. The author indeed has not always read his sources aright, or painted his picture with a due regard to historical perspective, or succeeded in showing us the order or law and stages of religious development; but he places before us the conclusions of competent scholars, and he professes to do no more. Detailed criticism is of course here impossible; and I would only say in conclusion that while the author is a Dutch Professor, though of French descent, he writes both easy and elegant German. We shall expect with interest his second volume, and may then have more space for the consideration of his historical method and views.

Another work of a general kind comes to us from Count Goblet d'Alviella.* The body of the work is but a framework or skeleton for lectures; the method pursued, ethnographic rather than historical; the matter, the phenomena of savage rather than the evolution and significance of historical religions. The subject does not lend itself to a frag-

* "Introduction à l'Histoire Générale des Religions. Résumé du Cours Public donné à l'Université de Bruxelles en 1884-1885." Bruxelles: C. Muquardt. 1887. (Pp. 176.)

mentary mode of treatment, and requires, further, a rigorously scientific mind—that is, a mind more anxious to find the truth than to play the part of either apologist or assailant.

The monograph on Herakleitos by Dr. Edmund Pfeleiderer * is of quite another character: clever, vigorous, striking, even adventurous in its critical and constructive parts. We are, however, not here concerned with the interpretation of Herakleitos, but only with the attempt made in the appendix to trace his influence in "Ecclesiastes" and the "Wisdom of Solomon," and indeed our remarks must be confined to the former. There are few more interesting or important subjects than the action of Hellenism on the later Judaism; to find how, when, and under what forms the Greek spirit first laid hold of the Hebrew, would be to touch one of the most decisive and fruitful moments in history. And the earlier this moment can be placed, and the nearer the heart of Judaism, the more significant it grows. It is nearly a century since the theory was first propounded as to the presence of Greek thought and speech in "Ecclesiastes"; but the comparatively recent works of two English scholars, Mr. Tyler and Dean Plumptre, have so used the theory as to give a new meaning and new vividness to the book. Professor Pfeleiderer has followed their lines, but changed the source; he has gone behind Stoicism and Epicureanism to Herakleitos, and works out the theory of his influence with extraordinary acuteness and ingenuity. His interpretation of Eccles. i. 4-9 (pp. 266-269); iii. 2-8 (pp. 271-278); iii. 11 (pp. 277-280), is certainly striking, and often as suggestive as novel. But his theory does not seem to me to be made out. The influence, indeed, is possible enough; the external or historical conditions would all have allowed it. The doubt is due altogether to the insufficiency of the intrinsic evidence. "Ecclesiastes" can be better explained without than with the influence of Herakleitos; to call in his aid is but to increase the difficulties. The law of parsimony here holds valid; what can be sufficiently explained by the action of native causes is only obscured or confused by the introduction of foreign agencies. And the development of ideas expressed or implied in earlier books of the Hebrew wisdom, the decadence of Hebrew faith, the failures and miseries of Hebrew history, working on a spirit of peculiar constitution and experience, would produce precisely the sort of book we have in "Ecclesiastes." On the other hand, the difficulties in the way of the Herakleitean theory are too many to be removed by the most ingenious exegesis of a few obscure texts. In a case of this kind the real test of truth is not what a theory does, but what it does not explain. The differences from Herakleitos are more remarkable and fundamental than the agreements with him; and there are no evidences that these differences were conceived in antithesis to a studied and partially accepted system; indeed, all the evidence is against the idea of any such conscious antithesis. The points of affinity are so few and superficial, the points of antipathy are so many and profound, without any sign of the antipathy being the result of a deliberative or dialectical process, that we can only regard the theory as a plausible explanation of accidental coincidences, but no explanation of essential features. Yet the work is so able and skilful that we

* "Die Philosophie des Heraklit von Ephesus im Lichte der Mysterienidee. Nebst einem Anhang ueber heraklitischen Einflusse im alttest. Kohelet und besonders im Buche der Weisheit, sowie in der ersten christlichen Literatur." Berlin: Reimer. 1886. (Pp. ix-384.)

commend it to the careful student of the later biblical and canonical literature.

We have space, in conclusion, for only a word or two in praise of the two volumes of the "*Theologischer Jahresbericht*,"* which lie before us. No more admirable or exhaustive literary register need be desired. Every book or even article of any merit, in any province of theology, which has appeared in the years 1885-1886, is here duly recorded, and has its noteworthy characteristics—if it has any such—briefly indicated. Two excellent volumes indeed, and most helpful to the theological student.

A. M. FAIRBAIN.

III.—SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

AMONG recent economic works one of the most remarkable is "*The Philosophy of Wealth*," by an American economist, Professor John B. Clark.† It is freshly thought and freshly written; it places things frequently in very fruitful lights; and if the results are not always so solid as the author imagines, the reasoning by which he leads on to them is invariably suggestive, and helps pleasantly to completer views. The chapter to which he seems to attach most significance himself is probably the least satisfactory in the book. It contains what purports to be a new theory of value and the keystone to all the author's other speculations; but this new theory of value turns out, when examined, to be in reality only a very well-known old one under a new name. It hangs on a distinction which the author draws—and for which he claims the merit of originality—between the absolute utility of a thing and its effective utility, but these two phrases are merely fresh disguises of our old familiar friends, value in use and value in exchange. Water has a great deal of absolute utility because it is indispensable to life, but it has no effective utility because it can be easily replaced. Mr. Clark's theory is, that value is the quantitative measure of effective utility, but then, as he explains, effective utility is itself measured by the amount of sacrifice or labour that would be required to replace the article, or, in other words, by the cost of replacing it. To say that value is determined by effective utility is only another and obscurer way of saying that it is determined by cost of production. Absolute utility is utility, but effective utility is really cost. Mr. Clark's remarks are more interesting on the changes which he perceives the industrial system to be undergoing. Individual competition—and with individual competition the whole industrial régime to which Ricardo's economics applied—has now, he says, become practically a thing of the past. Pooling is the order of the day. "Eight men have been said to control the production of anthracite coal, and combinations of similar character control that of lumber, glass, nails, gunpowder, ropes, cutlery, and a hundred other staple articles." The separate trades are solidifying into so many great corporations, whose members cannot compete with those of other trades, because they sell entirely different articles, and do not compete with one another, because they find it so easy and profitable to combine. Kleinwächter has given us an account of the extent to which this system of pooling combinations or *Kartels* is spreading in Austria, and we hear complaints of the same tendency among ourselves. But

* "*Theologischer Jahresbericht*." Herausgeben von R. A. Lipsius. Vol. V. 1886; Vol. VI. 1887. London: Williams & Norgate.

† Boston: Ginn & Co.

similar combinations—less formal perhaps, and more local in their character—were common enough in the past, and they cannot go far without provoking competition. The best part of Mr. Clark's book is the criticism with which it begins, on the accepted definitions of wealth, and the ingenious and by no means unsuccessful attempt he makes to enlarge the scope of the word so as to take in the products of the actor and musician, the preacher and the lawyer, which Mill expressly excludes. The music of the violin, Mr. Clark maintains, has as much right to be termed wealth as the violin itself; they are both products of labour destined for enjoyment, and differ only in their degree of durability. Music is a utility impressed for a short time on vibrations of air, and the violin is a utility impressed for a longer time on wood and catgut; but the one is as truly wealth while it lasts as the other. Mr. Clark would abolish 'the distinction between productive and unproductive labour, and recognize every kind of labourer as a producer. Take the lawyer for example. Is he really a producer? Does he produce anything except his account? Yes; according to Mr. Clark, he is a producer as much as the mason or the carpenter, for like them he communicates to commodities a particular kind of utility, and the particular utility which it is his business to communicate is "the attribute of appropriability." That is the lawyer's product.

M. G. de Molinari's "*Les Lois Naturelles de l'Economie Politique*"* is an able but rather too one-sided celebration of the principle of competition as the great lever of all progressive civilization from the beginning. It was animal competition, the struggle for the field with beasts of prey, that shook man into his first advancement; and some tribes, like the Australian savages for example, have been left very low in the scale for no other reason than because, by what might be thought a happy immunity of their country, they never had any ferocious animals to contend with. To animal competition succeeded political competition; for ages war was the great medium of progress; and now war has outlived its philosophical *raison d'être*, for even the victor generally loses rather than gains by it, and has given place to industrial competition. M. de Molinari has no idea of the existence of any tendency, such as that remarked upon by Mr. Clark, towards a decline of competition, or a contraction of its sphere, from the mere force of natural causes; on the contrary, he sees it extending its sphere so as to include all nations, and place the producers of one end of the world into a direct struggle with the producers of the other; and his one fear is, that natural causes will not receive sufficiently free course, and that the competitors will be overweighted for the struggle by Government restrictions, and an increasing and excessive burden of taxation. One of the most interesting things in the book is contained in the appendix, viz., a practical proposal for the solution of the question of capital and labour in a way which in the author's opinion would be consistent with the laws of political economy, because it would effect a saving to the employers as well as a gain to the workmen, and because it would effectually avoid the rock on which ordinary profit-sharing schemes, like that of the Messrs. Briggs, are apt to split—the old wages quarrel about how much the employer ought to get, and how much the labourer. He was struck at the Panama Canal with the extent to which the sub-contract system prevailed there, and he has come back per-

* Paris: Guillaumin et Cie.

suaded that the same system could be beneficially applied to nearly all kinds of undertakings. He would have millowners work their mills by contract, and coalmasters their mines; and in order to facilitate the operation he would establish joint-stock companies on a large scale for the supply of labour. The stock would have at first to be taken by the capitalist classes, but it ought to be held in shares of small nominal value, so as to afford an opportunity for labourers investing their savings, and to make it possible for the whole to be eventually held by that class. The company should limit its profits by statute to a maximum of 12 per cent., and divide any surplus that remained thereafter among the workmen it employed. It would save the employers from the necessity of providing capital in advance for payment of wages, and from the responsibility for accidents to the labourers and defalcations by them; and it would be its interest to look out for work for its workmen, to keep them steadily employed, to secure good conditions of workshop, of lodging, of provisions and other things. This proposal suggests remarks, but we cannot discuss it here.

In "The Cotton Trade of Great Britain" * Mr. Thomas Ellison has written a careful and interesting account of the rise and progress of that industry. Not the least valuable thing in the work is the description it contains of the more remarkable recent developments of the trade, the rapid and almost complete elimination of middlemen, the operation of the cotton clearing-house and the cotton bank, and—perhaps the most striking incident of all—the extraordinary growth of co-operative mills in the district of Oldham, which now carry on one-fourth of the whole cotton manufacture of the United Kingdom, and though managed chiefly by working-men, have taken the lead in introducing labour-saving improvements, and so have very materially helped the whole country to keep its place against foreign competition. The experiences of these co-operative mills during the recent crisis are very interesting. Their chief economic drawback seems to be that they have an excessive amount of loan capital as compared with share capital, and of nominal share capital as compared with paid-up share capital; and some of the smaller shareholders were, in consequence, unable to meet the calls on their shares and lost their all; but otherwise the Oldham mills weathered the crisis as well as their neighbours, and perhaps a little better. As to crises, Mr. Ellison points out that spinners always suffer less from them than weavers, partly because spinners have more markets for their work, but chiefly because spinning-mills require more capital to establish them than weaving-mills, and cannot, therefore, be so easily over-multiplied in good times.

From Professor F. X. von Neumann-Spallart we have another of his biennial statistical surveys of the economic condition of the time.† This serial is quite unique of its kind. It is in the first place a most valuable and trustworthy work of descriptive statistics of the production, the consumption, the currency, the means of transport and communication, and the trade of the world, but it is more than that; it is an attempt to analyse these statistics and to ascertain from them, through certain important signs and symptoms, the present state of well-being in the different countries, and to mark the course things are taking, and the appearance of any new tendencies or phases they are developing. The

* London: Effingham Wilson.

† "Uebersichten der Weltwirtschaft." Stuttgart: Julius Maier.

present issue is described on the title-page as the issue for the year 1883-4, but in most cases it brings the figures down to 1885, and the general analysis covers the whole of the very instructive period from 1872 to 1885, which was marked by unusual trade fluctuations, and during which it may be said that the whole industrial economy of the world has undergone what is little less than a silent revolution. We are only now beginning to appreciate the enormous change that has taken place through the opening of the Suez Canal, the extension of the railway and telegraph systems, the perfection of shipping, and so on; but Professor Neumann-Spallart describes it very well by saying that industrial economy has now become for the first time a world's economy—it has been internationalized. One of the most important effects of the change noted by him is the gradual displacement of England from her position as the centre of gravity of the world's trade. In 1876 the trade of England was still 23 per cent. of the trade of the world; in 1885 it was only 19 per cent. England counts for less than she did in the trade system of Europe, and Europe counts for less in the trade system of the world. One cannot here run over even the cream of the author's results, but some of his tests seem to lead to opposite conclusions as to the general well-being from others. For example, the marriage rate is generally taken as a good index to the condition of the people; now, the marriage rate may be said to have been steadily declining in all nations except Italy during the whole period included in the author's survey. The decline may have been slightly quickened in the more depressed years, and retarded again when trade revived; but on the whole it has gone on till the rate is now one per thousand less in England and two per thousand less in France and Germany than it was at the beginning of the '70's. The same conclusion is obtained if we look at the suicide rate: in France and Germany it has gone on increasing steadily through good years and bad indifferently, till it stands now much more than half as high again as it did in the early '70's; while in England it reached its maximum in the year 1879, though it remains still considerably higher than it was in 1871-5. These are bad signs; but, on the other hand, if we take another common test of well-being, we get quite a different result: the world's consumption of luxuries—of tea, coffee, and fermented liquors—has kept on increasing through the whole period, and shows only a certain retardation of the rate of progress, not a positive decline, even in the bad years 1873-5 and 1877-9. The general standard of life is manifestly rising, and this rise may itself have not a little to do with the decrease of marriages and increase of suicides. The author gives us not only a diagnosis of the present, but also a prognostic of the future, and his prognostic is favourable. At home, trade will recover, for there are signs that it is undergoing two re-adjustments needed by the new conditions—a re-adjustment between wages and prices, and a re-adjustment between the profits of bonds and fixed stock investments and the profits of ordinary commercial undertakings; while abroad there is a great market, as yet very imperfectly occupied, in the unoccupied and highly populous countries of Eastern Asia. The hope of Europe lies there.

It is strange that Karl Marx's "*Das Kapital*" should have had to wait twenty years to be translated into English, and that even among the author's more immediate friends and followers no such translation seems to have been contemplated till after his death, three years ago. But, if

tardy, the translation which now appears * is certainly excellently done. It was begun by the author's friend, the late Mr. Samuel Moore, and completed by his son-in-law, Dr. Aveling; while the whole has been edited by his lifelong comrade, Mr. Frederick Engels, and the quotations have been verified by Mrs. Aveling, and given in the words of their original English text. The translation is confined at present to the first volume, because the second volume is stated to be largely dependent on the third, and the third has never yet been published, though it is promised this year.

Other tokens of Socialist activity in this country are given in Mr. E. Belfort Bax's "Religion of Socialism," and Mr. N. Kempner's "Common-sense Socialism."† Mr. Bax is a thoughtful man, who likes to dwell among large generalizations, especially in the region of the historical development of mankind, and is always ready to follow his opinions to their most startling consequences. His view is, that Socialism has brought religion back from heaven to earth by replacing the hope of immortality with the hope of a better social life in this world, as soon as this world shall have been "redeemed from civilization," as he strangely puts it. His hope rests on the fatalist conception of the evolution of history so commonly entertained by Socialists—that as primitive communism developed into civilization under the influence of the individualist principle, so civilization is now developing under the same impulse into a new form of communism, under which individuality is to be so entirely suppressed that there will be no more quarrels and no more courts of law. Mr. Bax would claim to be a philosophical or scientific Socialist; Mr. Kempner, on the other hand, describes himself in contradistinction as a Common-sense Socialist. And not altogether unjustly; for, though he falls into many errors, they are precisely such errors as common-sense, unaided by a sound comprehension of the working of the industrial system, would be apt to make. He believes that the chief evils we suffer from are direct effects of our material progress itself, of the continual supplanting of human labour by machinery, of the increasing facility of over-production, and the like; and with a view to stop these evils without stopping the progress they accompany, he proposes, among other things, to fix by law "a maximum working time for all branches of industry where machinery is used, determined by the figures of consumption, by the proportion between the labour and the machinery employed, and varying according to the size of the establishments." He has no cut-and-dry scheme, and he is alive to the difficulty of making one; but he is mistaken in his ideas of the probable operation of such a plan of organization, if it were possible to carry it out.

In Socialist circles abroad there is much joy at present over one well-known "Manchestrist" who has repented. M. Theodor Hertzka was editor of a leading Liberal journal in Vienna and an active opponent of Socialism, but he has now gone over to the enemy, and proclaimed his conversion in a work of considerable ability, entitled "Die Gesetze der Sozialen Entwicklung."‡ He stands, however, on the ground of Lassalle rather than the ground of Marx. The labourers are exploited, are virtually robbed—not, however, by the capitalists in the stricter sense, but by the employers; not through interest, but through

* "Capital." By Karl Marx. Translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, and edited by Frederick Engels. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

† London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

‡ Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

profit and wages of superintendence. This kind of exploitation was good in the days of slavery, because it increased production then; but it is bad now, because it diminishes production, for it depresses the energies of the labourers through keeping them in hopeless and cheerless conditions of life. The remedy is the gradual supersession of private enterprise by productive associations, to be established at first by State help. Competition ought to continue between these associations, because it is a necessary condition of effective production; and for the same reason self-interest and personal responsibility should continue to be looked to as the sound motives for the individual. The proceeds of the enterprise should be divided among the associates according to the true principle of economic equality, which says each shall enjoy what each produces, and not according to the untrue and unnatural equality, which says all shall enjoy what all produce. In fact, the principle of association is resorted to for no other reason than that it seems a more excellent and effective way of giving every man his own; and giving every man his own, *suum cuique*, is, according to M. Hertzka, the grand business, the Alpha and the Omega, of all social development.

Some excellent and much-needed works have lately been devoted to the railway system; but there is hardly room left for more than the mere mention of their names. First, we had some time ago Mr. Arthur T. Hadley's "Railroad Transportation, its History and its Laws,"* a most admirable discussion of all the principles and problems of the modern system of transport; and now we have two other important works, going more largely into details than Mr. Hadley's—"Railway Problems," by Mr. J. S. Jeans,† and "Das Eisenbahntarifwesen," by Franz Ulrich.‡ Ulrich gives us a full account of the rating systems of the different countries of the world, prefaced by a general discussion of the proper principles of railway rating; while Mr. Jeans discusses not only those principles, but every other question in the whole field of railway administration, and supplies an immense body of well-digested information regarding the entire railway experience of the world. A work of much value on the United States railways is A. von der Leyen's "Die Nordamerikanischen Eisenbahnen in ihren wirthschaftlichen und politischen Beziehungen."§

Considerable attention seems at present to be given abroad to English social institutions. Dr. P. F. Aschrott, who wrote last year a most excellent, compact, and exact account of our English Poor-law system, "Das Englische Armenwesen,"|| has now written an equally excellent account of our penal and prison system, "Strafen-system und Gefangneisswesen in England."¶ Those works might be advantageously translated. The author has mastered his subjects in England itself, and writes with great lucidity. A more elaborate undertaking still is Dr. J. M. Baernreither's work on English labourers' associations, "Die Englischen Arbeiter-verbände und ihr Recht."** The first volume is devoted to the Friendly Societies, and is to be followed by one on the Trade Unions; but I must defer noticing it at present.

JOHN RAE.

* New York: Putnams.
§ Leipzig: Veit & Co.

† London: Longmans & Co.

|| Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

** Tübingen: H. Laupp.

‡ Berlin: J. Guttentag.

¶ Berlin: J. Guttentag.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF CHARLES DARWIN.

BY the universal consent of mankind, the name of Charles Darwin was placed even during his lifetime among those of the few great leaders who stand forth for all time as the creative spirits who have founded and legislated for the realm of Science. It is too soon to estimate with precision the full value and effect of his work. The din of controversy that rose around him has hardly yet died down, and the influence of the doctrines he propounded is extending into so many remote departments of human inquiry, that a generation or two may require to pass away before his true place in the history of thought can be definitely fixed. But the judgment of his contemporaries as to his proud pre-eminence is not likely ever to be called in question. He is enrolled among *Dii majorum gentium*, and there he will remain to the end of the ages. When he was laid beside the illustrious dead in Westminster Abbey, there arose far and wide a lamentation as if of personal bereavement. Thousands of mourners who had never seen him, who knew only his writings, and judged of the gentleness and courtesy of his nature from these and from such hearsay reports as passed outwards from the privacy of his country home, grieved as for the loss of a dear friend. It is remarkable that probably no scientific man of his day was personally less familiar to the mass of his fellow-countrymen. He seemed to shun all the usual modes of contact with them. His weak health, domestic habits, and absorbing work kept him in the seclusion of his own quiet home. His face was seldom to be seen at the meetings of scientific societies, or at those gatherings where the discoveries of science are expounded to more popular audiences. He shrank from public controversy, although no man was ever more vigorously attacked and more completely misrepresented. Nevertheless, when he died the affectionate regret that

followed him to the grave came not alone from his own personal friends, but from thousands of sympathetic mourners in all parts of the world, who had never seen or known him. Men had ample material for judging of his work, and in the end had given their judgment with general acclaim. Of the man himself, however, they could know but little, yet enough of his character shone forth in his work to indicate its tenderness and goodness. Men instinctively felt him to be in every way one of the great ones of the earth, whose removal from the living world leaves mankind poorer in moral worth as well as in intellect. So widespread has been this conviction, that the story of his life has been eagerly longed for. It would contain no eventful incidents, but it would reveal the man as he was, and show the method of his working and the secret of his greatness.

At last, five years and a half after his death, the long-expected Memoir has made its appearance. The task of preparing it was undertaken by his son, Mr. Francis Darwin, who, having for the last eight years of his father's life acted as his assistant, was specially qualified to put the world in possession of a true picture of the inner life of the great naturalist. Most biographies are too long, but, in the present case, the three goodly volumes will be found to contain not a page too much. The narrative is absorbingly interesting from first to last. The editor, with excellent judgment, allows Darwin himself, as far as possible, to tell his own story in a series of delightful letters, which bring us into the very presence of the earnest student and enthusiastic explorer of Nature.

Charles Darwin came of a family which from the beginning of the sixteenth century had been settled on the northern borders of Lincolnshire. Several of his ancestors had been men of literary taste and scientific culture, the most noted of them being his grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, the poet and philosopher. His father was a medical man in large practice at Shrewsbury, and his mother, a daughter of Josiah Wedgwood of Etruria. Some interesting reminiscences are given of the father, who must have been a man of uncommon strength of character. He left a large fortune, and thus provided for the career which his son was destined to fulfil. Of his own early life and later years, Darwin has left a slight but most interesting sketch in an autobiographical fragment, written late in life for his children, and without any idea of its ever being published. From this outline we learn that he was born at Shrewsbury on the 12th of February, 1809. Shortly before his mother's death, in 1817, he was sent, when eight years old, to a day-school in his native town. But even in the period of childhood he had chosen the favourite occupation of his life; "my taste for natural history," he says, "and more especially for collecting, was well developed. I tried to make out the names of plants, and

collected all sorts of things—shells, seals, franks, coins and minerals. The passion for collecting which leads a man to be a systematic naturalist, a virtuoso, or a miser, was very strong in me, and was clearly innate, as none of my sisters or brother ever had this taste." According to his own account, he was "in many ways a naughty boy." But there must have been so much fun and kind-heartedness in his transgressions, that neither parents nor teachers could have been very seriously offended by his pranks. What, for instance, could be said to a boy who would gravely pretend to a schoolfellow that he could produce variously tinted flowers by watering them with coloured fluids, or who gathered a quantity of fruit from his father's trees, hid it in the shrubbery, and then ran off to announce his discovery of a robbery; or who, after beating a puppy, felt such remorse that the memory of the act lay heavy on his conscience and remained with him to old age? In 1818 he was placed under Dr. Butler in Shrewsbury School, where he continued to stay for seven years until 1825, when he was sixteen years old. He confesses that the classical training at that seminary was useless to him, and that the school as a means of education was, so far as he was concerned, simply a blank. Verse-making, and learning by heart so many lines of Latin or Greek, seem to have been the occupations of school that specially dwelt in his memory, the sole pleasure he could recall being the reading of some of Horace's Odes. He describes, however, the intense satisfaction with which he followed the clear geometrical proofs of Euclid, and the pleasure he took in sitting for hours in an old window of the school reading Shakespeare. He made acquaintance, too, with the poems of Thomson, Byron and Scott, but confesses that in later life, to his great regret, he lost all pleasure from poetry of any kind, even from Shakespeare.

The first book that excited in him a wish to travel was a copy of the "Wonders of the World," in the possession of a schoolfellow, which he read with some critical discrimination, for he used to dispute with other boys about the veracity of its statements. Nothing in the school-life could daunt his ardour in the pursuit of natural history. He continued to be a collector, and began to show himself an attentive observer of insects and birds. White's "Selborne," which has started so many naturalists on their career, stimulated his zeal, and he became so fond of birds as to wonder in his mind why every gentlemen did not become an ornithologist. Nor were his interests confined to the biological departments of Nature. With his brother, who had made a laboratory in the garden tool-house, he worked hard at chemistry, and learned for the first time the meaning of experimental research. These extra-scholastic pursuits, which he declares to have been the best part of his education at school, came somehow to be talked of by his

companions, who consequently nicknamed him "Gas"; and Dr. Butler, when he heard of them, rebuked the young philosopher for "wasting time on such useless subjects," and called him a "poco curante." It was evident to his father that further attendance at Shrewsbury School would not advance young Darwin's education, and he was accordingly sent in 1825, when he was a little over sixteen years old, to join his elder brother, who was attending the medical classes of the University of Edinburgh. It was intended that he should begin the study of medicine, and qualify himself for that profession; but he had already discovered that a sufficient competence would eventually come to him to enable him to live in some comfort and independence. So he went to the lectures with no very strong determination to get from them as much good as if he knew that his living was to depend on his success. He found them "intolerably dull," and records in maturer years his deliberate conviction that "there are no advantages, and many disadvantages, in lectures compared with reading." That he did not conquer his repugnance to the study of anatomy in particular is remarkable, when we consider how strong already was his love of biology, and how wholly it dominated his later life. Tenderness of nature seems to have had much to do with his repugnance. He could not bear the sight of suffering; the cases in the clinical wards of the Infirmary distressed him, and after bringing himself to attend for the first time the operating theatre, he rushed away before the operations were completed, and never went back. But he afterwards came to regard as one of the greatest evils of his life that he had not been urged to conquer his disgust and make himself practically familiar with the details of human anatomy. It is curious, too, to learn with what aversion he regarded the instructions of the Professor of Natural History in the University. Jameson could certainly kindle, or at least stimulate, enthusiasm in some young souls, as the brilliant band of naturalists trained under him in Edward Forbes' time sufficiently proves. But to others he undoubtedly was, what Darwin describes him, "incredibly dull." If the professorial teaching was defective, however, the loss seems to have been in good measure made up by the companionship of fellow-students of kindred tastes, with whom the future naturalist explored the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Collecting animals from the tidal pools of the estuary of the Forth, and accompanying the Newhaven fishermen in their dredging voyages for oysters, he found plenty of material for study, and employed himself in dissecting as well as he could. In the course of these observations he made his first recorded discovery, which was, "that the so-called ova of *Flustra* had the power of independent movement by means of cilia, and were, in fact, larvæ." As a part of his love of Nature and out-of-door employments, he

became an ardent sportsman, rose even long before day, in order to reach the ground betimes, and went to bed with his shooting-boots placed open close beside him, that not a moment might he lost in getting into them.

When two sessions had been passed at Edinburgh and no great zeal appeared for the medical profession, Darwin's father proposed to him that he should become a clergyman, for it was out of the question that the young student should be allowed to turn into an idle sporting man, as he bade fair to do. After some time given to reflection on this momentous change in his career, Darwin, who "did not then in the least doubt the strict and literal truth of every word in the Bible," agreed to the proposal. Many years afterwards, when he had risen to fame, and his photograph was the subject of public discussion at a German psychological society, he was declared by one of the speakers to have "the bump of reverence developed enough for ten priests." So that in one respect, as he says of himself, he was well fitted to be a clergyman. In another and more serious qualification, however, he found himself lamentably and almost incredibly deficient. If his two years at Edinburgh had not added much to his stock of professional knowledge, they seem to have driven out of his head what slender share of classical learning he had imbibed at Shrewsbury. He had actually forgotten some of the Greek letters, and had to begin again, therefore, at the very beginning. But after a few months of preliminary training he found himself able to proceed to Cambridge in the early part of the year 1828, when he was now nearly nineteen years of age. So far as concerned academical studies, the three years at the University were, in his own opinion, as much wasted time as his residence at Edinburgh or his life at school had been. He attempted mathematics, which he found repugnant. In classics he did as little as he could; but in the end he took his B.A. degree, and got the tenth place on the list of those who did not go in for honours. The disgust for geology with which the Wernerian doctrines at Edinburgh had inspired him, prevented him from becoming a pupil of Sedgwick. It is curious to speculate on what might have been his ultimate bent had he then come under the spell of that eloquent, enthusiastic, and most lovable man. Not improbably he would have become an ardent geologist, dedicating more exclusively to that science the genius and industry which he devoted to biology and to natural history as a whole.

Some of the incidents of his Cambridge life which he records are full of interest in their bearing on his future career. Foremost among them stands the friendship which he formed with Professor Henslow, whose lectures on botany he attended. He joined in the class excursions, and found them delightful. But still more profitable to him were the long and almost daily walks which he enjoyed with

his teacher during the latter half of his time at Cambridge. Henslow's wide range of acquirement, modesty, unselfishness, courtesy, gentleness and piety, fascinated him and exerted on him an influence which, more than anything else, tended to shape his whole future life. The love of travel, which had been kindled by his boyish reading, now took a deeper hold of him as he read Humboldt's "Personal Narrative," and Herschel's "Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy." He determined to visit Teneriffe, and even went so far as to inquire about ships. But his desire was soon to be gratified in a far other and more comprehensive voyage. At the close of his college life he was fortunate enough, through Henslow's good offices, to accompany Sedgwick in a geological excursion in North Wales. There can be little doubt that this short trip sufficed to efface the dislike of geology which he had conceived at Edinburgh, and to show him how much it was in his own power to increase the sum of geological knowledge. To use his own phrase, he began to "work like a tiger" at geology.

But he now had reached the main turning-point of his career. On returning home from his ramble with Sedgwick he found a letter from Henslow, telling him that Captain Fitz-Roy, who was about to start on the memorable voyage of the *Beagle*, was willing to give up part of his own cabin to any competent young man who would volunteer to go with him without pay as naturalist. The post was offered to Darwin, and after some natural objections on the part of his father, who thought that such a wild scheme would be disreputable to his character as a future clergyman, was accepted. His intention of becoming a clergyman, and his father's wish that he should do so, were never formally given up; but from this time onward they dropped out of sight. The *Beagle* weighed anchor from Plymouth on the 27th of December 1831, and returned on the 2nd of October 1836.

Of the voyage in the *Beagle* and its scientific fruits Darwin himself has left ample record in his "Journal of Researches," and in the various memoirs on special branches of research which he afterwards published. The editor of the Biography has wisely refrained from repeating the story of this important part of his father's life. But he has given a new charm to it by printing a few of the letters written during the voyage, which help us to realize still more vividly the life and work of the naturalist in his circumnavigation of the world. We can picture him in his little cabin working diligently at the structure of marine creatures, but driven every now and then to lie down as a relief from the sea-sickness which worried him during the voyage, and was thought by some to have permanently injured his health. We see him littering the deck with his specimens, and thereby raising the indignation of the prim first lieutenant, who

declared he would like to turn the naturalist and his mess "out of the place," but who, in spite of this want of sympathy, was recognized by Darwin as a "glorious fellow." We watch him in the tropical forests and in the calm glories of the tropical nights with the young officers listening to his exposition of the wonders of Nature around them. And, above all, we mark his exuberant enthusiasm in the new aspects of the world that came before him, his gentleness, unfailing good-nature and courtesy, that endeared him alike to every officer and sailor in the ship. The officers playfully dubbed him their "dear old philosopher," and the men called him "our flycatcher."

For one who was to take a foremost place among the naturalists of all time—that is, in the true old sense of the word naturalist, men with sympathies and insight for every department of Nature, and not mere specialists working laboriously in their own limited field of research—there could hardly have been chosen a more instructive and stimulating journey than that which was provided for Darwin by the voyage of the *Beagle*. The route lay by the Cape de Verd Islands across the Atlantic to the coast of Brazil, southward to the Strait of Magellan, and up the western side of the South American continent as far as Callao. It then struck westward across the Pacific Ocean by the Galapagos archipelago, Tahiti, New Zealand, Sydney and Tasmania, turning round into the Indian Ocean by way of Keeling Islands and the Mauritius to the Cape of Good Hope, and then by St. Helena and Ascension Island to the coast of Brazil, where the chronometrical measurement of the world, which was the ostensible object of the *Beagle's* circumnavigation, was to be completed, and so once more across the Atlantic homewards. Almost every aspect of Nature was encountered in such a journey. The luxuriant forests of the tropics, the glaciers and snowfields of Tierra del Fuego, the arid wastes of Patagonia, the green and fertile Pampas, the volcanic islets of mid-ocean, the lofty Cordillera of a great continent, arose one by one before the eager gaze of the young observer. Each scene widened his experience of the outer aspects of the world, quickened his powers of observation, deepened his sympathy with Nature as a whole, and likewise supplied him with abundant materials for future study in the life-work which he had now definitely set before himself. We must think of him during those five momentous years as patiently accumulating the facts and shaping in his mind the problems which were to furnish the occupation of all his after life.

During the voyage he had written long letters to his friends descriptive of what he had seen and done. He likewise forwarded considerable collections of specimens gathered by him at various places. His scientific activity was therefore well known to his acquaintances, and even to a wider circle at home, for some of his letters to Henslow were privately printed and circulated among the

members of the Cambridge Philosophical Society. It would have been difficult for any even of his most intimate friends to offer a plausible conjecture as to the line of inquiry in natural science that he would ultimately select as the one along which he more particularly desired to advance. An onlooker might have naturally believed that the ardent young observer would choose geology, and end by becoming one of the foremost leaders in that department of science. In his "Journal of Researches," and in the letters from the *Beagle* just published, it is remarkable how much he shows the fascination that geology now had for him. He had thoroughly thrown off the incubus of Wernerianism. From Lyell's book and Sedgwick's personal influence he had discovered how absorbingly interesting is the history of the earth. Writing to his friend, W. D. Fox, from Lima, in the summer of 1835, he expresses his pleasure in hearing that his correspondent had some intention of studying geology; which, he says, offers "so much larger a field of thought than the other branches of natural history;" and, moreover, "is a capital science to begin, as it requires nothing but a little reading, thinking and hammering." While the whole of his "Journal" shows on every page how keen were his powers of observation, and how constantly he was on the watch for new facts in many fields of natural knowledge, it is to the geological problems that he returns most frequently and fully. And never before in the history of science had these problems been attacked by an actual observer over so vast a space of the earth's surface, with more acuteness and patience, or discussed with such breadth of view. There is something almost ludicrous in the contrast between his method of treatment of volcanic phenomena and that of his professor at Edinburgh only six short years before. But though geological questions, being the most obvious and approachable, took up so large a share of his time and attention, he was already pondering on some of the great biological mysteries the unveiling of which in later years was to be his main occupation, and to form the basis on which his renown as an investigator was chiefly to rest.

On his return to England, in October 1836, Darwin at once took his place among the acknowledged men of science of his country. For a time his health continued to be such as to allow him to get through a large amount of work. The next two years, which in his own opinion were the most active of his life, were spent, partly at Cambridge and partly in London, in the preparation of his "Journal of Researches," of the zoological and geological results of the voyage, and of various papers for the Geological and Zoological Societies. So keen was his geological zeal that, almost against his better judgment, he was prevailed upon to undertake the duties of honorary secretary of the Geological Society, an office which he continued to hold for three years. And at each period of enforced

holiday, for his health had already begun to give way, he occupied himself with geological work in the field. In the Midlands he watched the operations of earth-worms, and began those inquiries which formed the subject of his last research, and of the volume on "Vegetable Mould" which he published not long before his death. In the Highlands he studied the famous Parallel Roads of Glen Roy; and his work there, though in after years he acknowledged it to be "a great failure," he felt at the time to have been "one of the most difficult and instructive tasks" he had ever undertaken.

In the beginning of 1839 Darwin married his cousin, daughter of Josiah Wedgwood, and grand-daughter of the founder of the Etruria Works, and took a house in London. But the entries of ill-health in his diary grow more frequent. For a time he and his wife went into society, and took their share of the scientific life and work of the metropolis. But he was compelled gradually to withdraw from this kind of existence which suited neither of them, and eventually they determined to live in the country. Accordingly, he purchased a house and grounds at Down in a sequestered part of Kent, some twenty miles from London, and moved thither in the autumn of 1842. In that quiet home he passed the remaining forty years of his life. It was there that his children were born and grew up around him, that he carried on the researches and worked out the generalizations that have changed the whole realm of science, that he received his friends and the strangers who came from every country to see him; and it was there that, after a long and laborious life, full of ardour and work to the last, he died at the age of seventy-three, on the 19th of April 1882.

The story of his life at Down is almost wholly coincident with the history of the development of his views on evolution, and the growth and appearance of the successive volumes which he gave to the world. For the first four years his geological tastes continued in the ascendant. During that interval there appeared three remarkable works, his volume on "Coral Islands," that on "Volcanic Islands," and his "Geological Observations on South America." Of these treatises that on coral reefs excited the wonder and admiration of geologists for the simplicity and grandeur of its theoretical explanations. Before it was written, the prevalent view of the origin of these insular masses of coral was that which regarded each of them as built on the summit of a volcano, the circular shape of an atoll or ring of coral being held to mark the outline of the submerged crater on which it rested. But Darwin, in showing the untenableness of this explanation, pointed out how easily the rings of coral might have arisen from the upward growth of the reef-building corals round an island slowly sinking into the sea. He was thus led to look upon the vast regions of ocean dotted with coral islands as areas of gradual subsidence, and

he could adduce every stage in the process of growth, from the shore-reef just beginning, as it were, to form round the island, to the completed atoll, where the last vestige of the encircled land had disappeared under the central lagoon. More recent researches by other observers have, in the opinion of some writers, proved that the widespread submergence demanded by Darwin's theory is not required to account for the present form and distribution of coral islands. But his work will ever remain a classic in the history of geology.

After working up the geological results of the long voyage in the *Beagle*, he set himself with great determination to more purely zoological details. While on the coast of Chili he had found a curious new cirripede, to understand the structure of which he had to examine and dissect many of the common forms. The memoir, which was originally designed to describe only his new type, gradually expanded into an elaborate monograph on the Cirripedes (barnacles) as a whole group. For eight years he continued this self-imposed task, getting at last so weary of it as to feel at times as if the labour had been in some sense wasted which he had spent over it, and this suspicion seems to have remained with him in maturer years. But when at last the two bulky volumes, of more than one thousand pages of text, with forty detailed plates, made their appearance, they were hailed as an admirable contribution to the knowledge of a comparatively little known department of the animal kingdom. In the interests of science, perhaps, their chief value is to be recognized not so much in their own high merit as in the practical training which their preparation gave the author in anatomical detail and classification. He spoke of it himself afterwards as a valuable discipline, and Professor Huxley truly affirms that the influence of this discipline was visible in everything which he afterwards wrote.

It was after Darwin had got rid of his herculean labours over the "Cirripede book" that he began to settle down seriously to the great work of his life—the investigation of the origin of the species of plants and animals. One of the three volumes of the *Biography* is entirely devoted to tracing the growth of his views on this subject, and the preparation and reception of the great work on the "Origin of Species." In no part of his task has the editor shown greater tact and skill than in this. From the earliest jottings, which show that the idea had taken hold of Darwin's mind, we are led onwards through successive journals, letters, and published works, marking as we go how steadily the idea was pursued, and how it shaped itself more and more definitely in his mind. It is impossible to condense this story within the limits of a Review article, and the condensation, even if possible, would spoil the story, which must be left as told in the author's own words. Briefly, it may be stated here that he

seems to have been first led to ponder over the question of the transmutation of species by facts that had come under his notice during the South American part of the voyage in the *Beagle*—such as the discovery of the fossil remains of huge animals akin to, but yet very distinct from, the living armadillos of the same regions; the manner in which closely allied animals were found to replace one another, as he followed them over the continent; and the remarkable character of the flora and fauna of the Galapagos archipelago. "It was evident," he says, "that such facts as these, as well as many others, could only be explained on the supposition that species gradually become modified; and the subject haunted me." His first note-book for the accumulation of facts bearing on the question was opened in July 1837, and from that date he continued to gather them "on a wholesale scale, more especially with respect to domesticated productions, by printed inquiries, by conversation with skilful breeders and gardeners, and by extensive reading." He soon perceived that selection was the secret of success in the artificial production of the useful varieties of plants and animals. But how this principle, so fertile in results when employed by man, could be applied in explanation of Nature's operations, remained a mystery to him until in October 1838, when, happening to read for amusement Malthus' book "On the Principle of Population," he found at last a theory with which to work. With this guiding principle he instituted a laborious investigation on the breeding of pigeons, and experiments on the flotation of eggs, the vitality of seeds, and other questions, the solution of which seemed desirable as his researches advanced. He says himself that, to avoid prejudice in favour of his own views, he refrained for some time from writing even the briefest sketch of the theory he had formed, and that it was not until June, 1842, that he allowed himself the satisfaction of writing a very brief pencil abstract in thirty-five pages, which two years afterwards he enlarged to 230 pages, and had fairly copied out. This precious manuscript was the germ of the "Origin of Species."

With characteristic caution, however, he kept his essay in his desk, and with equally characteristic ardour, industry and patience went on with the laborious task of accumulating evidence. His friends were of course well aware of the nature of his research and of the remarkable views to which he had been led regarding the history of species. And as these views could hardly fail in the end to become generally known, it was desirable that the first publication of them should be made by himself. This having been urged upon him by Lyell, he began early in the year 1856 to write out his views in detail on a scale three or four times as large as that on which the "Origin of Species" afterwards appeared. This work he continued steadily for two years, when it was interrupted (June 1858) by the arrival of a

remarkable manuscript essay by Mr. A. R. Wallace, who, working in the Malay archipelago, had arrived at conclusions identical with those of Darwin himself. Darwin's generous impulse was to send this essay for publication irrespective of any claim of his own to priority: but his friends, Lyell and Sir Joseph Hooker, persuaded him to allow extracts from his early sketch of 1844, and part of a letter written to Professor Asa Gray in 1857, to be read, together with Mr. Wallace's contribution, before the Linnean Society, and to be printed in the Society's "Journal." He now set to work upon that epitome of his observations and deductions which appeared in November 1859, as the immortal "Origin of Species."

Those who are old enough to remember the publication of this work, cannot but marvel at the change which, since that day, not yet thirty years ago, has come alike upon the non-scientific and the scientific part of the community in their estimation of it. Professor Huxley has furnished to the Biography a graphic chapter on the reception of the book, and in his vigorous and witty style recalls the furious and fatuous objections that were urged against it. A much longer chapter will be required to describe the change which the advent of the "Origin of Species" has wrought in every department of science, and not of science only, but of philosophy. The principle of evolution, so early broached and so long discredited, has now at last been proclaimed and accepted as the guiding idea in the investigation of Nature.

One of the most marvellous aspects of Darwin's work was the way in which he seemed always to throw a new light upon every department of inquiry into which the course of his researches led him to look. The specialists who, in their own narrow domains, had been toiling for years, patiently gathering facts and timidly drawing inferences from them, were astonished to find that one who, to their eyes, was a kind of outsider, could point out to them the plain meaning of things which, though entirely familiar to them, they had never adequately understood. The central idea of the "Origin of Species" is an example of this in the biological sciences. The chapter on the imperfection of the geological record is another.

After the publication of the "Origin," Darwin gave to the world during a succession of years a series of volumes, in which some of his observations and conclusions were worked out in fuller detail. His books on the fertilization of orchids, on the movements and habits of climbing plants, on the variation of animals and plants under domestication, on the effects of cross and self-fertilization in the vegetable kingdom, on the different forms of flowers on plants of the same species, were mainly based on his own quiet work in the greenhouse and garden at Down. His volumes on the descent of man, and on the expression of the emotions in man and animals,

completed his contributions to the biological argument. His last volume, published the year before his death, treated of the formation of vegetable mould, and the habits of earth-worms, and the preparation of it enabled him to revive some of the geological enthusiasm which so marked the earlier years of his life.

Such, in briefest outline, was the work accomplished by Charles Darwin. The admirable biography prepared by his son enables us to follow its progress from the beginning to the close. But higher even than the intellect which achieved the work was the moral character which shone through it all. As far as it is possible for words to convey what Darwin was to those who did not personally know him, this has been done in the "Life." His son has written a touching chapter, entitled, "Reminiscences of my Father's Everyday Life," in which the man as he lived and worked is vividly pictured. From that sketch, and from Darwin's own letters, the reader may conceive how noble was the character of the great naturalist. His industry and patience, in spite of the daily physical suffering that marked the last forty years of his life; his utter unselfishness and tender consideration for others; his lifelong modesty that led him to see the worst of his own work and the best of that of other men; his scrupulous honour and unbending veracity; his intense desire to be accurate even in the smallest particulars, and the trouble he took to secure such accuracy; his sympathy with the struggles of younger men, and his readiness to help them; his eagerness for the establishment of truth by whomsoever discovered; his interest up to the very last in the advancement of science; his playful humour; his unfailing courtesy and gratitude for even the smallest acts of kindness—these elements of a lofty moral nature stand out conspicuously in the Biography. No one can rise from the perusal of these volumes without the conviction that, by making known to the world at large what Darwin was as a man, as well as a great original investigator, they place him on a still loftier pinnacle of greatness than that to which the voice of his contemporaries had already raised him.

ARCH. GEIKIE.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

THE unemployed may be conveniently classified into those who must needs find work and cannot obtain it, and those who need not and do not try to. Both classes are to-day very numerous in this country, but it is mainly with the former, and their condition, there is most need at present to be concerned. Naturally enough, it is the "have nots" who are using the improved machinery of the time for social and political agitation. The avowed object is, to emphasize the demand of the more honest among them for "work or bread." This proclamation for work or bread of the unauthorized idlers, and mob, appears reasonable enough when emanating from industriously minded starving men, fellow-citizens with ourselves of a highly civilized, law girt, affluent community.

The accumulation of the national wealth outstrips the ratio of increase of population, without ensuring any effectual levelling up process. Indeed it serves mostly to heighten and peak the great social inequalities as between the capitalist and the jobbing day labourer. There is no gainsaying the existence, rich and potent as the Empire we claim citizenship in is, of widespread privation among the working-classes of Great Britain. This "distress" has also now become an aggravated constant quantity in our midst. To-day men, women, and children, by hundreds of thousands, miserably half clad, have to face the chill English winter now upon us, hibernating as best they can in dark, frowsy abodes, from which they but emerge to plead for bread. "Beggars, thriftless, lazy beggars, all of them," say the strong, hard-headed, matter-of-fact people, who in the struggle for wealth have emerged beyond the ruck, with the natural man's feelings contracted, and case-hardened towards their less able and less fortunate competing fellow-countrymen. Beggars all forsooth; then

are they to be doubly pitied, who from choice or idiotic indolence voluntarily toil hard to crave alms and stolidly endure endless discomforts to lead such sorry modes of life. In a speech delivered in New York a few days ago, by the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, after referring to the extraordinary energy and success with which the Americans had engaged in the production of wealth, he observed : "That in the future they would probably have to turn their attention more closely to the question of providing better means for its distribution." A precisely similar problem is already demanding solution at our own doors. Relief works, and probably emigration itself, may in the long run prove but temporary stop-gap remedies for distress ; but palliatives, if not panaceas, will have to be tried speedily, if from no higher motive than prudence.

Since 1883, during each recurring winter in London and other large towns, people have become familiarized with what is known as the "Unemployed agitation." Is it a genuine agitation? My answer is, "Quite as much so as any political movement." When nightly around the doors of casual wards, surging in the clamorous, reeking crowd, begging for shelter, there are to be met, as was attested but the other day, respectable clerks, shorthand writers, and skilled mechanics, then there is material enough for "an unemployed agitation." No doubt there is much in the present movement to recall former and not remote periods in our history. There exists now, however, two or three glaring differences between our times and the past, which are a source of greatly added danger to the maintenance of order. The workers have the franchise, and through the telegraph and the printing press news is far more rapidly and widely diffused, so that they are enabled to act in concerted masses. Responsibility no doubt develops prudence, but can that apply in the case of thousands of famished men? Again, figures may be produced to show that we are not now so badly off as in 1871, when, with a smaller population, considerably over a million persons were in receipt of relief. The lowest point was reached in 1877. Since then the numbers have fluctuated a great deal, until in 1884 a steady increase commenced in the numbers of persons receiving relief. Paradoxical as it appears, it does not necessarily follow that, because there are fewer persons in receipt of relief at this moment than was the case in 1871, there is less actual distress. The Casual Poor Act of 1882, which enforced new and more stringent conditions on applicants for aid, it is widely assumed, has had much to do with keeping down the returns. The spread of education may also have had an influence in repelling the needy from the workhouse doors.

The periodic migration of the unemployed poor, as winter sets in, from the rural districts into the towns, is not to be accounted for quite satisfactorily, judged from the surface of things. Rent and

rough fare are always cheaper in the country districts than in the cities, and, probably, the chances of securing an occasional job are about equal in both. Were such comfortable cottage homes, with their half-acre of ground attached, to be had in England for one shilling a week, as Irish boards of guardians have already built and rented in considerable number at the sum named; then Hodge and the jobbing man might be induced to enter upon house-keeping near the field of their labour. This is but by the way. Winter, of course, practically stops thousands of men who are ordinarily employed in brick-making and in the building trades, and numbers of other rough toilers, men and women, whose haunting dread is how to battle through the winter and emerge as little injured as possible from the fight. Here is a host, who, if once enlisted in the ranks of disorder, will not be easily stayed.

The beginning of the Trafalgar Square scenes, which are in many respects but a duplicate of what has occurred in Glasgow and other towns, dates back to the warm nights of the past summer. Spring, summer, and autumn may minimize, but they cannot remove, trade depression. As early as the month of July, numbers of idle men and women, ay, and hapless children and babes, not all vagabonds from choice, but leading a nomadic life within the confines of the metropolis, nightly set themselves down on the benches and flagstones under the north wall of the square. Others, rightly or wrongly, esteeming there was too much merit and humanity in the possession of a *saxpence* to waste it in paying for an unclean bed in a fœtid lodging-house for a night, came and joined themselves to the company of wastrels, who chattered and dozed the hours away in the square. Hard as the granite was for bedding, it was not "*alive and intolerable*," and there was abundance of fresh air, and fresh water in the fountains with which in the morning to perform their modest ablutions. Small surprise, therefore, need be felt that Trafalgar Square benches and stone slabs became widely popular with the cohorts of misfortune and incompetence. Of downright professional rascaldom and infamy there were few among them, for that class rarely stray, unless "on business," from their slum-burrows and dens. The utterly destitute plight of the social castaways, who swarmed in the square, induced several people who had the means, to go and distribute food and money among those they thought the most deserving of help. Their well-intentioned kindness at once increased the numbers of the needy, and "the finest site in Europe," was in a short time turned into a foul camp of vagrants. The quarters of these native nomads became even more offensive than the encampments of the luckless *Gypsy* gipsies, who, landing in this country some time ago, were driven about from place to place. Attention was at length called in the House of Commons to the state of affairs in front of the National

Gallery, whereat the First Commissioner of Works, Mr. Plunket, made his oft-quoted answer, that he had neither the power nor the will, to drive the homeless, wretched people from the square. The wide publicity thus secured to the subject caused, what might have been readily predicted, an immediate and great accession of lodgers, to what the Home Secretary has termed "the private property of the Crown." Nor was this all; instead of a mere place of nightly shelter, the lodgers made it their home all day. It was a convenient central position for displaying their bitter lot, and exceptionally well situated as a sallying ground for begging forays. The shopkeepers and tradesmen in the vicinity, touched in their pockets, grumbled terribly, met and started organized opposition to abolish the nuisance begotten of poverty and vagabondage. Short shrift would be the fate of the latter class, could they be weeded out of the ranks of honest misfortune. The square had become a dreadful place, a civic quagmire, but how could it be otherwise when rags and wretchedness interpose upon the prosperous highways of commerce. What good purpose can it serve, when Lazarus with rags and sores, intrudes himself, as if he meant to stay where busy, well-to-do tradesman Dives does business. This is the nineteenth century, not the first, and have not work-houses and casual wards been specially provided to stow our Lazarus in? Not quite sufficient for his needs, as may be shown later on.

On Friday, the 7th of October last, it somehow occurred to the minds of six or seven half-crazy loons, bitten by the political tarantula ycleped social democracy, to go at midnight to Trafalgar Square and preach the new gospel of discontent to the starvelings there. Off they went, these men—of the crafts of barber, cabinet-maker, painter, cobbler, printer, window-cleaner and labourer were they, themselves only a little less needy and out at elbows than the ragged army of want—to preach and proselytize. As drowning men clutch at straws, so hungry men were found to greedily devour a political creed that promised work and bread for all. Next day they unfurled the red flag of revolution in the square, and meetings and processions were openly begun. At first the majority of their listeners were the shiftless flotsam and jetsam of the community. Day by day, partly through publicity in the newspaper press, with possibly a dulled hope that the authorities might start relief works, the numbers increased of the more respectable unemployed workmen. There was at an early period of the agitation an attempt made to hold a night meeting and procession, during which shops were to be sacked, but the Socialists furled their flags and vehemently interposed to stop the threatened raid of the roughs. Happily, they succeeded in preventing the contemplated night march. It was on Saturday, October 12th, that the first procession of the "unemployed" this winter paraded London streets. It was a small and insignificant band and,

although accompanied by police, they attracted very little attention. During the forenoon of the following Monday the Socialists appeared in the square with red flags and—called by courtesy—a band of music, composed of fife and drum. Such as the material was, it served to introduce uniformity of movement, and the first step in organizing the mob was commenced. Further method was imported into the daily proceedings by the agitators getting the meetings to send deputations to the Government, as well as to the civic authorities, to insist on the immediate starting of various relief works. The mob had now become articulate and capable of suggesting methods of extending the existing system of relief. Not “charity but work” was their formulated petition, and the leaders were ready with reference to instances, where public bodies had provided relief works, which had turned out a double boon—first to the unemployed, and next to the community that authorized the work.

The arguments addressed by the Socialists to their hearers were mainly variations on the phrase “that all wealth was but the product of labour, and therefore the workers had a right to bread.” “Capital, which was but the creature of labour, was tyrannizing over the workers, and as none could honestly live without labour, there should be no unemployed.” “Over production” was scouted as impossible, “as men’s wants grew with the means of supplying them;” and periods of depression were attributed to the “inability of capitalists to make profit enough to satisfy their demands, and so manufacturing was stopped till stocks ran low and prices went up.” “If the State took possession of all the means of production,” the listeners were assured, “there need never be any suspension of industry, for the more there was produced the richer all would be.” The leaders of the movement, however, at first really applied themselves mainly to repeated insistence on “the need and right of the unemployed to be provided, by civic or national authority, with work of a suitable description, not degrading tasks such as were imposed in workhouses and casual wards.” “Organized society, and not natural causes,” the crowd were assured, “was solely responsible for all their sufferings.” The deputations behaved with much audacity, and at the Board of Works and the Mansion House set forth, with no bated breath, their demands for the instant commencement of relief works. The Lord Mayor’s Show-day was then looming near, and it was declared that the meetings would at once be discontinued if a promise were given that works would be started. As there had been threatenings in the square of interference with the Mayoralty procession, this was not a bad card to play. Nothing came of it beyond a rash alderman undertaking to discuss with a deputation the advantages that the free expenditure of money conferred on working-men. He looked aghast when the members hastened to question the soundness of his views. One of their most

effective points with the crowd was, that in many large cities now-a-days the communities profitably undertake, among other things, the paving of the streets, without the intervention of contractors, the manufacture and distribution of gas, the storage and distribution of water, tramways, and so on. This, it was argued, was but modified Socialism, and, therefore, in London the local bodies might well undertake such relief works as repairing roads, erecting baths, wash-houses, and a better class of artisans' dwellings, to be rented at lowest possible rates.

In Chelsea, as was shown, the local vestry had last year advantageously employed a number of men on road-work, without the aid of any contractor. According to the report issued by Mr. Strachan, the surveyor of the district, the result of the experiment was highly satisfactory, and it was repeated afterwards with equal success in another place. The pith of the report was as follows :

"The pay was to be 4*d.* per hour, and of this 2*s.* was to be paid each night in order to get the men food. It was questioned whether there would be 100 applicants for the work, but on the day appointed to take the names no less than 300 were at hand. There is much discussion as to a test for distinguishing genuine cases of distress from the loafers and the ne'er-do-weels. I venture to suggest that a man who will hack up a macadam road like King's Road for 4*d.* per hour has earned the right to be considered a genuine case. The number of men employed was increased to 230, among whom, to my own knowledge, were carpenters, plasterers, bricklayers, fitters, shoemakers, watchmakers, printers, hatters, gentlemen's servants, and tailors, as well as general labourers, each of whom commenced work at 4*d.* per hour. The severe work tried many of the men at the beginning. At first they did not earn their money, but as they got food into them they visibly improved. Where a man was found capable of better work than hacking the road up he was put to mixing the concrete, for which he received 5*d.* per hour. When it came to laying the blocks, the artisans among them were advanced to that work, and were then paid the usual wage of a pavior—9*d.* per hour. . . . One scarcely knew the men again. Nine weeks' work had enabled them to turn round in the world. They had rescued their clothes, which in many cases had been 'put away,' and there they were, a body of contented men, forming a striking contrast to the hungry men who struggled for work when the names were taken down. Altogether a sum of £2,000 was circulated to these men as wages, and I have no hesitation whatever in saying that it gave assistance to men who were deserving of consideration, and that it saved many a wife and her little ones from hunger and suffering. But did it pay? Yes. These roads cost 9*s.* 10*d.* and 9*s.* 7*d.* per square yard respectively, all told, which included superintendence, printing, testing, and a substantial allowance for the depreciation of plant and tools. The price could not be bettered for the quality of the work."

The shocking lack of physical vigour, and the stunted, broken-down look of numbers of the frequenters of the meetings, were often freely commented on by the passers-by. Gentlemen anxious to assist, on seeing them, almost invariably shook their heads, and muttered that the men were unfit for work, even for window-cleaning. They had never undergone a destructive experience of foodless days and home-

less nights themselves, and they therefore failed to realize the potency of privation to shrink and wither, and play havoc with men physically and morally. Three months of beef-tea and generous diet, and the opportunity to earn his living, have oftentimes resuscitated many an apparent wastrel.

The police authorities began to bestow more attention on the meetings, and strong bodies of constables, foot and mounted, daily kept watch over every movement of the unemployed. No attempt was made before the 14th of October by the police to interfere with the meetings in the square, but a street procession was dispersed on the 10th of October. During the greater part of October the movement was stoutly supported by resolute fellows, who engaged with the Socialist leaders in the most dangerous phase of the whole agitation—street processions demanding work or bread. There were in these bodies at that time about one hundred men who had begun life in the army, and who were accustomed to discipline and concerted action. They marched in orderly array, and undertook to straighten the limp recruits of the pavement and gutter. When the numerous tussles and encounters afterwards ensued between the police and the mob, it was these old army men who chiefly stood their ground and fought, and in the end got arrested and imprisoned. The Socialist leaders, rendered more wary by experience, strove to repress the ardour of their converts, saying with ready frankness that while they personally were prepared to go almost any length to overturn the existing order of things, neither their numbers nor their organization warranted them in engaging in a conflict with the authorities. More recently they freely expressed the most profound hatred of the Metropolitan police chief, and of many of the rank and file. It was as much to secure a break in the monotony of speech-making as to keep their followers in heart, that the street processions and visits to Westminster Abbey were undertaken. There was a minority, even then, among the leaders of the agitation opposed to visiting places of worship, and who favoured a strict adherence to the lines of constitutional agitation. The dispersal and imprisonment of the more resolute followers of the movement by the police, left but a handful of bothering, vexatious customers who were too discreet to afford the authorities an opportunity of laying them by the heels. From the 14th of October to the 8th of November, a period intervened in which meetings in the square and processions were sometimes allowed, sometimes prohibited, and sometimes dispersed by the police officials. The inconsequential and whimsical nature of the tactics of the police but further served to attract serious public attention, and to give an additional fillip to what might now be dignified as a political agitation. New blunders were perpetrated, and the question of the right of public meeting in the

square was raised. The Liberal and Radical clubs of the metropolis joined issue with the police, and are to-day fully as bitter against these public servants as the Socialists are. Meanwhile the latter, by the turn of affairs, have gained a sort of endorsement from the political clubs referred to, and when the matter about the right of meeting is settled to the satisfaction of the aggressive Radicals, as no doubt it will ultimately be—what is the use of blinking the signs of the times?—the Socialists will secure the chestnuts. Looking back for a moment at all the painful and discreditable scenes in the square, in the streets, and in Hyde Park, my view is, that by greater tact and judgment on the part of the police, all disorder might have been averted. Nay, the meetings would never have attained the size and importance they did but for the occasional exuberance of indiscreet official zeal. When Sir Charles Warren undertook and succeeded, by the issue of tickets for lodging and food, to clear the square at night of all the unemployed lodgers therein, had that action been equally well supported by judicious officers placed on duty during the daytime, the present difficulties need never have arisen, nor the very strained relations between a large part of the populace and the police been provoked.

What further of the unemployed? Will the Socialist agitators regard them but as pawns in their game, to be ruthlessly put aside when necessary? Not so, say the now partially eclipsed Socialist evangelists. The meetings are to go on until relief works are started. Not, perhaps, in Trafalgar Square to-day or to-morrow, they admit, but in the streets and parks and wherever the unemployed can be got together. Unmistakably they are still for agitation. It is given as an evidence that the square meetings were largely composed of unemployed workmen, that Saturday's meetings were invariably the smallest. The cause assigned for that circumstance was, that the men went off to meet former shopmates, who were in work, to borrow money, Saturday being the weekly pay-day. A hurried glance at the ample field of operations afforded to the apostles of discontent will not be out of place. When the cold weather fairly set in, the workhouses filled rapidly and the casual wards and refuges were nightly besieged, hundreds being turned away to skulk in lairs worse than wild beasts are able to secure. Conjure up a week, or a month's nightly quartering on miry slabs, with a London fog for coverlet. It was stated in Westminster Police Court by a gentleman, who was a director of the London Samaritan Society, on the 11th of November, that the previous night, in Fulham Road Workhouse, which by the way was overcrowded, he had found fifty-five shivering casuals packed in one cold room, with no fire, destined to pass the night, without covering, on the stone floor of the apartment. Elsewhere, at other casual

wards, as in Vine Street, Clerkenwell, and Wallis's Yard, Buckingham Palace, throngs of men and women wildly struggled each night to gain admission;—to what bountiful provision for human wants? Well, first to a cold bath, then a straw mattress and two inferior blankets. In the morning, to a breakfast of one pint of skilly and six ounces of bread. Then to work in a shed, or, as in Wandsworth and other places, in solitary confinement in a cell, picking oakum, breaking stones, or turning a crank. Next, and last, there was dinner—eight ounces of bread and one ounce and a-half of cheese; and once more off to bed, after possibly working, as is often the case, to 10 P.M. to finish the stipulated labour-task. Of late, experienced observers declare there is a reversion to barbarism in the treatment of our paupers and casuals. The casual ward taint is bad enough, but the workhouse stamp to the man or woman in search of employment is deeper and worse. The marvel is, so many shipwrecked by want seek these refuges, and abandon the bitter but savage freedom of the streets and gutters. Are not the recruits of revolution being created fast enough? It is only the leaders and captains of revolt who are fortunately still few.

It was an ominous spectacle to see, a Sunday or two ago, the military deployed in the streets of this the greatest, largest, and richest city in the world, to assist in the preservation of public order. At all times, the use of soldiery, to overawe and disperse popular assemblages, has shown that the end of things that required these methods was very near. Unless our domestic peace and security rest on a surer foundation than arms, then the sceptre of commercial supremacy, and much beside, will have departed from the land. The police, who are but the colleagues of the people, assisting them in safe-guarding person and property from the predatory class, were good temper preferred to batons, should always have a comparatively easy task in dealing with all popular assemblages. Cholera and bludgeons are dangerous, if recklessly indulged in, with a population of five millions of onlookers. A considerable number even of Socialists hold their political views but as pious opinions, conceding them to be as remote, say, as the Channel Tunnel, from the questions of practical politics. They actually speak of compromises, such as the Eight hours a day Bill, and, as already shown, propose relief works. Many Liberals and Radicals will therefore consider Socialists as not quite past praying for. Political landmarks are crumbling, say the Socialist, because the material employed in their construction was bad. The sacredness of the freedom of contract is not accepted without a definition of it. A purer key-note is the right of the industriously inclined to the brotherhood of humanity. Fine phrases, but it is with these that they are catching the popular ear. Workmen are being en-

couraged to discuss what the State has done in Ireland: public money loaned to Irish landlords to make improvements; judicial rents for Irish tenants, and cheap and good homes for their labourers. When is the turn, was frequently asked in the square, of the English farmer, manufacturer, and workman coming? The shadow goeth not again back on the dial. Whilst land lies waste in the United Kingdom, and the percentage of the agricultural population diminishes, it is anomalous to find that away in the remote wilds of America, farming is a profitable and advancing industry, and the growers can afford to ship and undersell us in our own markets. Nature has certainly not been invariably more lavish in her gifts across the Atlantic, than to England. So: the ranks of the unemployed continue to swell.

Where is the panacea to be found that shall set matters right? Busy men require remedies that effect their purpose rapidly, that they may be spared the distraction of prolonged worry. The sense of justice revolts at the sight of thousands of hungry men and women, capable of labour, demanding work or bread in vain. Is there useful work at hand? Are the means of inter-communication so perfect—roads, streets, rivers, canals—that there is no need of extensions and repairs? Would judiciously bestowed labour not farther enhance the capitalized value of fields and dwellings in town and country? Are there no longer any slums to be demolished, nor dwellings for artisans to be built? Possibly in London there are libraries and museums enough, but how about cheap baths and wash-houses, which for a penny fee the poor might use. It is unfair to reproach them as “the unwashed,” when modern urban life denies them the advantage of baths. Again, there is the extension of the sewage system to be undertaken, and the reclamation and drainage of the Thames marshes and flats, which should help to lessen or banish our fogs. If the money were forthcoming, immediate profitable employment could be found for 100,000 men. Ministers of the Crown find no difficulty in getting, at a few hours’ notice, ten millions for war purposes, why longer delay in procuring means to promote peace, and rescue from want thousands of deserving men and women? Can society afford to let even wasters and “incapables” perish in the streets? Eight hours’ work should be made the rule in all Government works, and the fullest possible complement of hands taken on, to help the men to tide over the winter. The severity of the relief laws should be relaxed, and the local bodies encouraged to start useful works, and to exercise a closer and kindlier interest in all cases of distress arising in their districts. Once ensure that no deserving man or woman shall want, and the sturdy beggars and vagabonds need receive no mercy. Secure a free meal for the poorer children in Board Schools, remembering that bursaries, foundations,

endowments, and pensions, are enjoyed by the rich. Let no one be able to point to cases of thousands of honest workmen vainly searching for employment to get bread, as irrefutable evidence that the social machinery is out of gear. Require a three or twelve months residence as constituting a valid claim for work, and you check itinerancy. Finally, the affording employment, so that there shall be no idlers, and the increase of cosy homes, will be found to afford greater stability to the State than law courts and police ; and riots and revolts will be rendered impossible because unnecessary. On the grounds of economy, prudence, and humanity, new methods must be adopted for dealing with the unemployed.

BENNET BURLEIGH.

ST. KATHERINE'S BY THE TOWER.

ON the 30th day of October, in the year of grace one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, there was gathered together a congregation to assist at the mournfullest service ever heard in any church. The place was the Precinct of St. Katherine's, the church was that known as St. Katherine's by the Tower—the most ancient and venerable church in the whole of East London—a city which now has but two ancient churches left, those of Bow and of Stepney, without counting the old tower of Hackney.

Suppose it was advertised that the last and the farewell service, before the demolition of the Abbey, would be held at Westminster on a certain day; that after the service the old church would be pulled down; that some of the monuments would be removed, the rest destroyed; that the bones of the illustrious dead would be carted away and scattered, and that the site would be occupied by warehouses used for commercial purposes. One can picture the frantic rage and despair with which the news would everywhere be received; one can imagine the stirring of the hearts of all those who in every part of the world inherit the Anglo-Saxon speech; one can hear the sobbing and the wailing which accompany the last anthem, the last sermon, the last prayer.

St. Katherine's by the Tower was the Abbey of East London: poor and small, certainly, compared with the Cathedral church of the City and the Abbey of the West; but stately and ancient; endowed by half a dozen Sovereigns; consecrated by the memory of seven hundred years, filled with the monuments of great men and small men buried within her walls; standing in her own Precinct; with her own Courts, Spiritual and Temporal; with her own judges and officers; surrounded by the claustral buildings belonging to Master, Brethren,

Sisters, and Bedeswomen. The church and the hospital had long survived the intentions of the founders; yet as they stood, so situated, so ancient, so venerable, amid a dense population of rough sailors and sailor folk, with such enormous possibilities for good and useful work, sacred and secular, one is lost in wonder that the consent of Parliament, even for purposes of gain, could be obtained for their destruction. Yet St. Katherine's was destroyed. When the voice, of the preacher died away, the destroyers began their work. They pulled down the church; they hacked up the monuments, and dug up the bones; they destroyed the Master's house, and cut down the trees in his quiet orchard; they pulled down the Brothers' houses round the little ancient square; they pulled down the row of Sisters' and the Bedeswomen's houses; they swept the people out of the Precinct, and destroyed the streets; they pulled down the Courts, Spiritual and Temporal, and opened the doors of the prison; they grubbed up the burying-ground, and with the bones and the dust of the dead, and the rubbish of the foundations, they filled up the old reservoir of the Chelsea water-works, and enabled Mr. Cubitt to build Eccleston Square. When all was gone they let the water into the big hole they had made, and called it St. Katherine's Dock. All this done, they became aware of certain prickings of conscience. They had utterly demolished and swept away and destroyed a thing which could never be replaced; they were fain to do something to appease those prickings. They therefore stuck up a new chapel, which the architect called Gothic, with six neat houses in two rows, and a large house with a garden in Regent's Park, and this they called St. Katherine's. "Sirs," they said, "it is not true that we have destroyed that ancient foundation at all; we have only removed it to another place. Behold your St. Katherine's!" Of course it is nothing of the kind. It is not St. Katherine's. It is a sham, a house of Shams and Shadows.

Thus was St. Katherine's destroyed; not for the needs of the City, because it is not clear that the new docks were wanted, or that there was no other place for them; but in sheer inability to understand what the place meant as to the past, and what it might be made to do in the future. The story of the Hospital has been often told: partly, as by Ducarel and by Lysons, for the historical interest; partly, as by Mr. Simcox Lea, in protest against the present use of its revenues. It is with the latter object, though I disagree altogether with Mr. Lea's conclusions, that I ask leave to tell the story once more. The story will have to be told, perhaps, again and again, until people can be made to understand the uselessness and the waste and the foolishness of the present establishment in the Park, which has assumed and bears the style and title of St. Katherine's Hospital by the Tower. The beginning of the Hospital dates seven hundred and forty

years back, when Matilda, Stephen's Queen, founded it for the purpose of having masses said for the repose of her two children, Baldwin and Matilda. She ordered that the Hospital should consist of a Master, Brothers, Sisters, and certain poor persons—probably the same as in the later foundation. She appointed the Prior and Canons of Holy Trinity to have perpetual custody of the Hospital; and she reserved to herself and all succeeding Queens of England the nomination of the Master. Her grant was approved by the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Pope. Shortly afterwards William of Ypres bestowed the land of Edredeshede, afterwards called Queenhythe, on the Priory of Holy Trinity, subject to an annual payment of £20 to the Hospital of Katherine's by the Tower.

This was the original foundation. It was not a Charity; it was a Religious House with a definite duty—to pray for the souls of two children; it had no other charitable objects than belong to any religious foundation—viz., the giving of alms to the poor, nor was it intended as a church for the people; in those days there were no people outside the Tower, save the inhabitants of a few scattered cottages along the river Wall, and the farmhouses of Steban Heath. It was simply founded for the benefit of two little princes' souls. One refrains from asking what was done for the little paupers' souls in those days.

The Prior and Canons of Holy Trinity without Aldgate continued to exercise some authority over the Hospital, but apparently—the subject only interests the ecclesiastical historian—against the protests and grumblings of the St. Katherine's Society. It was, however, formally handed over to them, a hundred and forty years later, by Henry III. After his death, Queen Eleanor, for some reason, now dimly intelligible, wanted to get the hospital into her own hands. The Bishop of London took it away from the Priory and transferred it to her. Then, perhaps with the view of preventing any subsequent claim of the Priory, she declared the Hospital dissolved.

Here ends the first chapter in the history of the Hospital. The foundation for the souls of the two princes existed no longer—the children, no doubt, having been long since sung out of Purgatory. Queen Eleanor, however, immediately refounded it. The Hospital was, as before, to consist of a Master, three Brothers, three Sisters, and bedeswomen. It was also provided that six poor scholars were to be fed and clothed—not educated. The Queen further provided that on November the 16th of every year twelve pence each should be given to the poor scholars, and the same amount to twenty-four poor persons; and that on November the 20th, the anniversary of the King's death, one thousand poor men should receive one halfpenny each. Here is the first introduction of a charity. The Hospital is no longer an ecclesiastical foundation only; it maintains scholars and gives substantial alms.

Who received these alms? Of course the people in the neighbourhood—if there were no inhabitants in the Precinct, the poor of Portoken Ward. In either case the charity would be local—a point of the greatest importance. Queen Eleanor also continued her predecessor's rule that the patronage of the Hospital should remain in the hands of the Queens of England for ever; when there was no Queen, then in the hands of the Queen Dowager; failing in her, in those of the King. This rule still obtains. The Queen appoints the Master, Brothers, and Sisters of the House of Shams in Regent's Park, just as her predecessors appointed those of St. Katherine's by the Tower.

Queen Eleanor was followed by other royal benefactors. Edward the Second, for example, gave it the rectory of St. Peter's in Northampton. Queen Philippa, who, like Eleanor, regarded the place with especial affection, endowed it with the manor of Upchurch in Kent, and that of Queenbury in Hertfordshire. She also founded a chantry with £10 a year for a chaplain. Edward the Third founded another chantry in honour of Philippa, with a charge of £10 a year upon the Hanaper Office; he also conferred upon it the right of cutting wood for fuel in the Forest of Essex. Richard the Second gave it the manor of Reshyndene in Sheppy, and 120 acres of land in Minster. Henry the Sixth gave it the manors of Chesingbury in Wiltshire, and Quasley in Hants; he also granted a charter, with the privilege of holding a fair. Lastly, Henry the Eighth founded, in connection with St. Katherine's by the Tower, the Guild of St. Barbara, consisting of a Master, three Wardens, and a great number of members, among whom were Cardinal Wolsey, the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk, the Duke and Duchess of Buckingham, the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, and the Earl and Countess of Northumberland, with other great and illustrious persons.

This is a goodly list of benefactors. It is evident that St. Katherine's was a foundation regarded by the Kings and Queens of England with great favour. Other benefactors it had, notably John Holland, Duke of Exeter, Lord High Admiral and Constable of the Tower, himself of royal descent. He was buried in the church, with his two wives, and bequeathed to the hospital the manor of Much Gaddesden. He also gave it a cup of beryl, garnished with gold, pearls, and precious stones, and a chalice of gold for the celebration of the Holy Sacrament.

In the year 1546 all the lands belonging to the Hospital were transferred to the Crown.

At this time the whole revenue of the Hospital was £364 12s. 6d., and the expenditure was £210 6s. 5d.; the difference being the value of the mastership. The Master at the dissolution was Gilbert Lathom, a priest, and the brothers were five in number—namely, the original three, and the two priests for the chantries. Four of the five had "for

his stipend, mete, and drynke, by yer^r," the sum of £8, which is fivepence farthing a day; the other had £9, which is sixpence a day. It would be interesting, by comparison of prices, to ascertain how much could be purchased with sixpence a day. The three sisters had also £8 a year, and the bedeswomen had each two pounds five shillings and sixpence a year. There were six scholars at £4 a year each for "their mete, drynke, clothes, and other necessities;" and there were four servants, a steward, a butler, a cook, and an under-cook, who cost £5 a year each. There were two gardens and a yard or court—namely, the square, bounded by the houses of the brothers, and the church.

This marks the closing of the second chapter in the history of the Hospital. With the cessation of saying masses for the dead its religious character expired. There remained only the services in the church for the inhabitants of the Precinct in the time of Henry the Eighth.

The only use of the Hospital was now as a charity. Fortunately the place was not, like the Priory of the Holy Trinity, granted to a courtier, otherwise it would have been swept away just as that Priory, or that of Elsing's Spital, was swept away. It continued after a while to carry on its existence, but with changes. It was secularized. The Masters for a hundred and fifty years, not counting the interval of Queen Mary's reign, were laymen. The Brothers were generally laymen. The first Master of the third period was Sir Thomas Seymour: he was succeeded by Sir Francis Flemyng, Lieutenant-General of the King's Ordnance. Flemyng was deprived by Queen Mary, who appointed one Francis Mallet, a priest, in his place. Queen Elizabeth dispossessed Mallet, and appointed Thomas Wilson, a layman and a Doctor at Laws. During his mastership there were no Brothers, and only a few Sisters or Bedeswomen. The Hospital then became a rich sinecure. Among the Masters were Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, Sir Robert Acton, Dr. Coxe; three Montague brothers—Walter, Henry and George; Lord Browne; the Earl of Feversham; Sir Henry Newton, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty; the Hon. George Berkeley, and Sir James Butler. The Brothers had been re-established—their names are enumerated by Ducarel—one or two of them were clerks in orders, but all the rest were laymen. They still received the old stipend of £8 a year, with a small house. As for the rest of the greatly increased income it went to the Master after the manner common to all the old charities. During the latter half of the sixteenth and the whole of the seventeenth century St. Katherine's by the Tower consisted of a beautiful old church standing with its buildings clustered round it—a Master's house rich in carved and ancient wood-work with its gardens and orchards, its houses for the Brothers, Sisters, and Bedeswomen, each

of whom continued to receive the same salary as that ordained by Queen Eleanor. Service was held in the church for the inhabitants of the Precinct, but the Hospital was wholly secular. The Master devoured by far the greater part of the revenue and the alms-people—Brothers, Sisters and Bedeswomen—had no duties to perform of any kind.

In the year 1698 this, the third chapter in the life of the hospital, was closed. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Somers, held in that year a Visitation of the Hospital, the result of which is interesting because it shows, first, a lingering of the old ecclesiastical traditions, and, next, the sense that something useful ought to be done with the income of the Hospital. It was therefore ordered in the new regulations provided by the Chancellor that the Brothers should be in holy orders, and that a school of 35 boys and 15 girls should be maintained by the Hospital. It does not appear that any duties were expected of the Brothers. Like the Fellows of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, they were all to be in priests' orders, and for exactly the same reason, because at the original foundation of the colleges, as well as of the Hospital, the Fellows were all priests. As for the Master, he remained a layman. This new order of things, therefore, raised the position of the Brothers, and gave a new dignity to the Hospital; further, the School as well as the Bedeswomen, defined its position as a Charity. It still fell far, very far, short of what it might have done, but it was not between the years 1698 and 1825 quite so useless as it had been.

A plan of the Precinct, with drawings of the church, within and without, and of the monuments in the church, may be found in Lysons. The obscurity of the Hospital, and the neglect into which it fell during the last century, are shown by the small attention paid to it in the books on London of the last century, and the early years of the present century. Thus, in Harrison's "History of London," though nearly every church in the City and its immediate suburbs is figured, St. Katherine's is not drawn. In Strype (edition 1720), there is no drawing of St. Katherine's: in Dodsley's "London," 1761, it is described, but not figured: and Wilkinson, in his "London Illustrated," passes it over entirely. The Hospital buildings consisted of a square, of which the north side was occupied by the Master's house, with a large garden behind, and the Master's orchard between his garden and the river; on the east and west sides were the Brothers' houses, and on the south side of the square was the church and the chapter-house. On the east of the church was the burying-ground. South of the church was the Sisters' close, with the houses occupied by the Sisters and the Bedeswomen. The old Brothers' houses were taken down and rebuilt about the year 1755, and the Master's house, an ancient building, full of carved timber

work, had also been taken down, so that in the year 1825, when the Hospital was finally destroyed, the only venerable building standing in the Precinct was the church itself. To look at the drawings of this old church and to think of the loving care with which it would have been treated had it been allowed to stand till this day, and then to consider the "Gothic" edifice in Regent's Park, is indeed saddening. The church consisted of the nave and chancel with two aisles built by Bishop Beckington, formerly the master. The east window, thirty feet high and twenty-five wide, had once been most beautiful when its windows were stained. The tracery was still fine; a St. Katherine's wheel occupied the highest part, and beneath it was a rose; but none of the windows had preserved their painted glass, so that the general effect of the interior must have been cold. The carved wood of the stalls and the great pulpit presented by Sir Julius Cæsar may still be seen in the Regent's Park Chapel, where are also some of the monuments. Of these the church was full. The finest (now in Regent's Park), was that of John Holland, Duke of Exeter, and his two wives; there was one of Hon. George Montague, Master of the Hospital, who died in the year 1681; and there was the monument with kneeling figures of one Cutting and his wife, with his coat of arms. The seats of the stalls are curiously carved, as is so often found, with grotesque figures: human birds, monkeys, lions, boys riding hogs, angels playing bagpipes, beasts with human heads, pelicans feeding their young, and the devil with hoof and horns carrying off a brace of souls. There was more than the customary wealth of epitaphs. Thus, on the tablet to the memory of the daughter of one of the brothers was written:

"Thus we by want, more than by having, learn
The worth of things in which we claim concern."

On that of William Cutting, a benefactor to Gonville and Caius, Cambridge, is written:

"Not dead, if good deedes could keep men alive,
Nor all dead, since good deedes do men revive.
Gunville and Kaies his good deedes maie record,
And will (no doubt) him praise therefor afford."

On the tablet of Charles Stamford, clergyman:

"Mille modis morimur mortales, nascimur uno:
Sunt hominum morbi mille sed una salus."

And to the memory of Robert Beadles, freemason, one of his Majesty's gunners of the Tower, who died in the year 1683:

"He now rests quiet, in his grave secure;
Where still the noise of guns he can endure;
His martial soul is doubtless now at rest,
Who in his lifetime was so oft oppressed

With care and fears, and strange cross acts of late,
 But now is happy and in glorious state.
 The blustering storm of life with him is o'er,
 And he is landed on that happy shore
 Where 'tis that he can hope and fear no more."

There they lay buried, the good people of St. Katherine's Precinct. They were of all trades, but chiefly belonged to those who go down to the sea in ships. On the list of names are those of half a dozen captains, one of them captain of H.M.S. "Monmouth," who died in 1706, aged 31 years; there are the names of Lieutenants; there are those of sail makers and gunners; there is a sergeant of Admiralty, a moneyer of the Tower, a weaver, a citizen and stationer, a Dutchman who fell overboard and was drowned, a surveyor and collector—all the trades and callings that would gather together in this little riverside district separated and cut off from the rest of London. Among the people who lived here were the descendants of them who came away with the English on the taking of Calais, Guisnes, and Hames. They settled in a street called Hames and Guisnes Lane, corrupted into Hangman's Gains. A census taken in the reign of Queen Elizabeth showed that of those resident in the Precinct, 328 were Dutch; 8 were Danes; 5 were Polanders; 69 were French—all hat makers—2 Spanish, 1 Italian, and 12 Scotch. Verstegan, the antiquary, was born here, and here lived Raymond Lully. During the last century the Precinct came to be inhabited almost entirely by sailors, belonging to every nation and every religion under the sun.

This was the place which it was permitted to certain promoters of a Dock Company to destroy utterly. A place with a history of seven hundred years; which might, had its ecclesiastical character been preserved and developed, have been converted into a cathedral for East London; or if its secular character had been maintained might have become a noble centre of all kinds of useful work for the great chaotic city of East London. They suffered it to be destroyed. It has been destroyed for sixty years. As for calling the place in Regent's Park, St. Katherine's Hospital, that, I repeat, is absurd. There is no longer a St. Katherine's Hospital. As well call the garish new building on the embankment, Sion College. That is not, indeed, Sion College. The London Clergy, who, of all people, might have been expected to guard the monuments of the past, have sold Sion College for what it would fetch. The site of the Cripplegate nunnery; of Elsing's Spital for blind men; of Sion College, or Clergy House, has been destroyed by its own trustees. The sweet old place, the peace-fullest spot in the whole City, with its long low library, its bedesmen's rooms, and its quiet reading room, is gone. * You might just as well destroy Trinity College, Cambridge, and then stick up a modern wing to Somerset House, and call that Trinity. In the same way St. Katherine's by the Tower was destroyed sixty years ago. "

Let me repeat that the Hospital suffered four changes.

First, it was founded by Queen Matilda for the repose of her children's souls. Next, it was dissolved and again founded, and subsequently endowed as a Religious House with chantries, certain definite duties of masses for the dead, certain charitable trusts, and other functions. Thirdly, when the mass ceased to be said it was secularized completely. Service was held in the church, but the Hospital was a perfectly secular charity, supporting a few almspeople with niggard hand, and a master in great splendour. Fourthly, it was again treated as a semi-ecclesiastical foundation, for reasons which do not appear. At the same time, while its charities were enlarged, no duties were assigned to the Brothers, who seem to have been considered as Fellows forming the Society, and, therefore, like the Fellows at Oxford and Cambridge, obliged to be in holy orders. Lastly, as we have seen, it was destroyed.

After the Hospital had been destroyed a scheme for the management of the revenues was suggested to Lord Eldon, then Lord Chancellor, and afterwards approved by Lord Lyndhurst. The question before the Chancellor was, one would think, the following: "Here is an annual revenue of £5000 and more, released by the destruction of the Hospital. How can it be best applied for the general good or for the benefit of the crowded city around the site of the old Hospital?" That, however, was not the view of the Lord Chancellor. He said, practically:

"Here is a large property which has hitherto been devoted to the use of maintaining in idleness, and not as a reward or pension for good work done, a Master, three Brothers, three Sisters, and ten poor women. The ecclesiastical purposes for which the property was originally got together have long since utterly vanished. The church in which service used to be held is abolished, and the place where it stood is turned into a dock. We will build a new church where none is wanted; we will perpetuate the waste of all this money; the stipends of the Brothers and Sisters shall be raised; to the Brothers shall be assigned, nominally, the service in the chapel, but they shall have a chaplain or reader, to prevent this duty from becoming onerous; the Sisters shall have nothing at all to do, the bedeswomen shall be deprived of their houses and shall receive no advance in their pay; but they shall be doubled in number. Twenty bedesmen shall also be added with the same pay, viz., £10 a year or 4s. a week.* The Master shall have a beautiful house with a garden, conservatory, stabling for seven horses, and £1,200 a year, besides comfortable perquisites. He shall have no duties except the presidency of the chapter. And in order that the thing may not seem perfectly and profoundly ridiculous there shall be a school of twenty-four boys and twelve girls."

This was the solution proposed and adopted by two eminent Chan-

* Note that in 1545 each Bedeswoman received 10d. a week, and each Sister 3s., so that the proportion of Bedeswoman's pay to Sister's pay was then as 1:3'6. But Lord Lyndhurst takes away the houses from the poor women and gives them no more pay, so that, without counting the loss of their houses, the Bedeswoman's pay under Victoria is to the Sister's pay as 1:19. The Victorian Bedeswoman was therefore relatively reduced in proportion to the Sister six-fold compared with her Tudor predecessor.

cellors, and carried into effect for thirty years. During the years 1858-1863 the average revenue was £7,460 8s. 2½d. Of this sum the Master, Brethren, and Sisters absorbed with their buildings £4,102 8s. 2¾d.; the management expenses were £909 5s. 6d.; the chapel cost £211 17s. 11d.; sundries amounted to £141 6s. 10¼d.; and the useful portion of the expenditure was represented by the sum of £554 9s. 7½d. Absolute uselessness—for the chapel was by no means wanted—is represented by £6,904, and usefulness by £554—~~the~~ portion of very nearly 12½ : 1.

Yet another opportunity occurred of dealing rationally with this large property.

In the year 1871 a Royal Commission was appointed to examine “into several matters relative to the Royal Hospital of St. Katherine near the Tower.” The question might again have been raised how best to apply the large revenues for the general good. The Commissioners had before them quite clearly the way in which the seven thousand and odd pounds a year was being spent; they could arrive as easily as ourselves at the proportion above set forth, viz.:

Waste : usefulness : : 12½ : 1.

They threw away this opportunity; they could not tear away the ecclesiastical rags with which the new foundation of 1827—the mock St. Katherine’s—has been wrapped in imitation of the old. In an age when the universities have been secularized, when the Fellows of colleges are no longer required to be in orders, when every useless old charity is being reformed, and every endowment reconsidered with a view to making it useful to the living as, under former conditions, it was to the dead, they actually proposed to increase the uselessness and the waste by adding a fourth brother (which has not been done), and raising the stipends of Brothers and Sisters. They also recommended the establishment of an upper school, with “foundation boarders.” Considering that the upper and middle classes have already appropriated to their own use almost every educational endowment in the country, this proposition seems too ridiculous. The whole Report is indeed a marvellous illustration of the tenacity of old prejudices. Yet it did one good thing; it recommended that the accounts of the Hospital should be submitted every year to the Charity Commissioners, thus distinctly recognizing the fact that the new foundation is not an ecclesiastical institution, but a charity.

The Report mentions several propositions which had been laid before the Commissioners during their inquiry for the application of the revenues. The Committee of the Adult Orphan Institution thought that they should like to administer the funds; the Rector of St. George’s-in-the-East thought that he should very much like to use them for the purpose of converting that parish into “a collegiate church, under a dean and canons, who, with a sisterhood, might devote them-

selves to the spiritual benefit, &c. Others suggested that a missionary collegiate church should be established "as a centre of missionary work for the East of London, with model schools, refuges, reformatories, &c., conducted by the clergy." Others, again, pleaded for the use of the money in aid of the crowded parishes near the Precinct.

The Commissioners were of a different opinion. The Hospital, they said, never had a local character.

This is the most startling statement that ever issued from the mouth of a Lord Chancellor. Not a local character? Then for whom were the services of the church held? Where were the Bedeswomen found? Where the poor scholars? Where did the church stand? Who got the doles? Not a local character? We might as well contend, for example, that Rochester Cathedral and Close and School have no local character; that Portsmouth Dockyard has no local character; that Westminster School has no local character. St. Katherine's Hospital belonged to its Precinct, where it had stood for some hundred years. As well pretend that the Tower itself has no local character. The "local character" of St. Katherine's grew year by year: the founder thought only to make a bridge for her children from purgatory to heaven by the harmonious voices of the Master, the Brothers, and the Sisters; but purpose widens. Presently purgatory disappears, and the whole ecclesiastical part of the foundation, except service in the church, vanishes with it. There remain, however, the revenues, and these belong, if any revenues could, to the locality.

In the year 1863 the proportion of waste to profit was as $12\frac{1}{2}$: 1. Has this proportion in the quarter of a century which has elapsed increased or has it decreased?

From time to time, as we have seen, the question forces itself upon men's minds—whether this revenue could not be administered to better advantage. Lord Somers encounters the difficulty in the year 1698; Lord Lyndhurst in 1829; Lord Hatherley in 1871. I suppose that even a Lord Chancellor does not claim infallible wisdom. Therefore I venture to insist upon the facts that the Reformation destroyed the Religious House of St. Katherine; that the changes made by Lord Somers only made the old Hospital useless; and that the Royal Commission of the year 1871 confirmed, in the new foundation, the later uselessness of the old. The House of Shams and Shadows in Regent's Park is not the old St. Katherine's at all; that is dead and done with; it is a fungus which sprang up yesterday, which is not wholesome for human food, and uses up, for no good purpose, the soil in which it grows.

Yet, because one would not be charged with unfairness, what does the Rev. Simcox Lea, in his history of St. Katherine's Hospital (Longmans, 1878), say?

"St. Katherine's Hospital is an Ecclesiastical Corporation, returned as a 'Promotion Spiritual' in the reign of Henry VIII., and so acknowledged by law in the reign of Charles I. It takes its place as a Collegiate Church with Westminster and Windsor. The Clerical Head of its Chapter, the Master of the Hospital, will be entitled, unless Her Majesty shall see fit otherwise to direct, to the style of Very Reverend and the rank of Dean. The Brothers have the status and dignity of Canons Residentiary, and through the Sisters of the Chapter the parallel dignity of Canonesses is preserved, under another style, to the English Church of our day. The Collegiate Chapter holds its entire revenues subject to certain eleemosynary trusts embodied in its original constitution, the ecclesiastical and the charitable charges belonging alike to all the estates instead of being assigned separately to different portions of them. . . . All these principles of the constitution of St. Katherine's must be kept in view in any scheme which it may be proposed to submit, or in any suggestions which may be offered through the press, for the consideration of the Lord Chancellor in reference to the advice which he may submit to the Queen. . . . St. Katherine's Hospital is no more a 'Charity' than Westminster Abbey is a Charity, and to describe it as such, after the true facts of the case are known, will leave any writer or speaker open to the charge of discourtesy, directly offered to a capitular body whose personal constitution is worthy of its high and ancient corporate ecclesiastical dignity, and indirectly through the members of the Chapter, to the Queen."

It will thus be seen that those of us who think that the place is a Charity, and therefore call it one—including Lord Eldon and Lord Lyndhurst, the Report of the Charity Commissioners in 1866, and Lord Hatherley in 1871—are open to the charge of discourtesy. Well, let us remain open to that charge; it does not kill. If it is not a Charity, what is it? A place for getting the souls of rich men out of purgatory? But the souls of rich men no longer in this country have the privilege of being bought out of purgatory. Then what is it? A place where seven well-born ladies and gentlemen are provided with excellent houses and comfortable incomes—for doing what? Nothing.

Let us, if we must, offer a compromise. Let the Master, Brothers, and Sisters, now forming the Society of New St. Katherine's, remain in Regent's Park. We will not disturb them. Let them enjoy their salaries so long as they live. At their deaths let those who love shams and pretences appoint other brothers and sisters who will have all the dignity of the position without the houses or the salaries. We may even go so far as to provide a chaplain for the service of the chapel, if the good people of the Terraces would like those services to continue. But as for the rest of the income one cannot choose but ask—and, if the request be not granted, ask again, and again—that it be restored to that part of London to which it belongs. One would not, with the person who communicated with the Commissioners, insult East London by founding a "Missionary" College in its midst unless it be allowed to have branches in Belgravia, Lincoln's Inn, the Temple, St. John's Wood, South Kensington, and other parts of

West London; we will certainly not ask permission to turn St. George's-in-the-East into a Collegiate Church with a Dean and Canons, "and a sisterhood." But one must ask that the pretence and show of keeping up this ugly and useless modern place as the ancient and venerable hospital be abandoned as soon as possible. That old hospital is dead and destroyed; its ecclesiastical existence had been dead long before; its lands and houses and funds remain to be used for the benefit of the living.

Ten thousand pounds a year! This is a goodly estate. Think what ten thousand pounds a year might do, well administered! Think of the terrible and criminal waste in suffering all that money, which belongs to East London, to be given away—year after year—in profitless alms to ladies and gentlemen in return for no services rendered or even pretended. Ten thousand pounds a year would run a magnificent school of industrial education; it would teach thousands of lads and girls how to use their heads and hands; it would be a perennial living stream, changing the thirsty desert into flowery meads and fruitful vineyards; it would save thousands of boys from the dreadful doom—a thing of these latter days—of being able to learn no trade; it would dignify thousands, and tens of thousands, of lives with the knowledge and mastery of a craft; it would save from degradation and from slavery thousands of women; it would restrain thousands of men from the beery slums of drink and crime. Above all—perhaps this is the main consideration—the judicious employment of ten thousand pounds a year would be presently worth many millions a year to London from the skilled labour it would cultivate and the many arts it would develop and foster.

It is a cruel thing—a most cruel thing—to destroy wantonly anything that is venerable with age and associated with the memories of the past. It was a horrible thing to destroy that old Hospital. But it is gone. The house of Shams and Shadows in Regent's Park has got nothing whatever to do with it. Its revenues did not make the old Hospital; that was made up by its ancient church; by the old buildings clustered round the church; by the old customs of the Precinct, with its Courts, temporal and spiritual, its offices and its prison; by its burial-grounds, with its Bedesmen and Bedeswomen, and by the rough sailor population, which dwelt in its narrow lanes and courts. How *could* that place be allowed to suffer destruction? But when the old thing is gone we must cast about for the best uses of anything which once belonged to it. And of all the uses to which the revenues of the old Hospital might be put, the present seems the most unfit and the least worthy.

Again, if Queen Matilda in these days wished to do a good work, what would she found? There are many purposes for which benevolent persons bequeath and grant money. They are not the old pur-

poses. They all mean, nowadays, the advancement and bettering of the people. A great lady spends thousands in founding a market; a man with much money presents a free library to his native town; collections are made for hospitals; everything is for the bettering of the people. We have not yet advanced to the stage of bettering the rich people; but that will come very shortly. In fact the condition of the rich is already exciting the gravest apprehensions among their poorer brethren. We can trace, easily enough, the progress and growth of charity. It begins at home, with anxiety for one's own soul first, and the souls of one's children next. Charities give way to doles; doles are succeeded by almshouses; these again by charity schools. The present generation has begun to understand that the truest charity consists in throwing open the doors to honest effort, and in helping those who help themselves. Else what is the meaning of technical schools? What else mean the classes at the People's Palace, the Polytechnic, the Evening Recreation Schools, and the City of London Guilds Institute?

I believe that a conviction of the new truer charity, and of the futility of the old modes, is destined to sink deeper and deeper into men's hearts, until our working classes will perhaps fall into the extreme in unforgiving hardness towards those whom unthrift, profligacy, idleness, have brought to want. But with this conviction is growing up the absolute necessity of more technical schools and better industrial training. We want to make our handicraftsmen better than any foreigners. More than that, there are some who say that the very existence of the United Kingdom as a Power depends upon our doing this. Can we afford, any longer, to keep up, at a yearly loss of all the power represented by ten thousand pounds a year, that house of Shams and Shadows which we call by the name of the ancient and venerable Hospital of St. Katherine's by the Tower?

WALTER BESANT.

BIMETALLISM.

I PROPOSE to treat in this paper of the Economic Disturbances resulting from recent changes in the relative values of the precious metals. Notwithstanding the great attention that has been given to this subject in recent years—with its almost interminable resulting publications and public and private discussions—there is probably no other economic or fiscal problem concerning which there is so little comprehension on the part of the general public, or so little agreement as to causes and results among those who have made it a matter of special investigation.* It is of the first importance, therefore, for the understanding of the past involved economic disturbances, that a clear and succinct statement of what has happened should be presented, and such a statement it is now proposed to attempt.

For many years prior to 1873 the bullion price of silver remained very nearly constant at from 60 to 61 pence per ounce in the London market, while the market ratio of gold to silver, or the ratio according to which gold and silver could be interchanged, was limited in London, from 1851 to 1872 inclusive, to a range of variation of from 1 to 15·19 (the minimum) in 1859 to 1 to 15·65 (the maximum) in 1872.†

In 1873 the new German Empire—recognizing the importance of having a monetary system better suited to her advanced industrial and commercial situation than that which she then possessed, and also the desirability of having a uniform coinage throughout the

* "It has been my experience, that about nine men out of ten, even of those who might be expected to have some definite views upon the subject, when asked their opinion upon the expediency or necessity of adopting a bimetallic monetary system, will reply, 'Oh, that is a very important question, but I do not pretend to understand it.'"—EDWARD ATKINSON, *British Association Proceedings*, 1887.

† Pixley and Abell's "Tables."

numerous small States that had come to be included under an Imperial Government—took advantage of the command of a large stock of gold, that had accrued through the payment by France of an enormous war indemnity,* to effect reform. An exceedingly miscellaneous system of coinage and currency—consisting of seventeen varieties of gold money, sixty-six different coins of silver, possessing full legal tender powers and constituting (in 1870) 65·7 per cent. of the entire circulation, forty-six kinds of notes issued by thirty-five different banks, besides State paper money of various kinds to the extent of 7·5 per cent. of the circulation—was accordingly called in, and replaced by a new system of gold and silver coinage and paper currency. In this new system, gold was established as the sole monetary standard of the empire, unlimited of necessity in respect of legal-tender powers, while to silver was assigned the function of subsidiary service; and for the latter purpose an issue of silver coinage was provided, not to exceed in the aggregate 10 marks for each inhabitant of the empire (a comparatively low figure), with its legal tender value limited to 20 marks (£1). An issue of new paper currency was also authorized, with a prohibition of the use of notes of a less denomination than 100 marks (£5), to be distributed according to population among the various States, and redeemable in the new imperial coinage. A proportion of the old silver coinage, which, having been supplanted by gold, was not needed for recoinage under the new system, was offered for sale in the open market as bullion, and the amount actually sold between 1873 and the end of May, 1879, when the sales were suspended, realized £28,356,989. Of this aggregate, £9,128,862 was sold between the years 1873 and 1876, and £19,228,127 between 1877 and 1879 inclusive.

Concurrently with this action of Germany the bullion price of silver began to decline, and this decline was undoubtedly further promoted by the subsequent action of the so-called "Latin Union"—comprising the four countries of Europe using the franc system, namely, France, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland—which, fearing lest the silver liberated from use in Germany, and offered for sale, would flow in upon and flood their respective mints, to the entire exclusion of gold, if the free coinage of silver was continued; first restricted (in 1874), and finally (in 1877–78), owing to the continued decline in the value of silver, entirely suspended the coinage of silver five-franc pieces. The coinage of subsidiary silver, or silver of smaller denominations than five francs, was, however, permitted and continued.

In 1873, also, the Congress of the United States, in revising its coinage system, dropped from the list of silver coins authorized to be

* The amount in gold which France paid to Germany directly was £10,800,000; but in addition there were French bills of exchange which gave Germany a title to gold in places like London, on which such bills were negotiated.

thereafter issued from its mint the silver dollar of 412½ grains, although providing for the unlimited issue and coinage of silver in pieces of smaller denominations than the dollar; and mainly for the reason that this particular silver coin was not then in circulation in the country, and indeed had not been for a period of more than twenty-five years.

The extent of the decline in the price of bar-silver per standard ounce, in pence, upon the London market since 1873, is shown in the following list of annual average quotations:

1873, 59½ <i>d.</i>	1879, 51½ <i>d.</i>
1874, 58½ <i>d.</i>	1883, 50½ <i>d.</i>
1875, 56½ <i>d.</i>	1885, 48½ <i>d.</i>
1876, 52½ <i>d.</i>	1886, 45½ <i>d.</i>

In July, 1886, the price of silver temporarily fell to 42½*d.* per ounce—the lowest price ever known in history—but reacted in October of the same year to 45½*d.* From January to September, 1887, the average price was 46½*d.*, declining to 44½*d.* in October.

During the early years of the decline of silver, the opinion was extensively entertained, that it was primarily and mainly occasioned by the new supply to the world's market, consequent upon the sales of silver by Germany,* and this opinion found so much favour with leading German bankers, that it is understood that Germany suspended her sales of silver in 1879 in accordance with their advice, and with the expectation that a partial or entire recovery of price would thereby ensue. But no such result, as is well known, followed the suspension of sales thus recommended. How little, moreover, there was of foundation for this opinion, will appear from the following circumstances:

The aggregate silver product of the world during the years (1873–79) when Germany was selling her discarded coinage, was £116,360,000, or more than four times the amount of the sales (£28,356,200) which Germany actually effected. Again, during the same period of years when Germany was increasing the world's supply of silver, through her sales, to the extent of £28,356,200, the United States drew upon and reduced this same supply by increasing her dollar and subsidiary coinage to the amount of £22,261,437.†

* The amount of silver (old coin) which Germany up to 1880 was able to sell, as the result of her policy of displacing silver by gold, has been estimated at £54,000,000. Of this amount £28,356,200 had been sold up to May, 1879, when the sales were suspended; and since then, it is understood, that only a few additional millions have been marketed, i.e., to Egypt. In addition, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, which followed the lead of Germany, and changed their silver circulation to gold, have since thrown upon the market about £1,800,000 of silver. (See LAUGHLIN'S *History of Bimetallism in the United States*, pp. 141–145.)

† During the twenty years from 1853 to 1873, the aggregate silver coinage of the United States was \$57,137,000, or an average of only \$2,856,000 per annum, and of this aggregate but \$5,538,948 was in the form of silver dollars. From 1874 to 1879, inclusive, the silver coinage of the United States was 35,859,360 trade-dollars, 35,801,000 standard dollars, 22,899,785 halves, and 16,747,042 quarters and twenty-cent pieces; total, \$111,307,187, or an average of \$18,560,000 per annum.

Surely the world's status of silver during these years must have been one of extraordinarily unstable equilibrium from antecedent causes, threatening serious fluctuations in price even in the absence of anything abnormal, if the addition of so small a net product during six years as £6,094,600 to the current market supply of silver could depress the average bullion price of the world's mass of this metal from 59½ to 51½ pence per ounce, or over thirteen per cent.

That the term "unstable equilibrium" is truly expressive of the real status of silver in 1873 would further appear from the following evidence. There was a well-recognized movement in France against silver and in favour of gold from 1853 to 1865, and its influence would probably have shown itself in a fall in value of silver, had it not been for the cotton-famine consequent on the American war, which occasioned extraordinary shipments of silver to India, and so counteracted any tendency then existing to a surplus in the European markets. In 1867 an International Monetary Conference at Paris voted almost unanimously in favour of the adoption of a single gold standard by the chief commercial nations. As far back as 1860, the late Professor Cairnes, who is recognized as a far-seeing economist, ventured the prediction that silver was in the process of depreciation. Another influence tending to powerfully affect the status of silver in 1873 was due to the circumstance that, subsequent to 1868-69, the India Council greatly increased the sale of their bills (*i.e.*, drawn on India and payable in silver) on the London market, and so virtually increased the stock of marketable silver at that point to the extent of from £4,000,000 to £6,000,000 annually, in excess of what it had been for the years immediately previous.*

The German "sales" theory being thus untenable, another hypothesis has found wide acceptance—namely, that, notwithstanding any absolute or comparative increase in the supply of silver during recent years, its decline in price and the economic disturbances which are alleged to have followed, would not have occurred, had it not been for the "demonetization" or the general discrediting of this metal for use as money; which has been contingent on the adoption of gold as the sole monetary standard and as a larger instrumentality of exchange by several of the most important commercial countries—notably Germany and the United States; or, as a leading American

* The Government of India is under obligation to pay annually in England certain fixed charges in gold, the same being in the nature of reimbursements—principal or interest—to England for loans on account of public works in India, receipts from railroads belonging to the British Government, pensions chargeable to India, &c. India being exclusively a silver-using country, pays its taxes and railroad freights and fares, &c., exclusively in silver; and in liquidation of its foreign monetary obligations, silver is remitted to London in the form of bills (exchange) payable in the silver currency of India, namely, rupees, which are drawn by the India Council, or the Government of India residing in London. It must be obvious that to just the amount of such council bills or drafts as are sold in London, to just that same extent the exportation of silver for business purposes is supplemented or made unnecessary.

statesman has expressed it, "but for the striking down of one-half of the world's coinage," and "compelling gold to do the work of both gold and silver." But here, also, the evidence in confirmation of this hypothesis is exceedingly unsatisfactory or wholly lacking. If by demonetization is meant that there has been less of silver in use and circulation as money, absolutely or comparatively, throughout the world since 1873 than formerly; or that the people of any country have been inhibited to their disadvantage in its use; or that, in consequence of any restrictions on its use for coinage, production and trade have decreased, and the prices of commodities and wages have fallen—the assumptions are not warranted, and the term demonetization is meaningless. The world's average annual production of silver since 1873 has been greater than ever before. Between 1873 and 1887, inclusive, the aggregate product—measured in dollars of 412½ grains each—has been in excess of £250,000,000, and most of it has passed into circulation as coin, or lies piled up in national depositories awaiting any popular demand for its employment; * and the greater number of the daily transactions of trade continue to be settled by the use of silver, just as formerly. "If you take," says Mr. Robert Giffen—in his testimony before the Gold and Silver Commission, 1886—"the fifteen years from 1870,† and compare them with the fifteen years before, you will find that the practical diminution of the demand for silver in France, and I suppose it has been the same in other Latin countries, has not been sensible at all." The continually increasing importation of silver into India, China, Burmah, and Japan is conclusive also as to the absence of any restrictions on the use of this metal for coinage purposes in these countries.‡ In short, all that is now claimed by one of the most distinguished economists who inclines to the view that the monetary use of silver has been artificially restricted, is that its employment for coinage might possibly have been greater if it had not been for the action of the Latin Convention countries.‡ But it is obvious that this opinion must be necessarily a matter of conjecture.

* The number of standard silver dollars in the United States in 1879, the year of the redemption of specie payments by the Federal Government, was reported at 35,801,000. The number coined between March, 1878, and August 31, 1887, was 270,200,117, of which 65,336,063 remained at the latter date in the Federal Treasury, after deducting the silver held for the redemption of silver certificates in circulation. The Mint estimate of the silver coin in circulation in the United States in 1886 (dollars and subsidiary) was \$308,784,223.

† During the fifteen years from 1855 to 1870 the annual demand of India for silver was very nearly £10,000,000. This period embraced the cotton-famine. From 1872 to 1875, just before the drop in silver, the amount that India annually received was £3,000,000. From 1875 to 1880 it was £7,000,000; from 1880-85, £6,000,000; and for 1885-86, nearly £12,000,000.

‡ "The suspension of the free coinage of silver by the Latin Union operated not to diminish the actual employment for silver as compared with what had been in existence before 1872, but a possible employment which might have come into existence if the law had not changed."—(See testimony of Mr. Robert Giffen, "First Report of the Gold and Silver Commission," p. 28.)

Again, the world has never made so great a progress in respect of all things material in any equal number of years as it has during those which have elapsed since silver began to decline in price in 1873. Never before in any corresponding period of time has labour been so productive; never has the volume of trade and commerce been greater; never has wealth more rapidly accumulated; never has there been so much abundance for distribution on so favourable terms to the masses; never, finally, would an ounce of silver exchange for so much of sugar, wheat, wool, iron, copper, coal, or of most other commodities, as at present. If the fall in the price of all desirable commodities has been an evil, as not a few seem to believe, it cannot be conclusively proved, in respect to even one article, that any such fall has been extensively due to any decline in the value of silver or any appreciation of gold.

On the other hand, a more rational explanation of the decline since 1873 in the value of silver, and one which the logic of subsequent events is substantiating, would appear to be as follows: Since 1860 the annual product of silver has been rapidly increasing—i.e., from £8,160,000 in 1860 to £10,390,000 in 1865; £12,210,000 in 1871; £16,100,000 in 1875; £19,200,000 in 1880; £24,980,000 in 1885. The aggregate product from 1860 to 1873, inclusive, was £198,047,000. Previous to 1871–1872 neither France nor the Latin Convention States of Europe had been large consumers of silver. In fact, from about 1850 to 1864, France, instead of being a consumer, was really a seller of silver, and during that period disposed of about £75,000,000. After 1864 the tide turned, and France began to take back silver; but up to 1873–1874 her imports had by no means balanced her previous exports. M. Victor Bonnet, writing in 1873 (*Revue des deux Mondes*), after the greater part of the French indemnity had been paid, estimated the quantity of specie remaining in the possession of the French people at 6,000,000,000 francs (£240,000,000). China, also, which previous to 1864 had been a silver-importing country, after 1864 and until up to about the time of the drop in silver, became a silver-exporting country.* From 1853 to 1873, inclusive, the United States furthermore coined but very little silver, and during this whole period drew on the world's supply of silver for coinage purposes to an extent (measured in dollars) of only £11,427,400; while, during her long period of suspension of specie payments, subsequent to 1861, her stock of silver coin entirely disappeared from circulation, and in great part was doubtless added to the supply of other countries.

Under such circumstances, which were perfectly well known to the custodians and dealers in silver everywhere, Germany entered the

* * Testimony of Mr. Robert Giffen, "First Report of the Gold and Silver Commission," p. 29.

world's market as a seller of silver. The amount offered at first was absolutely very small and comparatively insignificant, but it nevertheless probably constituted a supply in excess of any current demand. As the States of Europe and the United States could not at once increase their consumption and import of the products of Asia, Africa, and South America, and so increase their sales (exports) of silver and, as the price which the surplus of any commodity forced for sale will command determines the price of the whole stock of such commodity, the price of the whole stock of silver bullion naturally began to decline. The general policy of Germany respecting the use of silver for coinage, which was subsequently favoured and adopted by Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Holland, with the concurrent suspension by the States of the Latin Union of the free coinage of the silver five-franc pieces, also unquestionably favoured and intensified the decline in the price of silver thus inaugurated, by creating an apprehension (or scare) among the bullion-dealers as to what might further happen.

The continued decline in the value of silver in more recent years—i.e., from an annual average of $51\frac{1}{4}d.$ in 1879 to $45\frac{3}{8}d.$ in 1886—may also be rationally referred to a continuance of the same influence. The annual product of silver has continued to increase—i.e., from £19,200,000 in 1879 to £24,980,000 in 1886, or £152,200,000 in the aggregate for this period. No one knows what is to be the product of silver in the future; but it is reasonable to believe that, if the price of silver were to advance materially, its product would be largely augmented. Recent reports made under the auspices of the Mexican Secretary of the Interior, and published in the *Mexican Economist* (1886), claim that the cost of working the argentiferous lead-ores of Mexico, which “exist in prodigious abundance,” has been greatly reduced within recent years, and that under a better system of taxation and with an adequate supply of capital the annual product of the silver-mines of Mexico could be quickly doubled and even trebled. Furthermore, an average decrease of at least thirty per cent. in the prices of the commodities that represent the great bulk of the world's production and consumption (comparing the data of 1885-86 with those of 1867-77) has in itself been equivalent to largely or entirely supplying any increased demand for the use of silver and gold as money, consequent upon any increase in the volume of the world's business during the same period. The constantly-increasing tendency of civilized countries to use less and less of coin in the transaction of business, and the continued invention and successful application of numerous and unprecedented devices for economizing the use of metallic money, must at the same time have been equivalent to a constant comparative increase in the supply of precious metals for coinage purposes. Still another factor exercising a disturbing

influence on the price of silver, and preventing its price recovery, undoubtedly grows out of the fiscal relations of Great Britain with India. The regular annual sales at London of India Council bills—the character of which has been heretofore explained (see p. 798)—are in the nature of forced sales of silver, and at present average about £9,000,000 per annum. How much effect these sales, at the point where the silver-bullion trade of the world centres, have had in depressing the market price of silver, is undetermined; but that it has not been unimportant cannot well be doubted.

Attention is next asked to the character of the economic disturbances which have resulted from the change since 1873 in the relative values of gold and silver. Omitting from consideration the extreme views on this subject, in which silver seems to be regarded in the sense of a personality that has been unjustly and designedly “outlawed” and deprived of some ancient prerogative, the disturbances in question are the same in character as have always accompanied the use of a depreciated, fluctuating currency, with this additional and novel peculiarity—namely, that while, heretofore, depreciation of currency has been due to the forced issue of redundant and irredeemable paper money or debased coin, and has been local in its influence, the present experience is due to a depreciation in the value of one of the precious metals with reference to the other, and extends to many countries in very different degrees. Let us particularize these disturbances, and see how serious or otherwise have been their resulting influence.

In the United States, all the evil which has thus far been experienced has been solely from apprehensions of evil in the future, which in turn have been occasioned by the circumstance that the United States, in harmony with her protective policy, buys from the owners of the (present) most productive and cheaply worked silver mines in the world, silver bullion for coinage to the value of £400,000 monthly, irrespective of any current demand or necessity for such coinage on the part of her own people. In the coinage system of Great Britain the function of silver remains as it has done for a long period, almost as unimportant as that of copper. In Germany, “although the imperial mark is now everywhere recognized as the standard, all Germans, whether they live in Bavaria, Prussia, or Hanover, are able to sell their commodities with the consciousness that the ‘marks’ they receive in payment for them are good money, with the same purchasing power, whether paid out as silver thalers, or as gold crowns.” * Furthermore, at a meeting of the representatives of the various Chambers of Commerce in Germany, in March 1887, seventy-one chambers

* Communication by Mr. H. H. Gibbs (a director of the Bank of England) to the “*Das Kampf um die Währung*,” Berlin, April 30, 1886.

to four voted against any change in the existing monetary policy of the Empire. In the other States of Europe, the currencies of which are on a specie-paying basis, the situation is substantially the same as in Germany.* In exclusively silver-using countries, like India and Mexico, the decline in the value of silver has not appreciably affected its purchasing power in respect of all domestic products and services; but the silver of such countries will not exchange for the same amount of gold as formerly, and it might be supposed that, owing to this change in the relative value of the two metals, the silver of India, Mexico, and other like countries would purchase correspondingly less of the commodities of foreign countries which are produced and sold on a gold basis. But the people of such countries have not thus far been sensible of any losses to themselves thereby accruing, for the reason that the gold prices of such foreign commodities as they are in the habit of buying have declined in a greater ratio since 1873 than has the silver which constitutes their standard of prices—a condition of things which Don Francisco Bulnes, the distinguished Mexican economist, in a recent official report, has exemplified to his countrymen by the following felicitous illustration: “Two merchants, named Mexico and Foreigner, exchange annually cotton shirtings for silver dollars: Mexico delivers \$100, and receives from Foreigner one hundred pieces of cotton shirting. By the depreciation of silver, it results that Foreigner only wishes to accept the Mexican dollar for eighty-six cents for each one, but gives in exchange each piece of cotton shirting for sixty-six cents. Which of the two will be the loser?” Nevertheless, if silver had maintained its former relative value to gold, the benefit accruing to silver-using nations from the decline in the prices of commodities through improvements in their production and distribution might have been greater; but, if so, the loss does not appear to have been made by them a cause of complaint.

All the evidence seems to indicate that the economic disturbances contingent on the decline in the value of silver, apart from what have been due to the apprehension of evil (or scare), have thus far been almost exclusively confined to the trade or financial intercourse between the gold-standard and the silver-standard nations, or between the States of Western Europe and the United States, and the nations of the Eastern hemisphere and of Central and South

* “There are no indications of any change in the policy of the fiscal authorities of the several States visited by me (Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Holland) which warrant any expectation that the subject of a bimetallic treaty for a common legal tender, coupled with the free coinage of silver, will be seriously considered at the present time by them. . . .”

“There is no indication that the subject of bimetallism has received any intelligent or serious consideration, outside of a small circle in each country named, as a probable or possible remedy for the existing causes of alleged depression in trade.”—*Report to the President of the United States* “On the Present Status of Bimetallism in Europe,” October 1887, by EDWARD ATKINSON.

America; and that the manifestations of these disturbances have been greatest in England and Holland, where the foreign trade of the silver-using countries largely centres. And it seems further to be admitted that these disturbances have not resulted so much from a fall in the value of silver *per se* as from the uncertainties or fluctuations in its price, or, as commonly expressed, in the rates of exchange—an eminent merchant of Manchester, largely engaged in trade with India and the East, being reported as saying, at the last meeting of the British Association (September 1887), that with the present excellent telegraph service, and a level (non-fluctuating) monetary basis, exchange in India would be as steady as in New York. In all this, there is, however, nothing unprecedented or in the nature of the unexpected; nothing which the world has not heretofore repeatedly experienced. For it is to be remembered that fluctuations in exchange are the invariable accompaniment of trade with nations using a depreciated and fluctuating currency; and that there is no good reason for supposing that the disturbances which have characterized the trade of Europe with India and the East during recent years, from fluctuations in the price of silver, have been any different in kind from, or as great in degree as, those which characterized the trade of Europe with the United States from 1861 to 1879, or which characterize to-day the trade of the outside world with Russia, whose currency is depreciated and fluctuating. Moreover, the difficulties arising from the uncertainties of exchange, at least between England and India, appear to have been greatly exaggerated. Mr. Lord, a director of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, testified before the Commission on the Depression of Trade, in 1886, "that, so far as India was concerned, it is not necessary to run any risk at all," from the uncertainties of exchange. Mr. Bythell (representing the Bombay Chamber of Commerce) testified before the same commission: "He [Mr. Gibbs] says that commerce with India is paralyzed. I deny the assertion. There is no difficulty in negotiating any transaction for shipping goods to India, and in securing exchange." It is also beginning to be generally recognized that, owing to telegraph correspondence and rapid steam communication, the risk in transacting business between different countries, contingent on fluctuations in exchange, is being gradually eliminated, inasmuch as sales and purchases, or remittances, and all the incidents of exchange, freights, commission, &c., can be practically arranged between the operators at one and the same time.*

But whatever may have been the disturbances resulting from fluctuations in rates of exchange between Great Britain and the

* "If trade can go on profitably between countries having an inconvertible paper of a widely fluctuating kind and the rest of the world, *a fortiori*, it can go on between gold

silver-using countries (of which India is the chief), contingent on the fluctuations in recent years in the price of silver, these disturbances do not appear to have had any effect up to 1884-85 in checking the volume of British trade with Eastern nations, or in changing the relations of exports and imports that previously existed. Thus, from returns officially presented to the British Gold and Silver Commission, 1886, it was established that the trade of Great Britain with India since 1874 had relatively grown faster than with any foreign country, "except the United States and perhaps Holland." Assuming 100 to represent the trade between the two countries in 1874-75, the imports from the United Kingdom into India rose from 100 to 154 in 1884-85, and the exports from India to the United Kingdom from 100 to 149. Much also has been said respecting the serious injury which the export trade in cotton manufactures from England to India has sustained in recent years in consequence of the "dislocation" of the money of England's Indian customers. But the facts do not bear out such statements. Taking the number 100 as representing the condition of the cotton-fabric export trade of England with India in 1874, the numbers for 1886 were, respectively, 134 for quantity and 96 for value; and this change in value, as was testified to before the Gold and Silver Commission, has "occurred since 1883"; or was coincident with a recognized increase at that date in the manufacturing capacity of the cotton-factories of Europe and the United States, greatly in excess of any current market demand for consumption.*

In like manner the official returns also show that while India during recent years has largely increased her exports of domestic cotton fabrics—cloth and yarn—to China and Java, the exports of like products from England to these same countries from 1875 to 1884-85—the period covering the greatest decline in the price of silver (or of the fall in exchange)—also continually increased; or for 1884 were 14 per cent. in the case of piece goods, and 32 per cent. in yarn, greater in the aggregate than they were in 1875. Since 1884-85 the condition of the British export trade to China is reported to have been less favourable.

and silver countries. The exchange is a hindrance and obstacle, as many other things are hindrances and obstacles, but it is nothing more. . . . Such difficulties are the ordinary incidence of trade and life, and will be dealt with like other difficulties of a far more serious kind by those concerned."—*Times*, September 14, 1886.

* In 1870 the British export of cotton piece-goods to India was returned at 923,000,000 yards, representing 28·4 per cent. of the entire trade of the United Kingdom with India. In 1884 the export of these same goods was 1,791,000,000 yards, or 40·6 per cent. of the entire trade. In respect to cotton yarns the British exports to India for 1870 were 31,000,000 pounds, or 16·5 per cent. of the total exports; and in 1884, 49,000,000 pounds, or 18·1 per cent. of the total exports. The bulk of the trade of Great Britain is with gold-using countries; and yet, while the trade of India with Great Britain was 8·3 per cent. of the whole trade of the kingdom in 1870, it constituted in 1883 as much as 9·9 per cent. of the whole trade.—*Testimony before the Gold and Silver Commission of Mr. HENRY WATERFIELD, Financial Secretary of the India Office.* (See "First Report of Commission," pp. 122, 123.)

It might also seem that the Government of India, in selling its remittances in silver—India Council bills—to cover its liabilities in England, for a less price in gold than formerly, constantly experiences a loss ; but, on the other hand, it is well established that the increase in the revenues of India, since the decline in silver began, owing to the increased prosperity of the country and the increased receipts of the Government railways, fully counterbalances any loss they may have incurred in remitting silver against their gold liabilities.

Another pertinent example, and one not in any way connected with the trade of Europe or India, is afforded by the recent trade experiences of Mexico. This country has almost exclusively a silver currency ; and the fluctuations in the price of silver since 1873—Mexican exchange having varied in New York in recent years from 114 to 140 *—would seem necessarily to have been a disturbing factor of no little importance in the trade between the United States and Mexico. But the official statistics of the trade between the two countries since 1873 (notoriously undervalued) fail to show that any serious interruption has occurred ; the domestic exports from the United States to Mexico having increased from \$3,941,000 in 1873, to \$11,089,000 in 1884 ; while the exports from Mexico to the United States during the same period increased from \$4,276,000 to \$9,016,000.

In recent years there has been a notable increase in the cotton-manufacturing industry of India—*i.e.*, from fifteen factories, with 450,156 spindles and 4,972 looms in 1873, to seventy factories, with 1,698,000 spindles and 14,635 looms in 1884 ; and the cause of this increase, which is enabling India to compete (as never before) with Lancashire in supplying cotton yarn and fabrics to the Indian and other Eastern markets, to the alleged serious detriment of English interests, is popularly believed and asserted to have been occasioned mainly by the decline and fluctuations in the price of silver. The cross-examination of experts in the Anglo-Indian trade by the British Gold and Silver Commission conclusively showed, however, that the prime cause of the increasing ability of India cotton-manufacturers to compete successfully with those of England is to be found in the advantages which accrue to the former from the lower wages and longer factory-hours † of their employés. But the existing differences as respects the condition of labour in England and India have existed from time immemorial ; and the only novelty of the present situation is, that now India, with railroads and factories, and the advantage of cheap ocean freights, is emancipating herself

* That is, one hundred and forty Mexican dollars to one hundred dollars of the United States gold standard.

† The hours of labour in the factories of Bombay are reported at eighty per week in comparison with fifty-six per week in England. The wages of skilled labour in Bombay, in common with the wages of similar labour in countries of the western hemisphere, are reported to have materially advanced in recent years.

from chronic sluggishness and beginning to participate in the world's progress; and under English auspices, and largely with English capital, is, for the first time, extensively utilizing her cheap and abundant labour in connection with labour-saving machinery. And it is to be further noted that her progress in cotton manufacturing exhibited itself unmistakably some years before the commencement of the decline in silver; that the first shipment of cotton yarns from India to China, in competition with yarns of English make, was in 1866, and that between 1865 and 1873 the increase in the number of cotton spindles in India was in excess of 57 per cent.

The belief is also very general that the decline in silver has abnormally stimulated exports from silver-using countries, to the great detriment of the wheat-growers of the United States and Australia, who offer their surplus in competition with the surplus of India upon the European market. Nothing is easier than to get into a state of mental confusion in respect to this matter, and, in fact, there seems to be no assignable limit to the multiplication of words upon it. But, in forming an opinion concerning it, it is important to keep steadily in mind the fact that international trade is trade in commodities, and not in money; and that the precious metals come in only for the settlement of balances. In fact, all such exchanges are, to within a very minute fraction, the result of an organized and elaborate system of barter, and the principle of barter prevails in them, and determines to a great extent the methods employed. The trade between England and India is an exchange of service for service. Its character would not be altered if India should adopt the gold standard to-morrow, or if she should, like Russia, adopt an irredeemable paper currency, or, like China, buy and sell by weight instead of tale. Will India give more wheat for a given amount of cloth because she uses silver instead of gold in her internal trade? Will England give less of cloth for a given amount of wheat because she keeps her accounts in pounds, shillings, and pence instead of in rupees? Unless all the postulates of political economy are false—unless we are entirely mistaken in supposing that men in their individual capacity, and hence in their aggregate capacity as nations, are seeking the most satisfaction with the least labour, we must assume that India, England, and America produce and sell their goods to one another for the most they can get in other goods, regardless of the kind of money that their neighbours use or that they themselves use. A silver currency does not give any additional strength to a Hindoo ryot, nor does it increase the fertility of his soil, or add to the number of inches of his rainfall. Nor does a gold currency detract in any way from the capability and resources of his rival, the American farmer. Nor does the difference in their respective currencies affect the judgment of the buyer of wheat in Liverpool. Is any single

factor in the elements of production and transportation, by which alone the terms of competition are settled, changed by the local currencies of the several countries, or the mutations thereof? Surely no mutations were ever more sudden or violent than those of the currency of the United States during the late war. They were not without their effects; but the effects were not of a kind to change the terms of competition in international trade.

It may be that the Indian wheat-grower has been enabled by the decline in silver to get labour for less wages than before, and has thus gained an advantage over his competitors in America and Australia; but the evidence is all to the effect that wages generally in India in recent years have advanced and not declined. But the terms of international competition are not altered by any division of the joint product of labour and capital in one of the competing countries. The person that has the most of a grievance growing out of the present state of the wheat-trade is the American farmer, who is restricted from buying in the same market in which he sells his surplus wheat to as good advantage as his competitors; but this is not due to any change in the value of silver, but to the fiscal policy of his own Government.

The whole subject of the disturbing influence of the decline in the value of silver on the trade between gold and silver using countries is complicated and difficult of analysis, and the opinions of persons practically interested in such trade are not harmonious; but it is difficult to see how one can investigate the subject, with the light of the experience which the years that have elapsed since 1873 has contributed, without coming to the conclusion that the seriousness of the disturbances has been greatly exaggerated, and that the expediency of attempting to provide remedies by legislation for such as may be acknowledged to exist—if legislation were practical—is very doubtful.*

One feature contingent on the fall in the value of silver, which appears to be regarded in England somewhat in the light of a

* In connection with this subject, the following extract from the record of the examination of Mr. H. Waterfield, Financial Secretary of the India Office, London, before the Gold and Silver Commission (February 1887), will be read with interest:

Question (Sir T. Farrer). "So that, while India has been doing much more, Lancashire has been doing more than she did before?"

Answer. "Yes."

Q. "Then I will ask you, do the figures [submitted] justify the statement that the present state of things—that is, the fall in exchange—is causing the gradual transfer of the yarn-trade of China to India; that the exports from England have steadily declined since the fall of silver commenced, while those from India have enormously increased?"

A. "The increase of the imports from India may, indeed, be termed enormous; but it is not correct to say that the exports from England have steadily declined since the fall of silver commenced; and I think that the fall in exchange is not the cause of the improvement in the Indian trade."

Q. "At any rate, you would not see in these figures any reason for protecting Lancashire against India by a radical alteration of our currency system?"

A. "No; I should think it as objectionable as allowing any protection of India against Lancashire."

popular grievance, is the decline in the value of the pensions or "half-pay" allowances which have been given by the Indian Government to their retiring officials for good and extended service. These pensions are granted in India, and are payable there in the current money of the country—i.e., the silver rupee—and, before the decline in silver, had an equal purchasing power with gold; and at the present time, so far as these pensions are spent in India, no loss occurs, because the purchasing power of silver in that country has not fallen materially. But, on the other hand, if the rupees are remitted to England, and sold there at the price of bullion, or if, what amounts to the same thing, the remittance is effected by the purchase of a bill of gold exchange on England, the loss in English money to the pension or "half-pay" recipient residing in England is considerable, and has been estimated to average about 25 per cent. But, as an offset, it is to be remembered that there is no loss, but rather a gain, in the present purchasing power of silver, as compared with its purchasing power at the time when the pension or "half-pay" was granted. It is not alleged that the Indian Government has violated any contract or stipulation; but that they "have proved ungenerous employers."* Important, however, as this matter may be to those especially interested, it is one in which the world at large cannot be expected to take much interest.

In Holland the disturbances assumed to have been occasioned by the decline in the value of silver have attracted public attention to an even greater degree than in England. But even here the disturbances have been mainly restricted to the commercial and financial relations of Holland with her East Indian colonies—Java, Sumatra, and other islands—and have been specially occasioned by the extraordinary fall in recent years in the prices of the principal exports of these islands, namely: sugar and coffee. But no commercial fact is capable of more complete demonstration than that the fall in the price of these great staples has been in no way contingent upon any change in the value of silver.†

Finally, the idea of disturbance in connection with the decline in the value of silver has been, and is, pre-eminently connected with an

* It is curious to note that when the rules regulating the pensions of the Indian Civil Service were established in 1863, the Indian Government stipulated that the rupee should not count for more than two shillings, which had been about its equivalent in sterling from time immemorial, even if at any time exchange on England rose to a higher point (as it actually did at one time, in 1861); but, not expecting that the rupee would ever fall in value to any great extent below 2s., or below that par of exchange, they omitted to provide against it.

† "During the last five years Java has been subject to the most fearful natural calamities. They have had a cattle-plague which destroyed almost the whole cattle in parts of the island; they have had cholera; they have had earthquakes of an unprecedented character, and they have had further an extraordinary fall in the values of their principal exports, which are sugar and coffee, owing, in the first place, to the competition of beet-root sugar in Europe; and, in the second place, to the fact that South America has been able to export coffee more favourably than Java; and to this extent

annunciation of and belief in two propositions: First, that the almost universal decline in the prices of the world's staple commodities since 1873 has been occasioned by the fall in the price of silver; and, second, that a decline of prices is an evil. The first of these propositions rests upon an assumption which cannot be verified by any conclusive evidence whatever; and, as for the second, if the fall of prices has been mainly due, as has been demonstrated, to natural and permanent causes—namely, the increased power of mankind in the work of production and distribution—then the result, by creating a greater abundance of all good things, and bringing a larger amount of the same within the reach of the masses for consumption and enjoyment, has been one of the greatest of blessings.

Any discussion of the economic disturbances resulting from changes in the relative values of the precious metals would be incomplete that failed to point out how the events that originated the so-called "bi-metallic" controversy were the natural outcome of the revolutionary changes in the methods of production and distribution that have occurred in recent years in all countries in proportion to their advance in civilization.

It is not easy to imagine that any person of ordinary intelligence can seriously believe that the enactment of laws looking to the recognition of gold as the single standard of value, thereby effecting what is called the demonetization of silver, could ever have resulted from mere whim or caprice, or with a view of occasioning either domestic or international economic disturbance. There was a time when nations, with the expectation of receiving benefit, did adopt policies and enact laws with the undisguised and sole intent of injuring the industry and commerce of neighbours with whom they were at peace; but happily such days have long passed. And the inference is, therefore, fully warranted that whatever steps have been taken, which have resulted in any territorial restriction of the use of silver as money, have been in consequence of a belief by the parties—nations—thus acting, that such a policy was called for by change in the economic condition of their affairs, and was likely to be to them productive of benefit. And the answer to the pertinent question as to what benefit, is simply, that which might be expected to accrue from the using of the best rather than an inferior tool; of a money instrumentality adapted to new, rather than to old conditions of production and distribution.

One needs but to stand for a brief time at the marts of trade in countries of varied degrees of civilization, to quickly recognize and understand, that the kind of money a country will have and use, we can trace a loss of £5,000,000 annually in these two articles. That has been the result in the last five years of natural causes, without any question of currency at all."—*Testimony of Mr. PAUL F. TIDMAN, East India merchant. "First Report of the Gold and Silver Commission,"* p. 142.

depends upon and will vary with, the extent and variety of its productions, the price of its labour, and the rapidity and magnitude of its exchanges; and investigation will further inform him that when mankind, savage, semi-civilized, civilized, or enlightened, find out by experiment what metal or other instrument is best adapted to their wants as a medium of exchange, that metal or instrument they will employ; and that statute law can do little more than recognize and confirm the fact. In truth, legislation in respect to money, as is the case in respect to other things, never originates any new idea; "but merely enacts that that which has been found beneficial or prejudicial in many cases, shall be used, limited, or prohibited in all similar cases within its jurisdiction." Thus, in all countries where prices are low, wages small, transactions limited, and exchanges sluggish, nothing more valuable can be used as money for effecting the great bulk of the exchanges than copper; and in countries like Mexico and China even the copper coin corresponding to the American "cent," the English "halfpenny," and the French "sou" is often so disproportionate in point of value to the wants of retail trade, that in the former country it is made more useful by being halved and quartered, and in the latter is replaced with some even cheaper metal, as iron, or spelter. The wages in all such countries do not in general exceed twenty to twenty-five cents a day, and the sum of such wages, when represented in money, must be capable of division into as many parts in order to be exchanged for the many daily necessities of an individual or a family. But with wages at twenty-five cents per day, the use of coined gold would obviously be impracticable. The equivalent of a day's labour in gold would be too small to be conveniently handled; the equivalent of an hour's labour would be smaller than a pin's head. And in a lesser degree there would be the like inconvenience in using coined silver for effecting the division of similar small wages.*

In countries of higher civilization, but still of comparatively low prices and limited exchanges (and these last mainly internal or

* In many of the sugar-producing islands of the West Indies, the greatest number of the separate retail purchases at the established stores do not exceed from two to three cents in value. In the Island of Trinidad, probably 75 per cent. of an annual importation of about 22,000,000 pounds of breadstuffs (110,000 barrels) pass into the ownership of the labouring-classes (whose average annual consumption is estimated at 31 pounds per head), through purchases for cash of quantities rarely exceeding a fraction of a pound at any one time.

Corea, a country which until recently has been almost unknown to the civilized world, affords another striking illustration of the principle that the kind of money a people will have and use, if left free to choose, will be determined by the nature of their exchanges, through what may be termed a natural process of evolution, and not by artificial arrangements. Thus, Corea has been proved to be a very poor country; raising little more of any one product than will suffice for home consumption; and with a very restricted internal trade, owing to small production and the lack of facilities for personal inter-communication and product distribution. To a majority of her people a monthly income equivalent to two or three dollars is represented to be sufficient to meet all their necessities. Yet even under these unfavourable and limited conditions of

domestic), silver naturally takes the place of copper as the coin medium of exchange and as the standard of value; and as more than a thousand million people are the inhabitants of such countries, silver, reckoning transactions by number and probably also by amount, is to-day the principal money metal of the world.

On the other hand, in countries of high wages, rapid financial transactions, and extensive foreign commercial relations, the natural tendencies are altogether different, and favour the more extensive use of gold for money, without at the same time displacing from their legitimate monetary spheres either copper or silver.

The metal coinage system of the world is not therefore "mono-metallic," nor "bi-metallic," but tri-metallic; and the three metals in the form of coin have been used concurrently throughout the world ever since the historic period, and in all probability will always continue to be so used; because by no other system that as yet been devised can the varying requirements of trade in respect of instrumentalities of exchange and measures of value be so perfectly satisfied. And the only change in this situation of monetary affairs has been, that gradually and by a process of evolution as natural and inevitable as any occurring in the animal or vegetable kingdom, gold has come to be recognized and demanded as never before in all countries of high civilization, as the best instrument for measuring values and effecting exchanges. It has become, in the first place, the money of account in the commercial world and of all international trade; and any country that proposes to find a foreign market for the surplus products of its labour must employ the very best machinery of trade—railroads, steamships, telegraphs, or money—if it does not propose to place itself at a disadvantage.

In respect to portability, convenience for use, adaptation to domestic and foreign business alike, the balance of advantage for all transactions above £5 is also largely on the side of gold; as will be evident when it is remembered that it required, even before its depreciation, sixteen times more time to count silver in any considerable quantity than an equal value of gold; sixteen times more strength to handle it; sixteen times more packages, casks, or capacity to hold it, and sixteen times more expense to transport it. In other words, in this saving age, when the possibility of extensive business transactions is turning on profits reckoned not in cents but in fractions of cents per yard, per pound, or per bushel,

exchange, money has been found a necessity and has come into use in Corea, in some unknown manner, in the shape of small metallic coinage—nominally copper, but really a sort of spelter-piece—500 to the dollar. With the opening of the ports of the country, a demand for certain foreign products has been created; and these, when obtained in exchange for hides and gold-dust, are sold to the people in quantities so small, that only coins of the value and character mentioned can be conveniently used as media of exchange—*ken-tse*, for example, being sold by the half-gill, and matches in bunches of a dozen.

to use silver for large transactions in the place of gold is a misapplication of at least fifteen-sixteenths of a given unit of effort, time, expense, and capacity, when one-sixteenth would accomplish the same result.

Another factor, which has without doubt powerfully influenced public opinion in countries of large and active domestic and foreign trade in favour of gold as the sole monetary standard in preference to silver, has been the advantage which gold seems to possess over silver in the element of stability of cost of production. The amount of labour involved in the mining or washing for gold has remained nearly constant for ages; while in the case of silver not only are new deposits of great richness continually being discovered, but many old mines hitherto unworked and unprofitable by reason of inaccessibility, or by the character of their ores, have been reopened and rendered profitable by improved facilities for transportation and cheaper processes of reduction.

Now, it is not asserted that it was exactly these considerations, as thus specified, that influenced Germany in 1873 to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the payment of the French war indemnity* to adopt gold as the standard of her metallic coinage system—a policy which France would probably have adopted in 1870, had not war intervened—and that subsequently induced other countries to follow the example of Germany. But it cannot be doubted that the motive in general which prompted the action of Germany in 1873, and which to-day enrols so many of the best of the world's thinkers, financiers, and merchants, on the side of gold rather than that of silver in the pending and so-called bimetallic controversy, has been and is a conviction, that the movement in favour of a gold standard, by highly civilized and great commercial nations, is in consonance with the spirit of the age; that it was a necessity for the fullest development of production and traffic, and the same in kind which prompts to the substitution, regardless of cost, of new machinery for old, if even the minimum of gain can be thereby effected in the production and distribution of commodities. It may, however, be urged that granting all that may be claimed respecting the superiority of gold over silver as a standard of value and a medium of exchange, there is not a sufficiency of gold to supply the wants of all who may desire to avail themselves of its use for such purposes; and therefore, any attempt to effect innovations in former monetary conditions would be impolitic because likely to be generally injurious. But this would not be considered as an

* "It was from this source that Germany proposed to help herself before it was too late, and thereby array herself in the rank of commercial States which, having large transactions, chose gold, not merely as the most stable in value of the two metals, but as the best medium of exchange for large payments."—Professor LAUGHLIN, *History of Bimetallism, in the United States*, p. 135.

argument of any weight if pleaded in opposition to the whole or partial disuse of any other form of tool or machine in order that some better tool or machine might be substituted. That in such a case there would be an advantage to those who could afford to have and use the new, and a corresponding disadvantage to those who could not, may be admitted; but what would be the future of the world's progress, if the use of all improvements was to be delayed until all to whom such use would be advantageous could start on terms of equality?

If, therefore, the above premises are correct; if certain of the leading States of the world have given a preference to gold over silver in their trade, and have selected a single in place of a former double standard of value—not by reason of the adoption of any abstract theory or desire for experimentation, but rather through a determination to put themselves in accord with the new conditions of production and distribution that have been the outcome of inventions and discoveries during the last quarter of a century—then the inference is warranted, that all attempts to enforce, through any international conference or agreement, any different policy or practice, would be as futile as to attempt to displace through legislation railroads in favour of coaches and steamships for sailing-vessels.

DAVID A. WELLS.

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF GENESIS.

THERE is in many people's minds a painful uneasiness about the relation of the Bible to modern science and philosophy. The appearance of each new theory is deprecated by believers with pious timidity, and hailed by sceptics with unholy hope. On neither side is this a dignified or a wholesome attitude. Its irksome and intrusive pressure promotes neither a robust piety nor a sober-minded science. It is worth while inquiring whether there is any sufficient foundation for either alarm or expectancy in the actual relations of the Bible to scientific thought? We shall work out our answer to the question on the historical battle-field of the first chapter of Genesis. Results reached there will be found to possess a more or less general validity.

There are two records of creation. One is contained in the Bible, which claims to be God's Word; the other is stamped in the structure of the world, which is God's work. Both being from the same author, we should expect them to agree in their general tenor; but in fact, so far from being in harmony, they have an appearance of mutual contradiction that demands explanation.

In studying the problem certain considerations must be borne in mind. There is a loose way of talking about antagonism between the natural and the revealed accounts of creation. That is not quite accurate. Conflict between these there cannot be, for they never actually come into contact. It is not they, but our theories, that meet and collide. The discord is not in the original sources, but in our renderings of them. That is a very different matter, and of quite incommensurate importance.

The Bible story is very old. It is written in an ancient and practically dead language. The meaning of many of the words cannot be fixed with precision. The significance of several funda-

mental phrases is at best little more than conjecture. Since it was penned men's minds have grown and changed. The very moulds of human thought have altered. Current impressions, conceptions, ideas, are different. It is hard to determine, with even probability, what is said; still harder to realize what was thought. Certainty is impossible. No rendering should be counted infallible—not even our own. Every interpretation ought to be advanced with modest diffidence, held tentatively, revised with alacrity, and adjusted to new facts without timidity and without shame. This has not been the characteristic attitude of commentators. The exegesis of the first chapter of Genesis presents a long array of theories, propounded with authority, defended dogmatically, and ignominiously discredited and deserted. Had a more lowly spirit presided over their inception, maintenance, and abandonment, the list would perhaps not have been shorter, but the retrospect would have been less humiliating. As it is, we can hardly complain of the sting of satire that lurks in Kepler's recital of Theology's successive retreats: "In theology we balance authorities; in philosophy we weigh reasons. A holy man was Lactantius, who denied that the earth was round. A holy man was Augustine, who granted the rotundity, but denied the antipodes. A holy thing to me is the Inquisition, which allows the smallness of the earth, but denies its motion. But more holy to me is truth. And hence I prove by philosophy that the earth is round, inhabited on every side, of small size, and in motion among the stars. And this I do with no disrespect to the doctors."

The physical record is also very old. Its story is carved in a script that is often hardly legible, and set forth in symbols that are not easy to decipher. The testimony of the rocks embodies results of creation, but does not present the actual operations. Effects suggest processes, but do not disclose their precise measure, manner, and origination. You may dissect a great painting into its ultimate lines and elements, and from the canvas peel off the successive layers of colour, and duly record their number and order; but, when you have done, you have not even touched the essential secret of its creation. In determining the first origin of things the limitation of science is absolute, and even in tracing the subsequent development there is room for error, ignorance, and diversity of explanation. Of certainties in scientific theory there are few. For the most part, all that can be attained is probability, especially in speculative matters, such as estimates of time, explanations of formation, and theories of causation. As in exegesis so in geology, all hypotheses ought to be counted merely tentative, maintained with modesty, and held open at every point to revision and reconstruction. The necessity of caution and reserve needs no enforcing for any one who knows the variety and inconsistency of the phases through which speculative geology has passed

in our own generation. In this destiny of transitoriness it does but share the lot of all scientific theory. Professor Huxley was once cruel enough to call attention to the fact, that "extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science, as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules." The statement is a graphic, if somewhat ferocious, reminder of a melancholy fact, and the fate of these trespassing divines should warn their successors—as the Professor means it should—not to stray out of their proper pastures. But has it fared very differently with the mighty men of science who have essayed to solve the high problems of existence and to make all mysteries plain? Take up a history of philosophy, turn over its pages, study its dreary epitomes of defunct theories, and as you survey the long array of skeletons, tell me, are you not reminded of the prophet, who found himself "set down in the midst of the valley which was full of dry bones: and, behold, there were very many in the open valley; and, lo, they were very dry?"

If it is human to err, theology and geology have alike made full proof of their humanity. That in itself is not their fault, but their misfortune. The pity of it is, that to the actual fact of fallibility they have so often added the folly of pretended infallibility. The resultant duty is an attitude of mutual modesty, of reserve in suspecting contradiction, of patience in demanding an adjustment, of perseverance in separate and honest research, of serenity of mind in view of difficulties, coupled with a quiet expectation of final fitting. The two accounts are alike trustworthy. They are not necessarily identical in detail. It is enough that they should correspond in their essential purport. It may be that the one is the complement of the other, as soul is to body—unlike, yet vitally allied. Perchance their harmony is not that of duplicates but of counterparts. They were made not to overlap like concentric circles, but to interlock like toothed wheels. In the end, when partial knowledge has given way to perfect, they will be seen to correspond, and nothing will be broken but the premature structures of adjustment, with which men have thought to make them run smoother than they were meant to do.

To attempt anew a task that has proved so disastrous, and is manifestly so difficult, must be admitted to be bold if not even foolhardy. But its very desperateness is its justification. To fall in a forlorn hope is not ignoble. To miss one's way in threading the labyrinth of the first chapter of Genesis is pardonable, a thing almost to be expected. If in seeking to escape Scylla, the traveller should fall into Charybdis, no one will be surprised—not even himself. It is in the most undogmatic spirit that we wish to put forward our reading of the chapter. It is presented simply as a possible rendering. What can be said for it will be said as forcibly as may be. It is open to objection from opposite sides. That may be not altogether

against it, since truth is rarely extreme. Difficulties undoubtedly attach to it and defects as well. At best it can but contribute to the ultimate solution. Perchance its share in the task may be no more than to show by trial that another way of explanation is impossible. Well, that too is a service. Every fresh byeway proved impracticable, and closed to passage, brings us a step nearer the pathway of achievement. For the loyal lover of truth it is enough even so to have been made tributary to the truth.

The business of a theologian is, in the first instance at least, with the Scriptural narrative. To estimate its worth, and determine its relation to science, we must ascertain its design. Criticism of a church organ, under the impression that it was meant to do the work of a steam-engine, would certainly fail to do justice to the instrument, and the disquisition would not have much value in itself. Before we exact geology of Genesis, we must inquire whether there is any in it. If there be none, and if there was never meant to be any, the demand is as absurd as it would be to require thorns of a vine and thistles of the fig-tree. Should it turn out, for instance, that the order of the narrative is intentionally not chronological, then every attempt to reconcile it with the geological order is of necessity a Procrustean cruelty, and the venerable form of Genesis is fitted to the geological couch at the cost of its head or its feet. Either the natural sense of the chapter is sacrificed or the pruned narrative goes on crutches. If we would deal fairly and rationally with the Bible account of creation, our first duty is to determine with exactness what it purposes to tell, and what it does not profess to relate. We must settle with precision, at the outset of our investigation, what is its subject, method, and intention. The answer is to be found, not in *à priori* theories of what the contents ought to be, but in an accurate and honest analysis of the chapter.

The narrative of creation is marked by an exquisite symmetry of thought and style. It is partly produced by the regular use of certain rubrical phrases, which recur with the rhythmical effect of a refrain. There is the terminal of the days—"and there was evening and there was morning, day one," &c.; the embodiment of the Divine creative will in the eightfold "God said"; the expression of instant fulfilment in the swift responsive "and it was so"; and the declaration of perfection in the "God saw that it was good." But the symmetry of the chapter lies deeper than the wording. It pervades the entire construction of the narrative. As the story proceeds there is expansion, variety, progression. Yet each successive paragraph is built up on one and the same type and model. This uniformity is rooted in the essential structure of the thought, and is due to the determination with which one grand truth is carried like a key-note through all the sequences of the theme, and rings out

clear and dominant in every step and stage of the development. Our first duty is to follow, and find out with certainty this ruling purpose, and then to interpret the subordinate elements by its light and guidance.

The narrative distributes the operation of creation over six days, and divides it into eight distinct acts or deeds. This double divergent arrangement of the material is made to harmonize by the assignment of a couple of acts to the third day, and another couple to the sixth—in each case with a fine and designed effect. We shall take a bird's-eye view of the contents of these divisions.

The chapter opens with a picture of primeval chaos, out of which God commands the universe of beauty, life, and order. Nothing is said of its origin. The story starts with it existent. It is painted as an abyss, dreary and boundless, wrapped in impenetrable darkness, an inextricable confusion of fluid matter destitute of character, structure, or value, without form and void. It is the raw material of the universe, passive and powerless in itself, but holding in it the promise and potency of all existence. For over it nestles, like a brood fowl, the informing, warming, life-giving spirit of God, sending through its coldness and emptiness the heat and parental yearnings of the Divine heart, that craves for creatures on which to pour out its love and goodness. This action of the Spirit is, however, no more than preparative, and waits its completion in the accession of a personal fiat of God's will, in which the Divine Word gives effect and reality to the Divine Wish. This is a feature of supreme importance, for in it consists the uniqueness of the Bible narrative. In the pagan accounts of creation we find the same general imagery of dull, dead matter, stirred and warmed into life and development by the action of an immaterial effluence of "thought," "love," or "longing." But in them the operation is cosmic, impersonal, often hardly conscious; in the Bible it is ethical and intensely personal. In them the language is metaphysical, materialistic, or pantheistic; here it is moral, human, personal to the point of anthropomorphism. They show us creative forces and processes; the Bible presents to us, in all His infinite, manifold, and glorious personality, the thinking, living, loving "God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth."

The result of the first day and the first Divine decree is the production of light. The old difficulty about the existence of light before the sun was made, as it was invented by science, has been by science dispelled. The theory of light as a mode of motion, which for the present holds the field, knows no obstacle to the presence of light in the absence of the sun. But this harmony is not due to any prescience of modern science in the writer of Genesis. His idea of light is not undulatory and not scientific, but just the simple popular notion found everywhere in the Bible.

Light is a fine substance, distinct from all others, and it appears first in the list of creation as being the first and noblest of the elements that go to make up our habitable world. The emergence of the light is presented as instantaneously following the Divine decree. That is manifestly the literary effect designed in the curtness of the sequence; "Let there be light, and there was light." The light is pronounced good, is permanently established in possession of its special properties and powers, and is set in its service of the world and man by having assigned to it its place in the "alternate mercy of day and night." There is a very fine touch in the position of the declaration of goodness. It stands here earlier than in the succeeding sections. Darkness is in the Bible the standing emblem of evil. It would have been discordant with that imagery to make God pronounce it good, though as the foil of light it serves beneficent ends. The jarring note is tacitly and simply avoided by inserting the assertion of the goodness of light before the mention of its background and negation, darkness. The picture of the first day of creation is subscribed with the formula of completeness—"There was evening and there was morning, one day," or "day first"; and has for its net result the production of the element or sphere of light.

The second day and the second Divine decree are devoted to the formation of the firmament. All through the Old Testament the sky is pictured as a solid dome or vaulted roof, above which roll the primeval waters of chaos. The notion is of course popular, a figment of the primitive imagination, and quite at variance with the modern conception of space filled by an interastral ether; though it is well to remember that this same ether is no more ascertained fact than was the old-world firmament, and is in its turn simply an invention of the scientific imagination. It is of more moment to note that the real motive and outcome of the day's work is not the firmament. That is not an end but a means, precisely as a sea-wall is not an object in itself, but merely the instrument of the reclamation of valuable land. What the erection of the firmament does towards the making of our world is the production of the intervening aerial space and the lower expanse of terrestrial waters. Since this last portion of the work is not complete prior to the separation of the dry land, the declaration of goodness or perfection is, with exquisite fineness of suggestion, tacitly omitted. The net result of the day is therefore the formation of the realms of air and water as elements or spheres of existence.

The third day includes two works, the production of the solid ground and of vegetation. The dead, inert soil, and its manifold outgrowth of plant life, are strikingly distinct, and yet most intimately related. Together they make up the habitable earth. They are therefore presented as separate works, but conjoined in the framework of one day. Two sections of the vegetable kingdom are singled out

for special mention—the cereals and the fruit trees. It is not a complete or a botanical classification, and manifestly science is not contemplated. Those divisions of the plant-world that sustain animal and human life, and minister to its enjoyment, are drawn out into pictorial relief and prominence. The intention is practical, popular, and religious. The net result of the day is the production of the habitable dry land.

The fourth day and the fifth decree call into being the celestial bodies—the sun, moon, and stars. They are called luminaries; that is to say, not masses or accumulations of light, but managers and distributors of light, and the value of this function of theirs, for the religious and secular calendar, for agriculture, navigation, and the daily life of men, is formally and elaborately detailed. Were this account of the heavenly bodies intended as a scientific or exhaustive statement of their Divine destination and place in the universe, it would be miserably inadequate and erroneous. But if the whole aim of the narrative be not science, but religion, then it is absolutely appropriate, exact, and powerful. In the teeth of an all but universal worship of sun, moon, and stars, it declares them the manufacture of God, and the ministers and servants of man. For this practical, religious purpose the geocentric description of them is not an accident, but essential. It is not a blunder, but a merit. It is true piety, not cosmical astronomy, that is being established. In the words of Calvin, “Moses, speaking to us by the Holy Spirit, did not treat of the heavenly luminaries as an astronomer, but as it became a theologian, having regard to us rather than to the stars.” The net result of the fourth day is the production of the heavenly orbs of light.

The fifth day and the sixth work issue in the production of birds and fishes, or, more accurately, all creatures that fly or swim. It is evidently a classification by the eye—the ordinary popular division, and it makes no attempt at scientific pretension or profundity. As having conscious life, these new creatures of God’s love are blessed by Him, and have their place and purpose in the order of being defined and established. The net result of the day is the formation of fowls and fishes.

The sixth day, like the third, includes two works—the land animals and man. The representation admirably expresses their intimate relationship and yet essential distinction. The animals are graphically divided into the domestic quadrupeds, the small creatures that creep and crawl, and the wild beasts of the field. The classification is as little scientific in intention or substance as is the general arrangement into birds, fishes, and beasts, which of course traverses radically alike the historical order of palæontology and the physiological grouping of zoology. The narrative simply adopts the natural grouping of observation and popular speech, because that suffices, and

best suits its purpose. With a wonderful simplicity, yet with consummate effect, man is portrayed as the climax and crown of creation. Made in the image and likeness of God, he is clothed with sovereign might and dominion over all the elements and contents of Nature. The personal, conscious counterpart and child of God, he stands at the other end of the chain of creation, and with answering intelligence and love looks back adoringly to his great Father in the heavens. Mention is made of lesser matters, such as sex and food; but manifestly the supreme interest of the delineation is ethical and religious. Science is no more contemplated as an ingredient in the conception than prose is in poetry. With the making of man the circle of creation is complete, and the finished perfection of the whole as well as the parts is expressed in the superlative declaration that "God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good." The net result of the sixth day is the formation of the land animals, and man.

The six days of creative activity are followed by a seventh of Divine repose. On the seventh day God rested; or, as it is more fully worded in Exodus (xxxi. 17), God "rested and was refreshed." It is a daring anthropomorphism, and at the same time a master-stroke of inspired genius. What a philosophical dissertation hardly could accomplish, it achieves by one simple image. For our thought of God, the idea performs the same service as the institution of the Sabbath does for our souls and bodies. The weekly day of rest is the salvation of our personality from enslavement in material toil. During six days the toiler is tied, bent and bowed, to his post in the vast machinery of the world's work. On the seventh all is stopped, and he is free to lift himself erect to the full stature of his manhood, to expand the loftier elements of his being, to re-assert his freedom, and realize his superiority over what is mechanical, secular, and earthly. What in the progressive portraiture of creation is the effect of this sudden declaration that the Creator rested? Why, an intensely powerful reminder of the free, conscious, and personal nature of His action. And this impression of such unique value is secured precisely by the anthropomorphism, as no philosophical disquisition could have done it. The blot and blemish of all metaphysical delineation is that personalities get obliterated and swallowed up in general principles and impersonal abstractions. In all other cosmogonies of any intellectual pretension the process of creation is presented as passive, or necessitarian, or pantheistic, and invariably the free personality of the Creator becomes entangled in His work, or entirely vanishes. By this stroke of inspired imagination the Bible story rescues from all such risks and degradations our thought of the Creator, and at its close leaves us face to face with our Divine Maker as free, personal, living, loving, and conscious as we are ourselves.

We have now got what is, I trust, a fairly accurate and complete summary of the contents of the narrative. It is not necessary for our purpose to discuss its relations to the pagan cosmogonies. From the sameness everywhere of the human eye, mind, and fancy, certain conceptions are common property. There is probably a special kinship between the Biblical and the Babylonian and Phœnician accounts. But with all respect for enthusiastic decipherers, we make bold to believe, with more sober-minded critics, that the first chapter of Genesis owes very little to Babylonian mythology, and very much indeed to Hebrew thought and the revealing Spirit of God. The chapter strikingly lacks the characteristic marks of myth, and is on the face of it a masterpiece of exquisite artistic workmanship and profound religious inspiration. Proof of this has appeared in plenty during our brief study of its structure and contents. Let us proceed to use the results of our analysis to determine some more general characteristics of its structure and design.

The process of creation is portrayed in six great steps or stages. Is this order put forward as corresponding with the physical course of events? and, further, does it tally with the order stamped in the record of the rocks? Replying to the second question first, it must be admitted that, *primâ facie*, the Bible sequence does not appear to be in unison with the geological. Of attempted reconciliations there is an almost endless variety, but, unfortunately, among the harmonies themselves there is no harmony. At the present moment there is none that has gained general acceptance: a few possess each the allegiance of a handful of partisans; the greater number command the confidence only of their respective authors, and some not even that. It is needless to discuss these reconciliations, because if geology is trustworthy in its main results, and if our interpretation of the meaning of Genesis is at all correct, correspondence in order and detail is impossible. If the order of Genesis was meant as science, then geology and Genesis are at issue; but, on the other hand, if the sequence in Genesis was never meant to be physical, the wrong lies with ourselves, who have searched for geology where we should have looked for religion, and have, with the best intentions, persisted in trying to turn the Bible bread of life into the arid stone of science. Now, we venture to suggest that in drafting this chapter the ruling formative thought was not chronology. It must be remembered that the narrative was under no obligation to follow the order of actual occurrence, unless that best suited its purpose. Zoology does not group the animals in the order of their emergence into existence, but classifies and discusses them in a very different sequence, adopted to exhibit their structural and functional affinities. If the design of Genesis was not to inform us about historical-geology, but to reveal and enforce religious truth, it might well

be that a literary or a logical, and not a chronological, arrangement might best serve its end. As a matter of fact, the order chosen is not primarily historical. Another quite different and very beautiful idea has fashioned, and is enshrined in, the arrangement. Looking at our analysis of their contents, we perceive that the six days fall into two parallel sets of three, whose members finely correspond. The first set presents us with three vast empty tenements or habitations, and the second set furnishes these with occupants. The first day gives us the sphere of light; the fourth day tenants it with sun, moon, and stars. The second day presents the realm of air and water; the fifth day supplies the inhabitants—birds and fishes. The third day produces the habitable dry land; and the sixth day stocks it with the animals and man. The idea of this arrangement is, on the face of it, literary and logical. It is chosen for its comprehensive, all-inclusive completeness. To declare of every part and atom of Nature that it is the making of God, the author passes in procession the great elements or spheres which the human mind everywhere conceives as making up our world, and pronounces them one by one God's creation. Then he makes an inventory of their entire furniture and contents, and asserts that all these likewise are the work of God. For his purpose—which is to declare the universal creatorship of God and the uniform creaturehood of all Nature—the order and classification are unsurpassed and unsurpassable. With a masterly survey that marks everything and omits nothing, he sweeps the whole category of created existence, collects the scattered leaves into six congruous groups, encloses each in a compact and uniform binding, and then on the back of the numbered and ordered volumes stamps the great title and declaration that they are one and all, in every jot, and tittle, and shred, and fragment, the works of their Almighty Author, and of none beside.

With the figment of a supposed physical order vanishes also the difficulty of the days. Their use is not literal, but ideal and pictorial. That the author was not thinking of actual days of twenty-four hours, with a matter-of-fact dawning of morning and darkening of evening, is evident from the fact that he does not bring the sun (the lord of the day) into action till three have already elapsed, and later on he exhibits the sun as itself the product of one of them. Neither is it possible that the days stand for geological epochs, for by no wrenching and racking can they be made to correspond. Moreover, it is quite certain that the author would have revolted against the expansion of his timeless acts of creative omnipotence into long ages of slow evolution, since the keynote of the literary significance and sublimity of his delineation is its exhibition of the created result following in instantaneous sequence on the creative fiat. The actual meaning underlying the use of the days is suggested in the rubrical

character of the refrain, as it appears rounding off and ending each fresh stage of the narration—"And there was evening, and there was morning—day one, day two, day three," and so on. The great sections of Nature are to be made pass in a panorama of pictures, and to be presented, each for itself, as the distinct act of God. It is desirable to enclose each of these pictures in a frame, clear-cut and complete. The natural unit and division of human toil is a day. In the words of the poet,

" Each morning sees some task begin,
Each evening sees it close."

In Old Testament parlance, any great achievement or outstanding event is spoken of as "a day." A decisive battle is known as "the day of Midian." God's intervention in human history is "the day of the Lord." When the author of Genesis I. would present the several elements of Nature as one and all the outcome of God's creative energy, the successive links of the chain are depicted as days. Where we should say "End of Part I.," he says "And there was evening and there was morning—day one." Moreover, it is needless to point out how finely from this presentation of the timeless fiat of creation in a framework of days emerges the majestic truth that, not in the dead order of nature, nor in the mere movement of the stars, but in the nature and will of God, who made man in His image, must be sought the ultimate origin, sanction, and archetype of that salutary law which divides man's life on earth into fixed periods of toil, rounded and crowned by a Sabbath of repose.

If this understanding of the structural arrangement of the chapter be correct, we have reached an important and significant conclusion regarding the author's method and design. He does not suppose himself to be giving the matter-of-fact sequence of creation's stages. His interest does not lie in that direction. His sole concern is to declare that Nature, in bulk and in detail, is the manufacture of God. His plan does not include, but *ipso facto* excludes, conformity with the material order and process. He writes as a theologian, and not as a scientist or historian. Starting from this fixed point, let us note the outstanding features and engrossing interests of his delineation. We shall find them in the phrases that, like a refrain, run through the narrative and form its keynotes, and finally in the resultant impression left by its general tenor and purport.

The recurrent keynotes of the narrative are three: God's naming His works, His declaration of their goodness, and the swift formula of achievement—"and it was so." The naming is not a childish triviality, nor a mere graphic touch or poetical ornament. It does not mean that God attached to His works the vocables by which in Hebrew they are known. Its significance appears in the definition

of function into which in the later episodes it is expanded. Name in Hebrew speech is equivalent to Nature. When the story pictures God as naming His works, it vividly brings into relief the fixed law and order that pervade the universe. And by the picturesque—if you will, anthropomorphic—fashion of the statement, it attains an effect beyond science or metaphysics, inasmuch as it irresistibly portrays this order of Nature as originating in the personal act of God, and directly inspired by and informed with His own effluent love of what is good and true and orderly. Thus the great truth of the fixity of Nature is presented, not as a fact of science or a quality of matter, but as rooted in and reflecting a majestic attribute of the character of God. The interest is not scientific, but religious. In like fashion, the unfailing declaration of goodness, though it might seem a small detail, is replete with practical and religious significance. The pagan doctrines of creation are all more or less contaminated by dualistic or Manichean conceptions. The good Creator is baffled, thwarted, and impeded by a brutish or malignant tendency in matter, which on the one hand mars the perfection of creation, and on the other hand inserts in the physical order of things elements of hostility and malevolence to man. It is a thought that at once degrades the Creator, and denudes Nature, as man's abode, of its beauty, comfort, and kindness. How different is it in the Bible picture of creation! This God has outside Himself no rival, experiences no resistance nor contradiction, knows no failure nor imperfection in His handiwork; but what He wishes He wills, and what He commands is done, and the result answers absolutely to the intention of His wisdom, love, and power. In its relation to its Maker, the work is free from any flaw. In its relation to man, it contains nothing malevolent or maleficent. It is good. And, once again, mark with what skill in the delineation the light is thrown, not on the work, but on the Worker, and the goodness of creation becomes but a mirror to drink in and flash forth the infinite wisdom, might, and goodness of its Divine Maker. Here also the interest is not metaphysical, but practical and religious. A third commanding aim of the narrative appears in the significant and striking use of the formula—"and it was so." With absolute uniformity the Divine fiat is immediately followed by the physical fulfilment. There is no painting of the process, no delineation of slow and gradual operations of material forces. Not once is there any mention of secondary causes, nor the faintest suggestion of intermediate agencies. The Creator wills; the thing is. In this exclusion from the scene of all subordinate studies there is artistic design—profound design. The picture becomes one, not of scenery, but of action. It is not a landscape, but a portrait. The canvas contains but two solitary objects, the Creator and His work. The effect is to throw out of sight methods, materials, processes, and to

throw into intense relief the act and the Actor. And the supreme and ultimate result on the beholder's mind is to produce a quite overpowering and majestic impression of the glorious personality of the Creator.

Here we have reached the sovereign theme of the narrative, and have detected the false note that is struck at the outset of every attempt to interpret it as in any degree or fashion a physical record of creation. In very deed and truth the concern of the chapter is not creation, but the character, being, and glory of the Almighty Maker. If we excerpt God's speeches and the rubrical formulas, the chapter consists of one continuous chain of verbs, instinct with life and motion, linked on in swift succession, and with hardly an exception the subject of every one of them is God. "It is one long adoring delineation of God loving, yearning, willing, working in creation. Its interest is not in the work, but the Worker. Its subject is not creation, but the Creator. What it gives is not a world, but a God. It is not geology. It is theology.

Why do we so assert, accentuate, and reiterate this to be the central theme of the chapter? Because through the scientific trend and bias of modern inquiry the essential design of the chapter has got warped, cramped, and twisted till its majestic features have been pushed almost clean out of view, and all attention is concentrated on one trivial, mean, and unreal point in its physiognomy. Its claim to be accounted an integral part of a real revelation is made to hinge on its magical anticipation of, and detailed correspondence with, the changeful theories of modern geology. The idea is, in our humble but decided opinion, dangerous, baseless, and indefensible. The chapter may not forestall one single scientific discovery. It may not tally with one axiom or dogma of geology. Nevertheless, it remains a unique, undeniable, and glorious monument of revelation, second only in worth and splendour to the record of God's incarnation of His whole heart and being in the person of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Redeemer. Consider what this chapter has actually accomplished in the world, and set that against all theories of what it ought to be doing. For our knowledge of the true God and the realization of mankind's higher life it has done a work beside which any question of correspondence or non-correspondence with science sinks into unmentionable insignificance. Place side by side with it the chiefest and best of the Pagan cosmogonies, and appreciate its sweetness, purity, and elevation over against their grotesqueness, their shallowness, and their degradation alike of the human and the Divine. Realize the world whose darkness they re-echo, the world into which emerged this radiant picture of God's glory and man's dignity, and think what it has done for that poor world. It found heaven filled with a horde of gods—monstrous, impure, and horrible, gigantic embodiments of brute force.

and lust, or at best cold abstractions of cosmical principles, whom men could fear, but not love, honour, or revere. It found man in a world dark and unhomelike, bowing down in abject worship to beasts and birds, and stocks and stones, trembling with craven cowardice before the elements and forces of Nature, enslaved in a degrading bondage of physical superstition, fetishism, and polytheism. With one sweep of inspired might the truth enshrined in this chapter has changed all that, wherever it has come. It has cleansed the heaven of those foul gods and monstrous worships, and leaves men on bended knees in the presence of the one true God, their Father in heaven, who made the world for their use, and them for Himself, and whose tender mercies are over all His works. From moral and mental slavery it has emancipated man, for it has taken the physical objects of his fear and worship, and, dashing them down from their usurped pre-eminence, has put them all under his feet, to be his ministers and servants in working out on earth his eternal destiny. These conceptions of God, Man, and Nature have been the regeneration of humanity; the springs of progress in science, invention, and civilization; the charter of the dignity of human life, and the foundation of liberty, virtue, and religion. The man who in view of such a record can ask with anxious concern whether a revelation, carrying in its bosom such a wealth of heavenly truth, does not also have concealed in its shoe a bird's-eye view of geology, must surely be a man blind to all literary likelihood, destitute of any sense of congruity and the general fitness of things, and cannot but seem to us as one that mocks. The chapter's title to be reckoned a revelation rests on no such magical and recondite quality, but is stamped four-square on the face of its essential character and contents. Whence could this absolutely unique conception of God, in His relation to the world and man, have been derived except from God Himself? Whence into a world so dark, and void, and formless, did it emerge fair and radiant? There is no answer but one. God said, "Let there be light; and there was light."

The specific revelation of the first chapter of Genesis must be sought in its moral and spiritual contents. But may there not be, in addition, worked into its material framework, some anticipation of scientific truths that have since come to light? What were the good of it, when the Divine message could be wholly and better expressed by the sole use of popular language, intelligible in every age and by all classes? Is it dignified to depict the spirit of inspiration standing on tiptoe, and straining to speak, across the long millenniums and over the head of the world's childhood, to the wise and learned scientists of the nineteenth century? It is never the manner of Scripture to anticipate natural research, or to forestall human industry. God means men to discover physical truth from the great book of Nature. What truth of

science, what mechanical invention, what beneficent discovery in medicine, agriculture, navigation, or any other art or industry, has ever been gleaned from study of the Bible? Not one. These things lie outside the scope of revelation, and God is the God of order. Moreover, in Scripture itself the framework of the chapter is not counted dogmatic nor uniformly adhered to. In the second chapter of Genesis, in Job, in the Psalms, and in Proverbs there are manifold deviations and variations. The material setting is handled with the freedom applicable to the pictorial dress of a parable, wherein things transcendental are depicted in earthly symbols. In truth, this is essentially the character of the composition. We have seen that the delineation, classification, and arrangement are not scientific and not philosophical, but popular, practical, and religious. It is everywhere manifest that the interest is not in the process of creation, but in the fact of its origination in God. While science lingers on the physical operation, Genesis designedly overleaps it, for the same reason that the Gospels do not deign to suggest the material substratum of Christ's miracles. Creation is a composite process. It begins in the spiritual world and terminates in the material. It is in its first stage supernatural; in its second, natural. It originates in God desiring, decreeing, issuing formative force; it proceeds in matter, moving, cohering, moulding, and shaping. Revelation and science regard it from opposite ends. The one looks at it from its beginning, the other from its termination. The Bible shows us God creating; geology shows us the world being created. Scripture deals solely with the first stage, science solely with the second. Where Scripture stops there science first begins. Contradiction, conflict, collision are impossible. In the words of the Duke of Argyll: "The first chapter of Genesis stands alone among the traditions of mankind in the wonderful simplicity and grandeur of its words. Specially remarkable—miraculous, it really seems to me—is that character of reserve which leaves open to reason all that reason may be able to attain. The meaning of these words seems always to be a meaning ahead of science, not because it anticipates the results of science, but because it is independent of them, and runs, as it were, round the outer margin of all possible discovery."

May we not safely extend this finding to the entire Bible; and on these lines define its relation to modern thought? Its supernatural revelation is purely and absolutely ethical and spiritual. In questions physical and metaphysical it has no concern and utters no voice. With the achievements of science it never competes, nor can it be contradicted by them. It encourages its researches, ennobles its aspirations, crowns and completes its discoveries. Into the dead body of physical truth it puts the living soul of faith in the Divine Author. Like the blue heaven surrounding and spanning over the

green earth, revelation over-arches and encircles science. Within that infinite embrace, beneath that spacious dome, drawing from its azure depths light and life and fructifying warmth, science, unhampered and unhindered, works out its majestic mission of blessing to men and glory to God. Collision there can be none till the earth strike the sky. The message of the Bible is a message from God's heart to ours. It cannot be proved by reason nor can it be disproved. It appeals, not to sight, but to faith, and belongs to the realm of spirit, and not to that of sense. Science may have much to alter in our notions of its earthly embodiment, but its essential contents it cannot touch. That is not theory, but reality. It is not philosophy, but life ; not flesh, but spirit. It is the living, breathing, feeling love of God become articulate. It needs no evidence of sense. In the immutable instincts of the human heart it has its attestation, and in a life of responsive love it finds an unfailing verification. It rests on a basis no sane criticism can undermine nor solid science shake. Happy the man whose faith has found this fixed foundation, and whose heart possesses this adamant certainty : " He shall be likened unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock : And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house ; and it fell not : for it was founded upon a rock."

W. GRAY ELMSLIE.

HORSES FOR THE ARMY.

THE French experiment in mobilization has shown to this and other countries, not only how rapidly a force may be placed in the field if the principles of its organization are right, but, when compared with the mobilization of 1870, how great is the gulf between the efficiency of a good system and the inefficiency of a bad one. It concerns us Englishmen little whether or no some hint had been given beforehand in time for the commander of the 17th Army Corps to polish up his machinery, nor even whether a general mobilization of the whole army would have worked out with equal rapidity and simplicity. All this is important for the French themselves and for their continental neighbours. What concerns us deeply in reference to our own affairs is that, whereas in 1870 a system not unlike our own resulted in confusion and collapse, the organization now in working order brings together at once all the men, horses, and material which go to make an army corps on a war footing, and sends the corps on its movement to the front completely equipped within a week. Let it not be forgotten that the French thought they were ready enough in 1870 to be the first to declare war, and they had even made some previous preparations; yet it was possible for the commandant of the territorial division at Marseilles to telegraph: "Nine thousand reserves here; I do not know what to do with them. In order to give me room, I shall ship them all on board the transports in harbour for Algiers." The chief of the staff informed the War Minister that, according to reports received from the depôts, the reserve men were in readiness; but had no instructions where to join their field battalions. When they did join they were deficient in camp equipment, such as cooking utensils, water-flasks, and *tentes d'abri*. The regimental and corps transport were incomplete; they were deficient in

horses, ambulances, commissariat columns, veterinary surgeons, and many other necessary things. The declaration of war was presented on July 19, and on the 28th the intendant of the First Corps reported that he could not horse the waggons for want both of men and horses. 'The head-quarters staff actually lost knowledge of the whereabouts of the various divisions, and had to telegraph, asking Generals where their troops were. When General Douay sent to ask for his transport, he was told: "There is no train division in Metz, and no camp equipment which can be placed at your disposal. You did well to apply to Paris; renew your request." Paris became perfectly helpless, and the army which was to have invaded Germany could not cross the frontier because tied to the log of a bad system. Nor was it the size of the army which rendered it helpless. The whole force which had to be mobilized at the beginning amounted to about the number of our English volunteers—say 220,000 men; and, as the army had been enlisted on the long-service principle, it might be supposed to be more immediately ready for war than one which could not take the field at all till its reserves were called up. Yet we see what a dismal failure its mobilization was.

Among the wants of that army none were more conspicuous than transport. There were plenty of carriages, though not on the spot where they were required; and France had no lack of horses to supply the moderate needs of an army which, we repeat, was not organized on the modern principle of a small peace effective to be strengthened by reserves for war. Some steps in that direction had been taken, but so lately that their effect had not been manifested, and in no case could they have brought the military organization to what is now known on the Continent as the short-service and reserve system. Yet the army could not invade Germany for want of transport—that is, carriages and horses.

England has almost always suffered from the same dearth of animals and vehicles for her armies. The Duke of Wellington complained of it bitterly. After the battle of Vimiera he wrote that it was impossible to pursue the advantage gained, solely for lack of means of motion. The terrible sufferings of the first winter in the Crimea were chiefly due to the absence of transport, and the cavalry was practically dismounted because the stores sent to Balaclava rotted there from insufficient means of moving them. Even in the late successful Afghan campaign there were times when the force at the front was supplied with the greatest difficulty, the transport being defective. In the Zulu war there were long delays and many difficulties for the same reason; and the Egyptian campaign of 1882 was brought to an end by the bold stroke of Tel-el-Kebir before those animals arrived for which four continents were being ransacked. All these facts are admitted; there is no controversy whatever about them. Com-

mittees have sat, and made recommendations; the Intelligence Department about ten years ago brought the matter before the Government, and proposed a scheme, explaining that it was vain to talk about mobilization unless means of securing horses were provided. Since then we have had abundant lectures and articles written by competent officers on the same subject. The proposals have been many and of various kinds; yet we remain to this day unprovided with any security against a dearth of what may be called the feet and hands of an army. Without horses—under which generic term we may class pack-ponies, mules, and asses, as well as horses proper—there is no mobility, and an army without mobility is like a boat without steam, sails, or oars. Lord Harris announced the other day in the House of Lords that one of the many schemes recommended for securing a supply of horses immediately on the outbreak of war is about to be tried, and all who desire military efficiency, or have even the slightest care for the safety of the country, will heartily wish the new scheme success. Like all measures taken for the military safety of the Empire it is tentative, and, if I may say it without offence, timid; but it is a step in the direction of educating the nation to protect itself against the fate which has overtaken its unready European sisters one after another, and forced them all to undertake almost identical labours, providing in peace for the terrible risks of war. Prussia had her Jena, Austria her Sadowa, Italy her Custozza, France her Sedan—necessary lessons all, before the people could be roused to understand that safety is only to be purchased by sacrifice. May it be our fate to learn the lesson from some text-book less cruel than experience.

There ought to be no difficulty whatever in providing horses for all the troops, regular and auxiliary, in these islands, without crossing the seas to seek them; still less difficulty in finding sufficient for the mobilization of our poor little pair of active army corps, considering that France and Germany can mobilize the whole of their vast field armies in less than a week. Those two Powers have nominally, within home boundaries—France eighteen army corps, Germany eighteen and a half. Actually they have much larger forces, and, if the great war comes, we shall see each of them put in the field nearly a quarter more, to say nothing of garrisons and depôts. But taking the nominal figures, and remembering that their proportion of cavalry and artillery is greater than ours in comparison with the other arms, we may say that either France or Germany would have to mobilize at least ten times as many troops as we should. Have they, then, any great superiority in number of horses? By no means. Speaking roughly, there are in the United Kingdom some three millions of horses. France has rather less, and Germany about a third of a million more. Little Roumania, which can put nominally four army corps in the field, has only about half a million of horses.

Italy, again, which has a really fine army, and has lately been increasing her cavalry and horse artillery, has rather less than a fourth of the number of horses possessed by the United Kingdom. Austria has a superabundance—about three millions and three-quarters; and Russia fully sixteen millions—probably more. But our main point at present is, that the three most civilized nations—France, Germany, England—have nearly the same number of horses, and the number per hundred of population is equal for England and Germany, and even less for France. Yet France mobilized one army corps the other day in its own district, and could have done the same for seventeen others, without counting the nineteenth, which is in Algeria. Not only did she mobilize the corps, but the military authorities found themselves embarrassed by many horses which were brought and not wanted.

These facts show, better than a dozen calculations based on theories of the classes of animals available, that England ought to be able to provide all the horses required for her two army corps and one cavalry division with the greatest ease, and when we hear of Canada and America being searched for our annual remounts in peace, it cannot mean that there is any dearth at home, but only that either the price offered by the Government is not always quite enough to obtain the class of animal required, or that an attempt is being made to procure the horses at an even cheaper rate. Still, it is interesting to know that Canada, the Cape, and Australia have between them nearly as many horses as are in the United Kingdom; while the United States possess more than ten millions. Colonel Ravenhill, R.A., the purchaser of horses for the Royal Artillery, in a paper read by him at the Royal United Service Institution last year, gave as the number of horses which would be required to put two army corps into the field, and allow for their lines of communication, rather more than eighteen thousand in addition to those already in the ranks. These horses would have to be fit for work, and another nine thousand or so would be required to supply the first year's waste. The waste in the Crimea was as much as 80 per cent., but 50 per cent. may be considered a fair average. Colonel Ravenhill said that in 1882 it took seventeen weeks to procure 1,700 horses, which were even then too few; and we see that, at that rate—100 per week—it would take 270 weeks, or more than five years, to obtain the horses required for two army corps at first, and to keep them supplied during one year's campaign. Evidently there is something the matter here. The facts, as stated, seem to declare positively that under no circumstances could we mobilize two army corps at all on our present system, to say nothing of the cavalry division. We may talk as we please about going to war, but our little army seems to be fairly stuck in the mud not to be extricated by any means at present available. What

are we to do? Pray to Hercules? or put our own shoulders to the wheel?

Being in this doleful condition ourselves, and seeing other military cars of state trot gaily by us on the same or at least equally difficult roads, perhaps it may be as well to put our pride in our pocket, and try to see how they manage so easily. We may swear by all the Pantheon not to imitate those foolish continental nations which hold the abominable heresy that every man is bound to put the safety of his country before his own ease and comfort. Still, as a matter of mere curiosity, we may as well see how they manage it. This subject was well treated by Colonel F. S. Russell, of the Royal Dragoons, in 1885, and, as the European changes since have not been important, we may extract some information from his excellent study.

GERMANY.

In studying the German method, and the steps which led to it, we perceive at once the working of a paternal system which would be foreign to all our tastes and habits in England. The system of free trade favours commercial prosperity, and promotes intercourse between nations, as we all—or most of us—believe. But it undoubtedly renders a constant state of preparation for war more difficult. It is curious that economists take this so little into consideration when they wonder that nations like France and Germany will not come into the orthodox fold. In stating the case as it has appeared to Germans, it is not intended to suggest that a similar course would have suited England, or that our methods would suit Germany; but acknowledging, as all soldiers do, our startling unreadiness in the provision of horses, we may surely find some hint for our help in the difficulties experienced by foreign Powers, and the methods by which they have overcome those difficulties.

In the early part of the century Prussia imported most of her remount horses. The habit encouraged foreign breeders and discouraged those at home, so that the country lost one means of producing wealth eminently suited to it, and even agriculture suffered; while in case of war Prussia would be dependent on foreign markets which might be closed against her. The evil existed, and had to be remedied in a country always governed with an iron hand. The paternal remedy was, first, an attempt by the State to act as a horse-breeding firm, and when that method was found to work extravagantly, as it has done everywhere when tried, the second scheme was set on foot. The Government still found it needful to supplement the work of the farmers, who had not commercial energy enough to improve the breed of animals. The second paternal remedy, which prevails to this day, was for the State to produce or buy good sires, which would be used for the service of the farmer's stock. The plan has been a

success so far as improving the breed is concerned. Germans have carried war into foreign countries since then, and become possessed of foreign horses, but none have turned out to be so useful for war purposes as the old stock from Prussia proper.

But while the encouragement given to the farmers caused them to produce good animals in sufficient numbers, as the farmers of England do without Government nursing, another difficulty arose, which is exactly similar to that from which we suffer. A horse is of no real value for military purposes till he is fully five years old. If he is left in the hands of the farmer he will either be worked too early, and perhaps over-fatigued and blemished; or if well looked after, broken, and taught good manners, his price rises to be prohibitory. The third remedy—not paternal this time, but strictly commercial—was to buy the animals for remounts when young, and cheap, training but not straining them, so that at five years old satisfactory cavalry horses were available, and in sufficient quantities. For this purpose there was choice of two methods: the young horse might be sent at once to his regiment and trained there, or he might be kept in separate dépôts till he was old enough for the service. The former plan had the advantage of giving the soldiers practice in the art of training and breaking, and it might also be supposed that the regiments would take especial care of the young horses which were to be theirs eventually. But no cavalry regiment could take its immature animals into the field, and, as cavalry is the first arm to be employed, a practical soldier nation could not allow its squadrons to be unready. The latter plan was therefore adopted, and the young, immature, untrained horses remain at remount dépôts till they are fit to be drafted into the service. As the cavalry regiments of Germany are always kept up to about war strength, they have only to drop their sick animals and pick up a few from the dépôts, or buy them, and they are fit to march and fight in a few hours. Germany now furnishes all the horses required for military purposes, and has done so since 1828. Her administrators never spend a mark when it can safely be saved, and we may be sure that the remount dépôt system is found as economical as it certainly is conducive to efficiency.

Each of the remount dépôts is a sort of stud farm, into which the young horses are received at about three to three and a half years old, and where they remain one or two years, according to their individual development. As a rule, the best bred horses develop more quickly than coarser animals. Hence, the light cavalry often receives its remounts at four and a half years old, while the heavy cavalry and artillery do not take them at less than the age of five years. Meanwhile the average ration of forage is rather small, but many of the animals run loose in paddocks, like horses turned out to grass in England, having either sheds, or more frequently their own stables, to run into at will. The farms grow not only the grass, but even the

corn for forage, and are managed by a civilian "administrator," who is a good practical farmer, and has bailiffs under him. The charge of the horses is taken by military veterinary surgeons, with stud grooms under them, who are old non-commissioned officers of cavalry wearing uniform, and thus deriving from the State that employment the want of which is such a misfortune in England. Taking all expenses, direct and collateral, into consideration, the average annual cost of a horse during his stay at a remount dépôt is about £12 10s., but it is hardly necessary to say that nothing like that sum would suffice in England. We cannot compare German and English expenditure without allowing for the different scale of living in the two countries.

One word as to the original purchase of the horses. The remount officials form a distinct department of the Ministry of War, and are under the command of a cavalry officer, whose title is "Inspector-General of Remounts." The country is divided into six zones, each allotted to a Commission with a permanent president, who is a member of the mounted branches of the army, and may be of any rank from captain up to colonel. When not engaged in horse-buying he is at the War Office. The members of the Commission, two lieutenants and a veterinary surgeon, are only appointed just before the time for buying, and are selected from the regiments quartered in the districts within the zone allotted to their Commission. They begin their labours in the month of May, and finish about the end of September, advertising beforehand the dates of their coming appearance at fairs, to which they are accompanied by men drawn from neighbouring cavalry regiments. These men take possession of the animals purchased, after numbering and telling them off to the branch of the service to which they are best suited. In 1882 the prices ranged from £15 to £65, the average being about £35—a very considerable figure for three-year-olds in Germany. But in this, as in all such questions, the German military idea is, that the most economical plan in the end is to have a thoroughly good article. In all their doings they put efficiency first, and then economize as they best can. The average price for the cavalry schools was as high as £55, and that of remounts for the artillery about £46—a much higher price than would be given for draught horses of the same age in this country. In 1882 the Commissioners examined 17,508 horses, and accepted 7,902, of which about 850 were afterwards rejected for bad sight and various other reasons, one being the prohibitory price demanded by some owners. Thus we see not only that the ordinary requirements of peace are met without any horse conscription, but that in one of the cheapest of countries higher prices are given by the Government than are allowed in England. May not this simple fact have something to do with our English difficulties, especially as the prices paid by us

include a profit made by the horse-dealing agent, through whom purchases are made as a rule.

We have now seen what are the main features of the German remount system in time of peace, which puts the country in a position to turn out its cavalry and horse artillery within a day or two of the order for mobilization.

1st. Government encouragement of horse-breeding throughout the country, by distributing good sires, by giving prizes to the owners of the best private stallions, by loans to private companies and associations which will buy and develop good breeding stock (but this assistance is very rare), by prizes at race meetings, and by some trifling help to parishes in the maintenance of good pasture-lands.

2nd. The purchase of remounts annually from May till September by Commissions of officers specially selected. The age of the animals is from three to three and a half, and the prices such as to be worth competing for.

3rd. The retention and cultivation of these young horses at remount depôts till they are fit to be sent to their regiments.

There is much more that is interesting in the German system, especially in the way that economy comes in after efficiency. For instance, it is calculated that a proportion of remounts (10 per cent. of the strength) will keep the mounted troops in thorough efficiency, and that 10 per cent. is provided. The regiments, however, are never allowed to be a single horse short, and as casualties may occur through the year, horses permanently disabled for the service are sold, and their places filled by purchase of seasoned animals from a regimental fund. So far does the stern principle of constant efficiency go. Then comes in economy. Ten per cent. of the horses have to be turned out annually to make way for remounts; but what horse soldier does not know the bitterness of parting with cherished animals because they are a trifle too old or have some slight defect compared with their companions? Well, a German cavalry regiment does not part with such horses, but retains them in excess of the establishment, and feeds them partly by economies made on the forage allowed for the others—none being allowed for these—and partly by lending them to the one-year volunteers, who are bound to forage them. Then each squadron or battery is allowed to keep, as best it can, a certain preparation of so-called *Krümpferpferde*: five for a squadron, four for a battery of horse artillery, and three for a field battery. They cost the Government nothing, and are very useful for all those odds and ends of service so well known by mounted corps, such as drawing carts with baggage, provisions, and ammunition, or even as spare riding horses. Even a company has the use of five such animals—not quite up to the mark for mounted service, yet good useful animals. Besides this, the best of the cast horses are handed

over to the police, instead of being sold for a song, as they are by economical (?) England. We see, then, that every mounted unit is not only kept up to its full establishment, but even above it. The Government pays nothing for the keep of the horses in excess, saves its better ones from rough tasks, yet presents a boom which gratifies all. This is one of the curious demonstrations of German combined efficiency and economy which abound through the service. A proposal to establish any such convenient arrangement in the English army would send our civil masters into fits, and produce in the House of Commons a crop of stinging questions; while the papers would teem with references to the "horse scandal." With us the system may be said to be, that never, except by accident, are the mounted corps up to their peace strength; they have always ineffective horses, and are never by any chance ready for war in a day or two, as all the German units are. Yet, it seems, this is no scandal at all.

For the mass of horses required on mobilization, some 250,000 or more, the principle of conscription comes in for the first time. All the animals in the country having been previously registered in peace, there is no difficulty whatever. Partly by voluntary action, partly by pressure, all those which are likely to be of use are brought in and purchased at prices assessed by mixed committees, including civil and military members. But this is for great wars, when the whole machinery of the country is thrown out of gear, and trade is paralysed by the removal of the traders to the ranks of the army. If Germany had to undertake small expeditions like ours, she would not need the steam hammer of a general mobilization. The chances are that she would go into the market and bid such prices as would insure her getting exactly what she wanted. That would be her military view of economy. Of one thing we may be sure: she would not risk a delay of many days of frightful expense and danger in the middle of a campaign for want of courage to spend a few extra thousands at the commencement. She would not require seventeen weeks to purchase 1,700 horses.

FRANCE.

In France, also, breeding studs were tried, and had to be abandoned; but, like Germany, she has Government sires distributed throughout the country, and made use of by the people at an almost nominal rate. By the way, all horse-buyers know that the sources of the best English fairs are swept of the most suitable horses for military purposes by France and other Powers before our Government prices begin to be looked at. The remount dépôt system of Germany is almost reproduced in France, the country being divided into circumscriptions: four for France—namely, Normandy, the West, the South, and the East—and these again into seventeen districts of remount.

depôts; three for Algeria, which has one remount dépôt in each province. Each circumscription has its Commissioner, who also superintends the management of the stallions. The remount horses are purchased at four years old, and kept till they are five and even six. On the whole, the French breeds are coarser than the Prussian, and probably require longer to develop. From sixty to seventy thousand horses are kept up in peace for the cavalry alone; and the artillery, besides its peace establishment, has a large number of horses actually belonging to it, but lent to farmers. An annual census is taken of all horses not less than six years old, and of mules not under four years. The General in command of the district appoints commissioners to classify them and detail their places; and on the order for mobilization the owners are bound to produce them, well shod and furnished with a halter. The price for the year is fixed in the annual Budget, an increase of 25 per cent. being added for good riding and artillery horses. In France, as in Germany, the cavalry is kept nearly on a war footing, and no one has ever devised any other means of being ready with trained horses at the beginning of a campaign. During the late mobilization the cavalry was ready to start almost immediately, the artillery on the third day, but without having had time to arrange the teams and try them before starting.

AUSTRIA.

Austria has long kept up Government studs, which are not for the purpose of competing with the trade for supply, but for influencing the breed and producing sires, which are sent to country depôts to serve there. Like other European nations, Austria and horse-loving Hungary have imported a great deal of English stock at various times. The number and quality of the animals possessed by the dual monarchy would make the English system workable there, if anywhere, and for a long time the habit was to buy mature horses in the open market. But even Austria discovered how difficult it was to get seasoned horses fit for military work except at prohibitive prices; and here also remount depôts have been established, with the usual apparatus of Commissions for purchase. Colonels of cavalry may buy for their own requirements if they happen to come across suitable animals, but are not authorized to attend fairs. The remounts are bought for the depôts at three years old, and trained till they are five. This new system is gradually superseding the old, but up to this time I believe Austria has been in a state of transition in her remount arrangements. The price to be given for young horses is £22 10s. Nowhere are cavalry horses trained so practically as in Austria, for they can all gallop over ground of extraordinary roughness, cross country with ease, jump well, and swim rivers. I have myself watched the process of training, and the whole secret

consists in making the horses go through everything first by themselves, merely encouraged by a man; then with a saddle, then with a rider without bridle, so that he cannot check their mouths; and lastly with good riders, till their confidence is quite established. For the supply of horses in war the country is divided into levying districts, where an annual census is taken and forwarded to the central Government, which determines the number of horses to be furnished by each district in case of mobilization. When the order comes, a Commission sits, consisting of the prefect or his deputy, an officer of the army, and a veterinary surgeon. So far as is possible, they work by voluntary sale and purchase, but fall back on the right of the Government to take, having a sworn valuer to assess the fair price.

The Honved cavalry has a system of its own, which is one of the many schemes which have been proposed for the English army. In the first instance, they buy the full number of horses required, but, as they only keep up 30 horses per squadron in peace time, there remains a large number in excess. These are lent to farmers, who use them, but also keep them. They are at the disposal of the Government at any moment. After a certain number of years they remain the property of the farmer. In the autumn of 1879, about 350 Hungarian horses were bought for our cavalry, but were considered rather undersized, though found to be hardy, docile, and better able to keep their condition in a South African campaign than English horses. I myself have ridden a Hungarian horse during the campaign in Bulgaria of 1877, under circumstances of more than ordinary privation for man and beast. Never had I a more charming mount, till one day he dropped beneath me from fatigue, and perhaps sunstroke. As the Russians were going rapidly into action, and Bashi-Bazouks swarmed around, I was obliged to abandon him, and jump on an artillery waggon; nor could I ever find out what became of him. It would be impossible to find a horse with better temper or better paces than he had; but he certainly was not up to twenty stone, the weight which our heavy cavalry ride. There would be much to say in favour of Hungarian horses, but that no officer who has gone into the question can contemplate with equanimity the idea of giving up the English market, and going to one which is very likely to be strained to its full bearing powers just when we want horses most.

RUSSIA.

The condition of Russia as regards horses is so different from that of the rest of Europe that we need hardly trouble ourselves about it. There, too, the Government has tried to improve the breed, and has succeeded in some cases, failed in others. During the mobilization

of 1877 about 70,000 horses were required, and of these nearly 60,000 were obtained by voluntary sale. Nobody knows how many horses Russia can dispose of. Some authorities give sixteen, others twenty millions. Yet even Russia has established remount depôts.

ITALY.

Italy is not a country celebrated for its horses, though it once was, but it certainly deserves to be celebrated for the wisdom which has so soon made a nation out of a number of separate and often jealous States, and for the practical economy which has at the same time gradually regulated the finances and created both a good army and a superb fleet. In view of the success which has attended her efforts in all other directions, we may fairly suppose that she did not blunder in her measures for providing horses for the army. Calculations made early in her career as a nation showed that out of 600 horses born, only 100 were fit for any military service at the age of five years; nor were these efficient long. Many purchases had to be made abroad, and at no price could Italy *fare da se* in the matter of horses for the army. Her measures were precisely the same as those already described. On the systems of other continental nations, the Government bought stallions, for the use of country people at a nominal rate; and remount depôts were established for the bringing up and training of horses purchased at three years old. Prizes are given for good animals and to encourage racing; but the development of the race of horses is not to be achieved in a short time, and the system of registry prevails; but we have yet to see what effect it will produce on mobilization.

ENGLAND.

The system of England has never been brought to a condition approaching at all the possibility of obtaining the horses required for mobilizing two army corps. We shall see directly what our best authorities think of it from the point of view of military efficiency. Without noticing small experiments in different directions, the principle has been simply this: to disregard mobilization altogether, to buy, through commanding officers and their agents, the dealers—and in the case of the Artillery by means of an officer specially appointed—whatever animals could be got at a certain cast-iron price, throw them untrained on the hands of the troops, and have no reserve nor any means of making sure of supplies in case of war. As, unlike the nations whose systems we have sketched, we do not keep our cavalry at all near war strength in peace, and as even the strength which exists includes a number of immature horses, it follows that regiments of cavalry and batteries of artillery must, on mobilization, fall back on other regiments and batteries; so that for every unit sent to the

front another must lose every atom of efficiency. In other words, given the possession of so many nominal regiments and batteries, we may practically halve them to get the number which can be put in the field in the early stages of a war. If this be true—and there is certainly no intentional exaggeration—if it be also true, as Mr. Stanhope has assured us, that we have exactly field artillery enough for two army corps, it follows as an absolute certainty that, be our paper organization what it may, we cannot put more than one army corps in the field unless we change our system and arrange some means of obtaining horses.

When we say horses we all mean animals suited by nature and training for the peculiar military work which they will have to do. It does not follow that because there are something like three millions of horses in the United Kingdom, that number, or an approach to it, is available for use in the field. Colonel Ravenhill, who is an expert, calculates that the number of those really suitable for military work must be not greater than 70,000, and among these must be reckoned all the good carriage-horses and hunters, which would be uncommonly expensive. Another rather startling fact meets us here: we are not breeding all these horses ourselves. This is not a question of political economy, and I pray all educated readers to remove their thoughts from questions of the commercial profit and loss of our international horse-dealing. It may be an admirable thing for the balance of trade, that whereas fifty years ago there was no practical difference between exports and imports of horses, our imports for the ten years ending in 1885 were about 126,000 more than our exports, not including Ireland, and even Ireland has begun to follow the same road. The green island of pastures, where the breed of horses seems to tend towards improvement and refinement of its own accord, and which produces the best hunters in the world, has itself begun to import horses, though it is true that it exports also, and to a much greater extent. General Sir Frederick Fitz-Wigram, who was Inspector-General of Cavalry, said last year that the researches he had made when a member of Lord Rosebery's Committee seemed to prove that we might make an impression on the trade by offering higher prices, and that a few more horses could be procured in that way—for instance, from the General Omnibus Company, which had 8,000 horses, and could spare 2 per cent., or a total of 160; but in a short time the bottom of these reservoirs would be reached, and then no price at all in reason would procure the much-needed quadrupeds. What does this mean but that the natural operation of supply and demand acts so as to leave a very small margin indeed for sudden requirements? It will not do for political economy to reply that an increased demand would bring an increased supply. Doubtless it would in ordinary cases and supposing time to

be given ; but the horses would be wanted in a hurry, and at the time when they were wanted all the nations would be forbidding their export. In short, when war comes on a large scale, all the laws are silent, and poor political economy finds itself bottom upwards. Forgive the apparent irreverence, but when one has been in different countries during war it is impossible to forget the comical tumbling in of all trade edifices, and the uneasiness of professors and merchants when the cannon proclaims *inter arma silent leges* ! One of the most interesting facts in that all-interesting narrative of Zebchr Pasha's life which the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW has been publishing, is, that he had actually to teach people how to make a market, their minds not having yet grasped the idea of trade. Commerce is fairer than her sister War, but she is certainly younger. All this means that, if we can hardly get horses in peace by our commercial system, we shall certainly not get them in war, out of this country.

And what is to be gained by going to America and Canada in peace ? What, indeed, is not to be lost ? True, from the economist's point of view, we may possibly get horses a little cheaper ; and is it not almost a Divine ordinance—a sort of eleventh commandment—that man shall buy in the cheapest market ? But again, the economists fail for war purposes. By their own laws—for which in their proper place I have as much faith and reverence as anybody—the relaxing demands of Government at home will check the supply ; the margin which can now be counted on will disappear from want of call for it, and our last state will be worse than our first. Go abroad, if you will, for cotton, and even for broad. We can cease spinning at a pinch, or tighten our belts till the markets adjust themselves to new conditions ; but horses will be wanted on the spot, instantly, and if you have killed your home trade by going abroad for them, how are you to get them on commercial principles ? There is the palliative for peace arrangements—namely, the remount depôts, which every continental Government has established ; but their establishment would lay bare the pretence that we have horses enough in peace, for the untrained animals that now figure on the lists would be taken away from the regiments, which would look like plucked chickens for want of them, and increase the ocular demonstration that the cavalry and artillery are starved for horses. Efficiency cries, “ So much the better.” The thing that now calls itself Economy replies that such stripping would be positively indecent, and cannot be allowed. Nevertheless, we shall come to it soon for peace purposes.

Still returns the crucial question of mobilization. The Government has just answered, through Lord Harris, that we will manage it, after all, on commercial principles. We all hope that they will succeed. Their plan is to have a system of registry, paying for it by allowing a small sum for each horse registered in peace and promised

for war, and we are reminded that the voluntary principle has given us a fine and famous citizen army. These horses will not be trained for military service; which is a disadvantage; but we may pass by that, provided only we get them. Now, Colonel Ravenhill tells us—and he ought to know—that we should require about 18,000 horses at once to mobilize two army corps, and 9,000 more to supply casualties during the first year—that would be 27,000 horses; and he says nothing about the cavalry division which is promised. Shall we say roughly for all, 30,000 horses during the first year, of which 20,000 would be wanted at once? The question then arises, How much will have to be paid for the registration of each horse? At what value will men put the chance of disarrangement of their business or their contracts? One would be cheerier on this point but for the fact that employers of labour make a difficulty about engaging men of the Army Reserve whose chances of being called out are just about the same as that of the horses, while their places in industries could be much more easily supplied. No doubt there is some amount which would bribe men on commercial principles to be of some small use to their country when she comes to be in difficulties, but the danger is, that the Government may find that amount too great, and, with the fear of the economists before their eyes, hesitate to ask for the sum required. For it is quite clear that the measure will be one putting efficiency in the first place, as those terrible Germans do.

There is just one suggestion which I would venture to make—without much fear and trembling. We want some class of men to set the example, and that class should be the one which claims leadership in society, leadership in council, leadership in war; that is to say, the class which possesses wealth and property, especially landed property, and which owns so large a proportion of those 70,000 horses which Colonel Ravenhill tells us would be the stock to come and go upon. It is a moment for our landowners, our wealthy merchants, whose carriages crowd the Row in the season so that there is an almost innumerable mass of the finest horses in the world; it is a moment for these to come forward, and, acknowledging that they would be hard hit by failure in war, to assume the duties and responsibilities of their position, as they claim its rights, and offer to register a fair proportion of their horses—at least those used for luxury. It is often said that the Englishman holds his liberty too dear ever to submit to anything that has the air of conscription. But this is not conscription any more than the Volunteers are conscripts; and one cannot help wondering what there is that the Englishman will not do when the example is set in high quarters. Of course the rich would not ask for the paltry fee which the Government would give, and equally of course the struggling farmer would be only too glad to get it. But the point is, to set an example, to create a fashion. .

Will not the educated and the well-to-do try for once to raise the idea of service to their country out of the rut in which commercial principles leave us imbedded? or will they continue to lift their hands in helpless laziness, and only pray to Hercules?

The position has been stated, and may be repeated. To mobilize two army corps and a cavalry division, and keep them in the field for a year under the ordinary conditions of war, would require something like 30,000 horses, if Colonel Ravenhill is not strangely mistaken. The experts say that they do not believe this, nor anything like it, to be possible, and the latest test—that of the popular Egyptian campaign of 1882—showed that the rate of buying was only at about 100 per week, even before the supposed margin might be said to be exhausted. The logical inference is that, in the present circumstances and under commercial principles, this enormously wealthy nation of ours is absolutely incapable of putting a force into the field, or at least of moving it when there. Well, then, it is time to see whether we have any other principles in us by which we can get nervous power enough to hoist ourselves and our empire out of this astonishing rut. Who will take the lead?

C. B. BRACKENBURY.

SCHOOLS OF COMMERCE.

A REPORT,* dealing very fully with the subject of Commercial Education, was presented to the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce held in September last at Exeter. The Report was prepared at the request of the late Mr. Samuel Morley, who, it is well known, evinced during his lifetime a very deep interest in all matters connected with the industrial education of the people. It contains a thoughtful digest of the methods of instruction adopted in the principal types of commercial schools found in Europe and in the United States. No part of the Report is more interesting than that devoted to a description of the German system of commercial education. It has been written, we are told, by Mr. H. M. Felkin, of Chemnitz, who, in a little book entitled "Education in a Saxon Town," published in 1881 by the City and Guilds of London Institute, was one of the first to sound the note of warning as regards our deficiencies in the matter of technical instruction. The Report concludes with some valuable suggestions for the improvement of our own educational system, or want of system; and, although the writers here deal with matters on which unanimity of opinion cannot be expected, most persons who have carefully considered the subject will agree that some such changes as those recommended would help to place us more nearly than we are at present on a level with our continental neighbours in facilities for obtaining a suitable training for mercantile pursuits.

Shortly before the publication of this Report, I read a paper on the same subject to the Manchester meeting of the British Association, in which I gave the results of some independent inquiries I had made during a too brief visit to the Continent in the spring of

* "Report on Commercial Education." London: Isbister & Co.

the present year. My object in instituting these inquiries was to ascertain the present condition of commercial education in the principal countries of Europe, and to supplement and verify, where necessary, the information I had gathered on this subject when, as a member of the Commission on Technical Instruction, I inspected for the first time several of the chief continental schools of commerce. The conclusions at which I arrived confirm those of the writers of the Report, that, in the matter of commercial education, we are far behind other nations of Europe, and that to the well-organized schools, which are found particularly in Germany, is due the success with which her merchants and mercantile agents "are winning for her so large a share of the world's commerce."* An intimate acquaintance with these foreign schools undoubtedly proves, what the Report tells us, that "it is in the *school* that England must prepare to meet her great European rival, and train the forces that will efficiently equip her commercial offices at home and provide a capable body of commercial travellers to push her merchandise abroad."†

The questions of technical and commercial education are so closely associated that it is difficult to consider them except in connection with each other. Speaking generally, technical education may be said to have reference to the work of *production*, and commercial education to that of *distribution*; but as the character of the goods produced by the manufacturer must depend to a great extent upon the tastes and requirements of the consumer, which should be ascertained by those engaged in the work of distribution, commercial success may be regarded as a function of two factors, one of which has reference to the skill displayed in the processes of manufacture, and the other to the activity and economy shown in bringing the products of industry into the hands of the consumer.

Hitherto, owing to the necessity of previously considering the question of technical education, the closely allied question of commercial education has remained somewhat in the background. The progress that has been made during the last few years in providing the necessary instruction for persons of all classes engaged in *productive* industry is, on the whole, satisfactory. Our University Colleges, under the influence of the demand for technical teaching, have become technical schools with a literary side. The Charity Commissioners have framed schemes for the curriculum of endowed schools, in which science instruction and manual training occupy part of the time formerly devoted to the study of classics. Some of our School Boards have, as far as the iron regulations of the Code permit them, introduced the teaching of drawing, science, and handicrafts into the schools under their control. The Science and Art Department has made its examinations in science somewhat more practical, and

*—"Report on Commercial Education," p. 7.

† *Ibid.*, p. 5.

has given more prominence to design in the teaching of art. And to the City Guilds is due the credit of having established at Finsbury the first distinctly Technical College, and at Kensington a Central Institution for the training of manufacturers, engineers, and teachers; of having organized, in the principal trade centres throughout the kingdom, a large number of technical, as distinguished from ordinary science, classes; and of having thereby given a powerful impetus to the creation of technical schools.

This record of progress, which has prepared the way for the introduction into Parliament of a comprehensive and efficient Technical Instruction Bill, may be regarded as satisfactory, and the time has now come when attention must be prominently called to our deficiencies in the matter of commercial, as distinguished from technical, education. If evidence is needed of the want of knowledge amongst our commercial classes of those subjects about which they ought to be informed, it will be found in the Report of the Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry, as well as in the valuable consular reports which are now periodically published in this country. From these documents it appears that it is mainly owing to German competition that our foreign trade is shrinking; and it is in Germany that the most abundant provision has been made for the fitting educational equipment of young persons who are engaged in mercantile pursuits. The Commissioners tell us that the increasing severity of this competition, both in our home and neutral markets, is especially noticeable in the case of Germany, and that in every quarter of the world the perseverance and enterprise of the Germans are making themselves felt. "In the actual production of commodities we have now few, if any, advantages over them; and in a knowledge of the markets of the world, a desire to accommodate themselves to local tastes or idiosyncrasies, a determination to obtain a footing wherever they can, and a tenacity in maintaining it, they appear to be gaining ground upon us." *

This advance of German trade does not appear to be due to any falling off in the efficiency of the British workman, but solely to the superior fitness of the Germans, due unquestionably to the more systematic training they receive, for mercantile pursuits. The Commissioners tell us that, whilst, "in respect of certain classes of products, the reputation of our workmanship does not stand as high as it formerly did," † those who have had personal experience of the comparative efficiency of labour carried on under the conditions which prevail in this country and in foreign countries appear to incline to the view "that the English workman, notwithstanding his shorter hours and his higher wages, is to be preferred." ‡ They further state: "In the matter of education, we seem to be particularly

* "Commissioners' Report," p 20 (75). † *Ibid.* (77). ‡ *Ibid.* (80).

deficient as compared with some of our foreign competitors, and this remark applies, not only to what is usually called technical education, but to the ordinary commercial education which is required in mercantile houses, and especially the knowledge of foreign languages."*

The recommendation† of the Commissioners, that Her Majesty's diplomatic and consular officers abroad should be instructed to report any information which appears to them of interest as soon as they obtain it, and that it should be as promptly published at home when received, has resulted in the publication of a series of reports which, from all parts of the world, fully bear out the conclusions at which the Commissioners have arrived with regard to the deficiencies of our commercial education, to the activity displayed by foreigners in the search for new markets, and to the readiness of manufacturers abroad to accommodate their products to local tastes and peculiarities.

In the review which appeared in the *Times* of August 10, of more than one hundred consular reports which had been published within the previous three months, attention is repeatedly called to the importance to this country of possessing an army of commercially trained agents, who shall be able to discover foreign markets, to inform English manufacturers as regards the requirements of these markets, and to push the sale of home-made goods.

The consul at Malaga, writing on the necessity of pushing our trade in Spain, says :—

"Unless our manufacturers are prepared to make some sacrifice in this direction by the employment of commercial travellers acquainted with the language of the country, and qualified to study the requirements of their customers, they can, it is feared, hardly regain the ground that has been lost in this country. There are at Malaga a number of young German clerks, who, on their return home, will be well prepared for employment in German firms having business with this country."‡

According to the consul at Trebizonde—

"British trade would no doubt greatly develop by commercial travellers visiting the country with samples, studying the requirements of the people, and meeting local tastes in the nature, quality, and value of the goods most in demand."§

Another consul tells us that—

"The vast majority of British merchants have yet to learn the lesson, so well understood by their foreign competitors, that all the advertising pamphlets, journals, circulars, and letters of inquiry with which the consuls are inundated will never enable them to compete with the intelligent economical French and German commercial travellers, who are thoroughly acquainted with the language, manners, customs, and wants of the people in the highways and byways of the country, among whom they spread like a swarm of bees in unwearying collection of the honey, which will never stick to the British traders' illustrated reams of paper and ink."

* "Commissioners' Report" (97).

‡ "Annual Series" (125).

† *Ibid.* (100).

§ *Ibid.* (135).

In a report of a visit to Kharkoff, Consul-General Perry says that, owing to the absence of travellers, British goods are at a discount, and the Germans have it all their own way. "The landlord of the grand Hôtel de l'Europe informed me that, during the last fair, thirty German travellers were staying at his hotel against one Englishman, and that more Germans were at other hotels and lodgings-houses." * Last year, the consul at Santos, in Brazil, reported the complete transfer of the earthenware and glassware trade of the province from British to German hands. This year he is forced to add cutlery and steel ware. His remedies are active commercial travellers and the establishment of commercial museums. His report contains much detailed practical counsel respecting the best methods of meeting the increasing German competition.

These statements, which might be considerably multiplied, show the extent to which our trade with foreign countries is falling off in consequence of the want of commercial knowledge and activity among our mercantile classes. At home, the pinch of competition is equally felt, and is due partly to the same cause. The answers to a circular recently addressed by the London Chamber of Commerce to the leading City firms have shown the extent to which foreign clerks are employed by commercial firms in London, and also, what is less flattering to us, the reason of the preference shown for them. It appears that 35 per cent. of the firms replying to the circular employ foreign clerks, and that less than 1 per cent. of English clerks are able to correspond in any foreign language. From several of the answers received, it also appears that preference is given to foreigners on account of their generally superior education, and of their special qualifications for commercial work. According to many of the witnesses "the foreigner is, at present, the better 'all round' man; better equipped both with the special technical knowledge of his particular industry, and with the wider culture which enables him to adapt his knowledge and his training to the varying demands of modern commerce." Now, not only is the recognition of this fact somewhat humiliating to us as a nation, but the fact itself serves to explain some of the causes of the success of foreign competition of which we complain. In the first place, every foreigner employed in an English firm displaces an Englishman, who might, and would be, so employed if only he were properly educated. Moreover, many of these foreign clerks, after having learnt what they can as regards our manufactures, our markets, and modes of conducting business, return to their native land to utilize that knowledge as our competitors and rivals; and even of those who remain here, and establish new firms, a large number, naturally, show a preference for foreign manufacturers with

whom they stand in relation, and from whom they obtain goods for the supply of the markets in which they deal.

Having regard to the importance of these facts, it is well that we should acquaint ourselves with the systems of commercial education that exist in foreign countries, with a view of ascertaining in what respects the training there afforded is better adapted to qualify young men for commercial pursuits than that provided in our own schools.

In nearly all the countries of Europe there exists a system of intermediate and secondary education, which has been organized with reference to the careers which the children are likely subsequently to follow; and there exist, also, numerous special schools, or departments of schools, which are intended to provide a distinctly professional training. In fact, two important principles seem to regulate the systems of education now adopted in most continental countries: First, that general education should have some reference to the activities of life, and should be supplemented by professional instruction; secondly, that professional studies, if properly pursued, may be made to yield the intellectual discipline necessary for mental culture, and may form the basis of a broad and liberal education.

The system of intermediate education in France has been fully described; and is highly recommended by the Commissioners in their Report on Technical Instruction. In the whole system of French instruction, they say, they "have found nothing, except as regards art teaching, so worthy of attention as these higher elementary schools." * These schools, many of which, coming under the provisions of the Public Elementary Education Act, are free, have a technical and commercial department; and in the commercial section the subjects of study include modern languages—English or German, and often both—history, geography, law, political economy, mathematics, practical science, bookkeeping, office practice, and, in some cases, manual training. Examples of such schools are found in Bordeaux, Havre, Amiens, Marseilles, Rheims, Rouen, Lyons, and other large towns. The *Ecole Martinière* of Lyons is one of the oldest and one of the most interesting of these schools. It is presided over by a council of members, who are nominated by the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, on the recommendation of the municipality. The children are admitted to the school between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, and the education is gratuitous. From 60 to 75 per cent. of the boys go into commercial houses, and about 25 per cent. take up industrial pursuits. The *Ecole Professionnelle* of Rheims is a more modern school of the same kind, having a commercial department, with a course of instruction specially adapted to the wants of those children who are likely to be engaged as clerks in merchants' houses,

* Vol. i. p. 84.

as commercial agents, or travellers. At Vierzon, a school is now being erected, which, when completed, will be equipped with all the newest appliances for improved technical and commercial instruction.

Of French schools specially devoted to commercial training, and having no technical department, the most important are in Paris. The Paris schools are of two grades—middle and higher schools. There are two middle schools—the *Ecole Commerciale*, in the Avenue Trouontaine, founded by the Chamber of Commerce in 1863, and the *Institut Commercial*, in the Chaussée d'Antin, founded by a number of merchants, as a public company, with a capital of £8000, in 1884. These schools differ somewhat in their methods of instruction, but their general object is to take lads who have received a primary education, and to train them in those subjects which will be useful to them in a mercantile career. Modern languages, commercial law and geography, mathematics, bookkeeping, and shorthand are the chief subjects of instruction. In the *Institut*, more attention is given to the practical details of office work with special reference to foreign trade. "Different trade operations are illustrated from the books of extinct firms; and the mathematical teacher has ready to his hand coins, weights, and measures of all nations." * The school contains an extensive museum, created by gifts of samples from a large number of firms, which is used to illustrate the lessons on the raw materials and finished products of commerce.

Besides these schools, which are for the training of boys from thirteen to sixteen years of age, there are in Paris two higher schools, or colleges, which are intended to give a distinctly professional education to young men who have received an ordinary school training in one of the *lycées* of France, as well as to continue the education of a few of those who have passed through one of the middle schools. These higher schools are known as the *Ecole Supérieure de Commerce*, and the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales*. The main object of these institutions, but especially of the latter, is to attract to the pursuits of commerce some of the better-educated youths, belonging to families of good social position, who are too generally disposed to enter the overstocked ranks of the so-called learned professions, and to give them a thorough training in the principles and practice of mercantile and banking business. "In France," says M. Gustav Roy, "commerce has too long been regarded as a second-rate calling; it is time to disprove this idea, and to show that the professions of merchant and banker demand as much intelligence as any other." †

The view of the founders of the school was that the study of commercial, equally as of other, subjects may be made the basis of a liberal education. What the *Ecole Centrale* does for engineering and manufacturing industry, the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales* is.

* "Report," p. 33.

† "Ecoles de Commerce," Léauté, p. 190.

intended to do for mercantile pursuits. This school is situated in a fashionable quarter of Paris, in the Boulevard Malesherbes. The site on which it stands cost over £20,000, and is now worth considerably more. The building contains spacious apartments for administrative purposes, two lecture theatres, twelve class-rooms, or *comptoirs*, ten examination rooms; a mercantile museum, a chemical laboratory, and a good commercial library. It consists of a boarding establishment, as well as of a day school. The school was opened in the year 1881, and the number of students has since then increased from 50 to 128. The fees are high: £40 a year for day students, and £112 for boarders; but, in order to enable poor students to enter the school, several exhibitions have been provided by the Government, by the Chamber of Commerce, by the Municipal Council of Paris, by the Bank of France, and by a large number of public companies, and by private individuals, amongst whom M. Gustave Roy, late President of the Chamber of Commerce, to whose initiative the school owes much of its success, should be specially mentioned. These facts indicate the estimation in which the education afforded in this school is held by different public bodies, as well as by merchants and bankers in Paris.

As regards the curriculum, I will here only mention that ten hours a week are given to the study of foreign languages, in addition to the time devoted to foreign correspondence, and that English or German, and either Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese, are obligatory. To some of the more important subjects of special instruction reference will be made later on; but the purpose of the ten examination rooms requires some explanation. In this school, as in all the higher schools of France, the periodic examination of the students forms an essential part of the instruction. The *salles d'examen* serve a very different purpose from the examination room of an English college or university, in which the student is employed for three hours in writing answers to printed questions. In France, examinations, like laboratory practice or exercises, form part of the machinery of instruction. The *salles d'examen* are small compartments, each of which is just capable of accommodating the examiner and two students. The furniture consists of a blackboard, a desk, and two chairs. About once in three weeks, each student is separately examined on every subject in which he receives instruction. The examinations take place daily from 4.30 to 6, and every student is expected to attend two or three times a week to answer, orally and in writing, questions on his work, and to submit for inspection and correction his notes of lectures, drawings, accounts, exercises, &c. At the end of each course there are also general examinations, which correspond more nearly with our own, but differ in this respect, that each student draws by lot the questions he is to answer from a large number of questions previously

prepared by the examiners. The system of marking, on the result of these examinations, is very complicated.

Schools of commerce in France are not yet placed on the same footing as other high schools, in affording exemption to the students from military service. This is a boon much sought after. At the International Conference on Industrial Education held last year at Bordeaux, one of the resolutions agreed to was, that the Minister of War be asked to assimilate the leaving certificates of schools of commerce to those of other schools, in so far as they confer the rights of the voluntary service.* This concession, it is believed, would have the effect of considerably increasing the number of schools of commerce, and of the students attending them; and the fact that it is accorded to similar schools in Germany is urged as an additional reason for seeking it.

Germany still stands ahead of all other nations in the excellence of its primary and secondary schools. The well-known *Realschulen*, many of which now comprise ten classes, and are co-ordinate with the *Gymnasias*, afford an education which is perhaps the best possible general preparation for commercial or trade pursuits. In these schools, the classical languages are not taught, and the time thus saved is devoted to modern languages and science. In addition to these schools, schools of commerce are found in nearly all the large towns of Germany. There are certain differences between the systems of commercial education, and indeed of education generally, as adopted in Bavaria, Saxony, and Prussia, which are fully described in the Report to which I have already referred. The most important point to observe is, that in most of the German schools, instruction in commercial subjects forms part of the ordinary school education, which is not specialized to the same extent as in the corresponding schools of France. The mercantile schools are well attended, and they are practically independent of Government aid. Several of the *Real* schools have a commercial department; but besides these, there are in Germany seventeen special schools of commerce, the leaving certificate of which is recognized as conferring the right of one year's military service; nine middle schools, with a less extended curriculum; and a large number of evening schools, which are attended by clerks, merchants' apprentices, and other persons engaged in mercantile houses. The fees in the ordinary *Realschule* vary from £2 to £4 a year. In the commercial schools the fees are three or four times as much. Moreover, few of the commercial schools are as well housed as are the *Real* schools, nor do they possess the same appliances for practical teaching. Nevertheless, they are well attended; and the reason assigned is that lads who have received their education in a

* "Congrès International de Bordeaux: Compte rendu des travaux," p. 203.

commercial school are more sought after in commercial houses, and more readily find places, than those coming from an ordinary school. The difference in curriculum is not great; but whilst, in the commercial school, due provision is made for the child's general education, the requirements of the merchant's office are carefully considered in the teaching of all the subjects in the school programme. Thus, additional time is devoted to the study of modern languages, and especial attention is given to instruction in foreign correspondence. The study of mathematics is pursued so far only as is likely to be required by the future merchant, and the pupils are exercised in questions of exchange, arbitrage, and commercial arithmetic generally. The course of study also includes political economy, bookkeeping, and commercial geography. But the instruction is by no means as practical as in many of the French schools. Although the teaching in these schools is excellent of its kind, and evidently much sought after, it would be unsafe to ascribe to the existence of these schools the remarkable industrial success of the German people. Much more is due to the excellence of the primary instruction, to the fact that children remain at school till they have been able to fix in their minds the knowledge they have acquired, to the evening continuation schools in which they build upon early education a sure foundation for higher specialized instruction, to the well-organized system of secondary education, and to the general appreciation and love of learning, which, owing to the existence of these educational agencies, is diffused throughout all grades of society, and has produced habits of thought and aptitudes for work which unfortunately are at present wanting among the same classes of our own people.

With the view of meeting the requirements of young men who desire to attend special courses of instruction on commercial subjects, some of the Polytechnic schools of Germany have arranged courses of lectures, which are intended for those who are seeking places under Government in the customs or excise offices, but are followed by other students, who have received their early education at a *Gymnasium* or *Realschule*, and whose circumstances enable them to spend a year or two at college before commencing business.

In Austria-Hungary there are nine high schools of commerce, eleven intermediate schools, and forty-two schools intended principally for clerks. There is nothing that calls for special notice in the subjects of instruction in these schools. The course of study is very similar to that in the corresponding schools of Germany. The most important of the high schools is in Vienna, and is known as the *Handels Akademie*. It gives two courses of instruction, the one occupying three years and the other two years. The subjects of instruction are nearly the same as those of the French high schools.

The methods are different. Great attention is given to the analysis of trade products with the view of detecting adulteration, and the school contains large and well-fitted laboratories. The school is attended by 700 students, who are taught by 34 professors and instructors. The fees for paying students are £16 a year, and about 150 students are admitted with exhibitions covering the whole or part of the cost of instruction. In Germany proper, there is no school exactly corresponding with the *Handels Akademie* of Vienna, which has more the character of a Commercial University than any other institution I have visited.

"The aim of the present Director, Herr Geheimrath Dr. Sonndorfer, has been to make the training suitable, not merely for clerks and managers and the like, but more especially for the principals and heads of business concerns, for future bankers, merchants, manufacturers and political economists of Austria. . . . His object has been further, not only to train the minds of his pupils, but also to form their characters, and he believes it can be done by the mercantile subjects, with a due admixture of mathematics and modern languages, equally as well as by the purely Gymnasial or Real school courses." *

During the winter months the academy is open in the evening for the instruction of clerks and others engaged in business during the day.

In Italy, the subject of commercial education is receiving careful attention. The system of bifurcation commences immediately after a child has left the elementary school. Those intended for industrial pursuits pass on to the so-called technical school (*scuola tecnica*), and thence to the technical institute. Others pass through the corresponding classical schools to the university. The technical institute corresponds to some extent with the higher *Real* schools of Germany; but each institute contains three or more separate departments, in which the instruction is specialized, with a view to different branches of industry. There are sixty-five technical institutes in Italy, in many of which there is a department entirely devoted to commercial education. The Italians are by no means satisfied with their present system, and contemplate making some important changes, with the view of better defining the instruction given in their several schools. Meanwhile, they have recently established a higher commercial school at Genoa, on the model of the well-known but somewhat antiquated school at Venice, with a curriculum following more closely that of the high schools of Paris. When I visited this school in April last, only the first year's course of study had been arranged; but I was struck with the thoroughness with which the subject of geography is taught, with the attention given to the practice of map-drawing, and with the carefully-selected library of works on the history of commerce, mercantile law, and statistics. In a few years the school will take rank with some of the best schools in Europe.

* "Report," p. 27.

In Belgium there are* numerous middle schools, the object of which is to prepare youths for commercial pursuits. The fact that the children of the middle-classes are destined, for the most part, to earn their livelihood in trade or commerce, is recognized in the general scheme of intermediate education adopted in Belgium, and the course of school studies is arranged accordingly. The youths who are trained in these schools receive that kind of instruction which can be made at once available in their several subsequent occupations. Besides these schools, in which the bulk of the population, whose education is extended beyond the limits of primary instruction, receive their training, there has existed for some years at Antwerp a commercial academy, in which the principals of a large number of Belgian firms have obtained their business education. The commercial academy of Antwerp deserves fuller consideration than the space at my disposal enables me to give to it. It is one of the oldest of the commercial schools of Europe. It sends out annually a number of young men proficient in foreign languages, well trained in commercial science, and with an intimate knowledge of the ordinary details of office work. The school is provided with an excellent museum, in which are found well-arranged specimens of all kinds of raw materials and manufactured products. By its system of travelling scholarships the school has been able to form centres of trade in different parts of the world, and the value of the education afforded in the school is fully attested by the readiness with which those who obtain the leaving certificate are enabled to find places in merchants' offices.

There are several subjects in the curriculum of foreign schools of commerce which require special notice. As has been already pointed out, a large amount of time is devoted to the study of foreign languages, and the pupils are exercised in reading and writing the forms of documents which they would be likely to meet with in the mercantile office. This system of teaching foreign languages differs essentially from that adopted in our own schools. A boy may leave school, where he has learned for some time French or German, and may be capable of reading, with or without the help of a dictionary, portions of Racine or Molière, of Schiller or of Goethe. But when he finds himself in a commercial office, and has a French or German business letter placed before him, he discovers that his previous knowledge helps him very little to understand it, and that he is quite unable to reply to it. Even the handwriting presents an initial and not inconsiderable difficulty, and he is wholly unfamiliar with the technical expressions the letter contains. The employer's confidence in the youth's knowledge of foreign languages is thus shaken, and the letter is handed over to the foreign correspondence clerk, who, owing to the special instruction he has received in a commercial school, enters the

office with a knowledge and experience which he is able at once to utilize.

Practice in corresponding in foreign languages is afforded in all schools of commerce abroad; but one of the distinguishing characteristics of the high schools of France and Belgium, and to a less extent of the academy at Vienna, is the instruction in office practice, which goes by the name of the *Bureau Commercial* or *Muster Comptoir*. By the "Bureau Commercial" is meant practice in carrying on between different classes or *comptoirs*, mercantile transactions, similar, so far as circumstances permit, to those carried on between mercantile firms in different parts of the world. For example: a student in the German *comptoir* is told to suppose himself at Hamburg, and is required to purchase a certain quantity of cotton, say from New York. He writes a letter in German to his supposed agent in New York, asking for particulars as to the cost of the cotton required. This letter, before being sent, is submitted to and corrected by the German professor. He receives from another student a reply written in English, in which the particulars of prime cost, package, freight, duty, &c., are expressed in the coinage and weights of the United States. This reply the student translates into French, and his translation is revised by his instructor. The transaction is then completed by forwarding a bill, which is duly made out by the student. As far as possible all the incidents of the transaction are brought under the notice of the student, and all the office-work connected with it is done in the different *comptoirs* of the school. It is contended that, by introducing a certain appearance of reality into the correspondence connected with a commercial transaction, the student's intelligence is exercised, and habits of care and accuracy are formed; and that a facility is acquired in corresponding in foreign languages which could not be otherwise obtained. It is evident that, in a course of exercises and correspondence extending over a year, and dealing with different kinds of merchandise, the student must acquire the ability to read and write foreign business letters, as well as an acquaintance with foreign systems of weights, measures, and coinage, and with arithmetical problems in which these occur. But whether such practical knowledge could be better acquired in a merchant's or banker's office, and whether the time thus occupied at school or college might be more usefully employed in the study of the ordinary subjects of instruction, is an educational question which, without further experience of the working of the system, I find it difficult to answer. The evidence I have been able to gather from masters and merchants abroad leads me to believe, that this special instruction is highly valued, and the fact that it has been introduced into the new school of the Chamber of Commerce of Paris, and that it is about to be extended to the more

recently opened school of the same kind at Genoa, would seem to show, that those who have had experience of the working of the system regard this instruction as a useful introduction into commercial life. On this point, however, as on many others, doctors differ. The director of the Antwerp Academy informed me that students who had completed this course of "bureau commercial" were much sought after by merchants, who attached the highest value to the instruction. On the other hand, we are told that the director of the Vienna school is of opinion that the system, "especially for large numbers of pupils, is superficial, and tends to no really useful results." It is, however, still retained in a somewhat modified form at Vienna, although confined to the work of the last year. In Prague, the French system prevails. What is evidently wanted, is to inform young men as to the kind of correspondence which is carried on in commercial houses, and to teach them to conduct the correspondence in foreign languages. Whether this can be best effected by the method adopted in Paris, Antwerp, Prague, or Vienna must for the present be left undecided.

There is another subject of instruction common to all schools of commerce, of the value of which there can be no doubt—viz., commercial geography. It is a wide subject, the study of which, if properly pursued, might by itself constitute a liberal education. In this country, it has never yet received the attention which its importance demands. In a letter to the late Lord Iddesleigh, appended to the Report of the Commissioners on the Depression of Trade, Commander Cameron specifies the various heads under which commercial geography should be studied, and shows how essential is a knowledge of the subject to those engaged in mercantile business. "In Germany," he says, "there are no less than fifty-one publications devoted to the cause of commercial geography, and there are many societies specially founded for its study."* These societies have agents in various parts of the world, who conduct all sorts of inquiries. They find out not only what goods are required in various markets, but also the precise mode of packing to suit the idiosyncrasies of buyers. After referring to a number of questions which might be elucidated by a knowledge of commercial geography, Commander Cameron further states: "The extension of our commerce and its maintenance on a sound and remunerative basis depends greatly upon the knowledge of commercial geography with which it is conducted."† And the Commissioners, in their final Report, say: "In connection with the development of new markets for our goods, we desire to call special attention to the important subject of commercial geography."‡ They might have added that this subject is carefully taught in every foreign school of commerce, and that thousands of

* "Commissioners' Report," p. 71.

† *Ibid.* p. 74.

‡ *Ibid.* (101).

youths are annually sent out from these schools with a respectable knowledge of the subject, and with the aptitude for further knowledge which travelling, and the reading of consular reports and the journals of geographical and trade societies, enable them to obtain. In England, the Society of Arts has arranged for examinations in commercial geography, and in other subjects useful to the mercantile student; but of late no examination has been held in commercial geography, owing to the fact that *less than twenty-five candidates, not from one centre only, but from the entire kingdom, have presented themselves*. Nothing, perhaps, could show more strongly the total neglect of commercial education in this country.

Closely connected with the teaching of commercial geography is the instruction given in all foreign schools in the technology of merchandise (*étude des marchandises, Waarenkunde*). The teaching of this subject is illustrated by reference to specimens of raw and manufactured products exhibited in the museum, which is a part of the equipment of nearly every foreign school. The museum is generally furnished by gifts from the Chamber of Commerce, and from merchants resident in the city. The specimens are carefully selected with a view to their educational value. They generally comprise samples of some of the principal raw materials used in commerce in their natural state and as met with in trade. These are carefully classified and arranged. The museum also contains various substances, principally local, as altered by different processes of manufacture; diagrams and models illustrating the diseases to which substances of vegetable and animal growth are liable; specimens showing the effect of adulteration, and the differences between genuine goods and their counterfeits, and a variety of other things too numerous to mention. In these museums, objects having reference to the trade and commerce of the district occupy a prominent position. In all the newest schools, the museum communicates with the lecture-room, in which these commercial "object lessons" are given; and every opportunity is afforded to the students, by the actual handling and tasting of the specimens, by the chemical analysis of some of them and by the microscopic examination of others, and by general descriptive lectures, of becoming practically acquainted with many of the principal mercantile commodities.

Another important feature of the instruction is the periodic visits of the students, under charge of their professors, to various industrial works. These visits are sometimes extended to factories and business houses at a distance, and occupy some days. At the *Ecole Supérieure de Commerce du Havre*, these excursions form a very important part of the instruction. In 1883, under the conduct of the director and of the professor of merchandise, eighteen of the students visited Hamburg and Lubeck. In 1884, two excursions were made, the first to the

principal centres of industry in Belgium ; the second, by first year's students, to Hamburg and Bremen. Some of the high schools of commerce have travelling scholarships, tenable for one, two, and three years, which enable the student to reside abroad, to perfect himself in foreign languages and to learn foreign methods of conducting business. •The Belgian Government, besides paying three-fourths of the cost of the maintenance of the high school at Antwerp, makes an annual grant of £1800 for travelling scholarships, which are given, under certain conditions, to the most distinguished former students, who desire to spend some years out of Europe. Each scholarship is of the annual value of between £200 and £300 ; and one of the special objects of these scholarships is to encourage the establishment of commercial houses in colonial and other settlements. The result of this expenditure is said to have been most satisfactory, as shown by the establishment by old students of the Antwerp Academy of flourishing commercial houses in Brazil, Mexico, Melbourne, Sydney, Calcutta, Chicago, and other places.

This brief notice of the facilities for commercial education enjoyed by the principal Continental nations, and of the methods of instruction adopted in their schools, cannot fail to impress us with the fact, that Englishmen are seriously handicapped in the struggle for their fair share of the commerce of the world.

In considering what is needful to place us more nearly on a level than we are at present with our Continental rivals in the matter of commercial education, we should, I think, turn our attention rather to the improvement and adaptation of our existing educational machinery than to the creation of new schools exactly corresponding with any of the different types of foreign schools of commerce. Every encouragement might be given to private enterprise, to the action of trade societies, or to chambers of commerce, in the establishment of a limited number of schools of this kind, which, if adequately equipped and properly conducted, might be nearly self-supporting. But, having regard to the fact that an overwhelming majority of the children who are being educated in our elementary and higher schools are destined for employment in commercial or productive industry, what is needed is not so much the establishment of special schools, as the adaptation of our whole system of education to their wants and requirements. The changes suggested by Dr. Percival, in an Appendix to the Report presented to the Chambers of Commerce, are undoubtedly steps in the right direction. Some of the reforms needed in our present system of elementary education have been pointed out by myself and by numerous witnesses in their evidence before the Royal Commission now sitting. The general object of such reforms is to make our elementary teaching more practical, less mechanical, and better adapted to the future needs of the children.

But in addition to these changes, the want is felt of higher elementary, or graded schools, with a technical and a commercial side. In a paper read before the Society of Arts in May 1883, I suggested a curriculum for such schools. Suffice it here to say, that—on the commercial side of the school—children should be taught to read, write, and speak at least one foreign language, and to conduct commercial correspondence in that language. They should learn English—including English literature, commercial geography, elementary mathematics, arithmetic with applications to commercial problems, the principles of book-keeping, the elements of political economy, rudimentary science, the technology of the materials of commerce, and drawing.

For those who are already engaged in business, there should be evening schools for the continuation of elementary education and its specialization with a view to commerce. These schools would take the place, to some extent, of the *Fortbildungsschulen* of Germany. Definite courses of instruction should be arranged, occupying three or four evenings a week, and extending over three years. The subjects of instruction would include such as are taught in foreign schools of commerce. Certificates of proficiency should be given to students who complete their course of instruction, and the co-operation of merchants should be sought to give to these certificates a "commercial" value.

The maintenance of these higher elementary and evening schools should be thrown mainly, but not entirely, on the rates. This is an unpopular view; but it is essential for the good government of the schools, that the responsibility for their successful management should rest, to a great extent, with local authorities. This applies to the organization of technical, as well as of commercial, classes. But whether the

school Board, elected as it now is, is the best constituted body to take charge of such schools; or whether a Council, consisting of members nominated by the School Board, by the Municipal Council, by the Chamber of Commerce, and by some central authority, would be a more fitting governing body, is a question which might, perhaps, with advantage, be discussed, before a new Technical Instruction Bill is introduced into Parliament. So long as the system of payment by results holds its ground in this country, grants must be made on the results of examination in commercial subjects on conditions similar to those on which grants are now so advantageously made on science and art subjects by the Department, and on distinctly technical subjects by the City Guilds Institute; but the question of the constitution of the central body, best fitted to exercise this controlling influence over commercial education, is also one deserving grave consideration.

For the better preparation of the middle classes for a mercantile career, we must look to an improvement in our secondary schools. There is no doubt that the demand for technical and commercial

teaching will result in a complete reorganization of our secondary education. Without following the Russian Government in limiting the number of children who shall receive a classical training, it may be confidently asserted that, before many years have passed, the classics will be relegated to what will probably be known as the "ancient" side of the public school, and will be studied by those only who are preparing for a distinctly literary career or for one of the so-called learned professions. The claims of mathematics, science, modern languages, literature, and drawing leave no time for the study of either Latin or Greek in our middle and modern schools. In our middle schools, intended for boys leaving at fifteen or sixteen years of age, there should be two sides, corresponding to the technical and commercial sides of the higher elementary or graded school. On the technical side, the different branches of physical science would receive special attention: on the commercial side, modern languages. Other subjects of instruction would be subsidiary, but would include most of those taught in a commercial school either of the French or German type, as experience might suggest. Our higher secondary schools should be three-sided, or separate schools should be established as exist in Germany, but with somewhat different lines of division. The Germans have a classical school, or *Gymnasium*; a *Realschule*, in which neither Latin nor Greek is taught; and an intermediate school, the *Realgymnasium*, in which Latin only is taught. This intermediate school, in offering a compromise between a classical and modern education, is not satisfactory. What we need is a division of the modern school corresponding to the suggested division of the middle school into a science side and a modern language side, the latter affording the fitting preparation for a commercial career. On the modern language side, the subjects of instruction would include mathematics, history, literature, commercial geography, political economy, law, elementary science, &c. These three schools or sides of schools should be co-ordinate, the object of the instruction in each case being to afford a wide and liberal education, but on different lines. In none of these schools, however, would the education be professional—that is, have reference to any particular career; but it would be preparatory to the higher professional education which the pupil would receive, either in the actual business of life, or in the university, the hospital, the naval or military academy, or technical institute.

In providing the highest commercial instruction adapted to the requirements of young men from seventeen to twenty-one, our metropolitan and provincial colleges might, if adequately endowed, take the place of the academies or high schools of commerce, such as are found in Paris, Antwerp, Vienna, and Genoa. A commercial department attached to our local university colleges, and open to students wishing to attend special lectures and demonstrations, to go through

a complete course of study occupying two years, might be the means of attracting to commercial pursuits men of superior intelligence and of higher culture, who at present often slide into other occupations, through the absence of any connection between a university career and mercantile pursuits. And, if entrance scholarships were attached to these departments, openings might be found in the higher walks of commercial life for some of the more distinguished pupils of our lower schools, and another ladder might be raised, by which the children of the people might climb from the elementary school to the university.

If these changes were introduced into our educational system, facilities for commercial education would be afforded (*a*) in the higher elementary school and in the evening commercial classes; (*b*) on the commercial side of the middle school; (*c*) on the modern language side of the higher secondary school; (*d*) in the commercial department of the local university college; and adequate training thus would be provided for the various grades and classes of persons who are engaged in the conduct of commercial affairs.

To give effect to such of these changes as refer to middle or higher education, we must, in the first place, look to the Universities. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge might assist by granting, in connection with their local and joint board examinations, certificates for proficiency in commercial subjects, and the University of London might widen the choice of subjects at the matriculation examination, and make Latin, as well as Greek, optional. It has also been suggested that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge might revise their requirements for an ordinary degree, "so as to encourage the study of subjects bearing directly on commercial and industrial life, and by including special aspects of history, geology, economics, law, &c., in their list of special subjects, which may be offered for a degree in honours." *

In the organization of courses of instruction in some of the specially commercial subjects which should be taught in most of the schools above referred to, the Imperial Institute might render valuable assistance. This Institute might do for commercial education what the projected Science Museum, with its collection of instruments and apparatus, was intended to do for science teaching. If it fulfils the expectations of its promoters, it will be the centre from which the newest knowledge on commercial matters will radiate. In his address on the work of the Imperial Institute, delivered in April last at the Royal Institution, Sir Frederick Abel said: "It will be well within the scope of the Imperial Institute, as an organization for the advancement of industry and commerce, to promote a systematic improvement and organization of commercial education,"

* "Report," p. 50.

and he indicated various ways in which its resources might be made available for the purpose. In helping to systematize and to disseminate the varied and constantly growing information which constitutes commercial geography, it will perform a useful function. The teachers of this important branch of knowledge have yet to be formed. In the Imperial Institute, it is expected that they will have the opportunity of receiving some training. The Institute will contain rooms, in which the newest maps of different countries may be studied, and libraries of reference on all subjects connected with the statistics and progress of trade and the history of commerce. Digests might be made and circulated of the valuable consular reports now periodically published ; and gratuitous lectures might be given on the various aspects of commercial geography, and on the best methods of teaching it.

In the organization of school museums, further assistance might be looked for from the Institute. Such museums, we have seen, are an essential part of the equipment of every foreign commercial school, or department of school. It is supposed that the Institute will contain numerous well-arranged specimens of the raw and manufactured products of different provinces and districts. From these specimens typical examples of school museums, adapted to different localities and different grades of schools, might be provided, so that the teacher or school-manager might see at a glance the kind of museum he ought to endeavour to secure. The conferences to be held at the Institute on mercantile subjects will have their value for the commercial teacher as well as for the commercial agent. Indeed, the Institute, so far as commercial knowledge is concerned, may be expected to serve the purpose of a world in miniature, in which those engaged in education may learn something of the conditions and circumstances under which trade is carried on in different countries, without the trouble and expense of travelling through the world itself.

In this article I have endeavoured to show how our existing educational machinery may be modified to meet the new demands on it. A slavish imitation of continental systems of instruction is not recommended ; but much may be learnt from the study of foreign schools of commerce, which cannot fail to be of use to us in our endeavours to adapt our own school teaching to the modern requirements of commercial industry.

PHILIP MAGNUS.

THE ATTACK ON THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.

IN spite of their exultation over some past successes at bye-elections and their boastfulness about the future, there are not wanting signs that some, at least, of the Gladstonian-Parnellite alliance are beginning to grow a little uneasy as to whether, after all, Home Rule for Ireland will prove a sufficiently satisfying programme to set before the electors, when the time comes for another appeal to the constituencies. Many of the speakers on that side have already ceased to argue in favour of Mr. Gladstone's scheme for Home Rule as embodied in the Bills of last year; they seem to see that their arguments have broken down, and that the country cannot be converted to the views Mr. Gladstone then held.

One indication of this tendency may be found in the avidity with which the orators of the alliance seize upon any weapon which they think can be used to damage and discredit the Government; failing that, they try to sow the seeds of dissension in the ranks of those who are pledged to maintain the Union. The attacks which have been made upon the Government for their efforts to maintain law and order in Ireland, and indeed elsewhere—in other words for doing that which has hitherto been regarded by men of all shades of opinion in this country as the first and elementary duty of any Government—are evidence of the lengths to which some men will go when inflamed by the bitterness of party spirit, and have afforded an only too conspicuous illustration of the truth of the first of these observations. An attempt has been made by Sir George Trevelyan, in the course of his Welsh tour, to raise an agitation for further measures of Parliamentary reform, and he has also distinguished himself by the bitterness with which he has assailed the Upper House of Parliament. Mr. Gladstone, in one of his Nottingham speeches, made reference to some

subjects other than the state of Ireland, though in doing so he carefully adhered to the position that nothing else is to be done till he has had his way in regard to the repeal of the Union and the future government of the country. Sir George Trevelyan sees no difficulty in discussing other questions at the same time, and if in doing so he and his friends were to succeed in driving a wedge into the Unionist ranks, it does not seem very likely that Mr. Gladstone would adhere too obstinately to his own view on what is, after all, a matter of procedure, however loudly expressed it may be at the present time. It seems to be thought that the question of disestablishment, at any rate in Wales and Scotland, is one which may be so raised as to cause some danger to the cohesion of the majority in the present House of Commons; and it certainly behoves all those who desire to maintain the existing connection between Church and State to pay serious attention to some things which have recently been said in regard to it.

The difficulty of arousing the majority of the electorate to pay real attention to more than one subject of first-rate importance at the same time is proverbial; but the hope seems to be that those who are keenly in favour of disestablishment may be stimulated to even greater exertions by the raising of that question, and that some who have deserted the majority of their party on Home Rule may be won back by that bribe. There is some danger lest the significance of the recent utterances on the subject of disestablishment in Wales and Scotland may escape without much notice, or at least without that amount of attention and criticism which a careful examination and comparison with former statements would seem to show that it may be worth while to bestow upon them. The cleavage in the Liberal party on the subject of Home Rule does not follow the lines of divergence which had begun to show themselves in recent years. In other words, it is vertical as well as horizontal. We have often seen moderate Liberals and Radicals pulling in opposite directions, but the questions affecting Ireland have caused other subdivisions; and while some who used to be reckoned as siding with the moderate party have followed their leader in his conversion to Home Rule, there are likewise not a few supporters of the unauthorized rather than the authorized programme of 1885, who have been unable to "find salvation" in Home Rule quite so easily as has been expected of them; it is undoubtedly for their benefit that the prospect of disestablishment is being put forward, and the hope seems to be that they may be prevailed upon to relinquish their defence of the Union in order that they may be rewarded by the attainment of their desires on the subject of disestablishment. It is also hoped that this result can be brought about without alienating those who have followed the majority of the party on the question of

Home Rule, but do not desire to weaken the connection between Church and State. That these are the calculations cannot, I think, be doubted by any attentive student of recent political movements. It is certainly difficult to read that part of Mr. Gladstone's second Nottingham speech which refers to the subject of disestablishment without thinking that he, at least, is of opinion that while the convictions of some of his former followers on the subject of Home Rule have been strong enough to oblige them to separate themselves from their party on that question, their desire for disestablishment will be sufficient to make them swallow their scruples and return to their allegiance. In other words, what cannot be effected by argument may be brought about by an appeal to the baser feelings of sectarian animosity; the compliment to these gentlemen is not a high one, and probably they may be left to settle matters with their former leader for themselves: up to the present time, at any rate, no great eagerness has been shown to accept the bribe.

On other grounds it is worth while to examine Mr. Gladstone's utterance at Nottingham on the subject of disestablishment in Wales and Scotland with some care. The whole passage is too long to quote, but the following will be found to be a fair summary of it. After making some allusions in the earlier part of his speech to the subject of parliamentary registration, the reform of the land laws, local government, and licensing reform, and placing them in that order as the order of their respective urgency, he renews his declaration that if any one wishes to advance his own special question, he must first assist to get Ireland out of the way. Mr. Gladstone then turns to the subject of disestablishment, and begins with the proposition that some people in Wales and Scotland think the question ripe for solution, an aside is put in as to ripeness in England also, and Mr. Gladstone says nothing to discourage that view except by allusion to Mr. Bright's old parable regarding the number of omnibuses that can be driven through Temple Bar at the same time. There then occurs this passage: "A principle has long been declared by the Liberal party—I believe in general, certainly by myself among others—to the effect that these questions should not be determined imperially by the votes, I will say, of English majorities, but should be determined in deference to the inhabitants of those two portions of the country immediately interested—namely, of Wales and Scotland." Proceeding, Mr. Gladstone asks, "Are the questions ripe? are they opportune for decision, whatever that decision may be?" and replies to himself in these words: "What I wish to say to you to-night is that, in the expression of my own judgment, and as far as I know the expression of the judgment of my friends—is that they are ripe for decision, and when the Irish difficulty is disposed of there is no reason or propriety why Parliament should not solemnly be asked

to adjudicate whether, under the circumstances of Scotland and of Wales, it is, or it is not, desirable that their Church establishments should continue as such to exist." Mr. Gladstone then passes on to discuss the interesting question whether the Welsh or Scottish institution is to be first dealt with, and proceeds through about a third of a column to formulate an offer to his Welsh and Scottish friends, the effect of which is that they are to enter into a competition to try which can return the larger proportion of members pledged to Home Rule; and as the premium upon this industry, Mr. Gladstone virtually promises that whichever succeeds best shall be rewarded by the priority in receiving his assistance for the attainment of their real object. That there may be no accusation of misrepresentation, let Mr. Gladstone speak for himself:—"I have a piece of advice for my friends in Scotland, who are anxious for disestablishment, and that is, that they should endeavour to bring the division of parties in that country more nearly like what it is in Wales; let them send us as good a body of Home Rulers from Scotland, who will also be, I believe, generally disestablishers, and I have not the least doubt that when the day of competition comes Scotland will be able to hold her own." Soundness on Home Rule is the chief consideration in purchasing Mr. Gladstone's support on the question of disestablishment. The more important and significant portions of this declaration, are those which relate to the separate treatment of the question in Wales and Scotland, and the decision of it by the local majority, as well as the statement regarding the ripeness of the question, and the fitness of Parliament to adjudicate upon it.

One can but wonder at the standard of political morality involved in the offer to strike a bargain the net result of which is, that for a certain measure of support upon questions affecting the future government of Ireland, Mr. Gladstone is to lend the authority of his great name and great position to press on disestablishment in Scotland and in Wales.

Let us examine carefully this declaration in light of the known facts of the case, and especially with regard to Mr. Gladstone's own statements and promises in regard to the same matters, some of which are still of very recent date.

That there may be no doubt as to the nature of the bargain, of which this speech is at once the declaration and the seal, let us see what took place shortly before the gathering at Nottingham. It was duly recorded in the newspapers, a few days earlier, that the Disestablishment Council for Scotland had sent a deputation to confer with the executive council of the Scottish Liberal Association, and to represent to them, "their strong desire that the question of religious equality should secure sufficient prominence at conferences held by the association throughout the country." The

Association is reported to have been not unwilling to listen to the gentle wooing of the Disestablishment Council, and "agreed to take steps to communicate their views direct to Mr. Gladstone." A gentleman who spoke on the subject at one of the conferences of the party made a noteworthy remark; he is reported to have said: "It is the disestablishment and local option men that win the elections." The transaction was completed at Nottingham, the treaty is negotiated, the political mercenaries are engaged, and the plunder is promised. It is not thought necessary now to wait for the approval of the country, as, it will shortly be seen, was still the case so lately as 1880 and 1885. It is enough that the majority of the energetic workers of the party desire local option and disestablishment, they are to control the programme, the party as a whole must obey the dictates of the majority; it is not considered whether there is any evidence that the wish of the party majority is reflected by a corresponding majority in the country, it is enough that it is the wish of some of "the men that win the elections."

To enable any one fully to understand the significance of the declarations that in Mr. Gladstone's opinion the question is ripe for solution in Scotland; that Parliament might proceed to adjudicate upon the continued existence of the Scottish Establishment; and to appreciate the departure from the position hitherto taken up by Mr. Gladstone himself in regard to these questions, it is necessary to be acquainted with the previous history of the controversy. Mr. Gladstone himself appeals to the past when it suits him to do so, and quotes the principle which, he says, has been long declared by the Liberal party; therefore by the past let him be judged.

It might be worth inquiring if that can be called a principle which is rather the denial that any principle is involved, but it is enough to notice that in appealing to one-half of previous declarations, Mr. Gladstone carefully omits any reference to another condition to which he has always hitherto bound himself—namely, that the will of the people must be distinctly declared, and that no advantage should be taken of the Church. The formula to which he refers has undoubtedly been adopted by several statesmen of influence in the Liberal party when they wished to please the men who "win the elections," without unduly frightening those Liberals who are sincerely attached to their Church; something like it was said by Lord Hartington in 1875, when he paid a visit to Edinburgh as titular leader of the Liberal party. He then used words to the effect that if the majority of the people of Scotland desired disestablishment, the Liberal party would be found willing to give effect to their wishes. The speech attracted some attention at the time and caused some alarm to Liberal Churchmen. Before the election of 1880 it became apparent that the issue would not be mainly taken upon

questions of domestic policy, and it became the interest of the Liberal party managers to allay the apprehensions which Lord Hartington's speech had aroused, and accordingly we find the late Sir William Adam deprecating a movement on the part of Liberal Churchmen as absolutely unnecessary, and referring a correspondent to the terms of a letter written by Mr. Gladstone to Dr. Rainy in which he says that the question should "not be raised by the party until the Scottish people should have pronounced upon it in a manner which is intelligible and distinct;" and Sir William added, "this means, and is intended to mean, that the question should not be taken up unless the issue is fairly before the people of Scotland." In 1880, Mr. Gladstone himself spoke upon the subject during his electoral tour, he promised to "object strongly to any attempt to filch any advantage against the Church of Scotland," and added that, "the reference to the people of Scotland must be a real reference, there must be a real consideration in order to a real decision, nay, the decision must not only be real, it must be a manifest, plain, and undeniable decision."

During the five years which followed the elections of 1880, the Disestablishment party were unceasing in their efforts to press on the question; it became evident that they were determined, so far as in them lay, to force the hands of their leaders, and to insist on declarations favourable to their views from all who were standing as candidates in the Liberal interest. They had captured the machinery of all, or nearly all, the Liberal Associations. Liberal Churchmen had taken serious alarm, and it became apparent that, unless something could be done to allay the internecine strife which had arisen within the ranks of the party, it would not be possible to take its full strength to the polls at the election of 1885. Accordingly, Mr. Gladstone, who was at that time directing all his energies to secure such a majority as would enable him to crush what he then regarded as the wicked alliance between the Conservative party and the followers of Mr. Parnell, devoted a whole speech to the consideration of the Church question; in the course of this speech he declined to commit himself to Dr. Cameron's resolution, and endeavoured to dissuade his followers from making it a test question at the impending election.

During the General Election of 1886 the Church question, by consent of both parties, sank completely into abeyance; it was not mentioned on half a dozen platforms during the whole contest, which was made to turn exclusively on Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy.

It may be said that perhaps other indications of opinion have been given which would justify the declaration made by Mr. Gladstone at Nottingham; there have been indications, but so far from telling against, they are exclusively on the side of the Church.

In the Session of 1885 there appeared a Bill for the disestablishment of the Church; it was only backed by some of the more obscure members of the House of Commons, but on a day being named for its second reading, the national feeling in favour of the Church was aroused, with the result that in a little more than three weeks, 1,236 petitions with signatures to the number of 674,638 were presented against it, while those in its favour only numbered 105, with 2,212 signatures, and were in great measure from the church courts of the various dissenting communities.

Thereafter it has seemed more expedient to the Disestablishment party to proceed by way of abstract resolution, and one of the members for the City of Glasgow brought forward a resolution to the effect that the Church of Scotland should be forthwith disestablished and disendowed; but before the discussion and division upon it, which took place on the 30th of March, 1886, the word "forthwith" was dropped out; even in this form it was defeated by a majority of 112, only 25 out of the 72 Scotch members being found to vote for it, 17 voted against it, and 30 abstained from voting. In the autumn of 1885, a canvass of Mr. Gladstone's constituency was undertaken by committees of electors friendly to the Church, with the following result: Out of 10,877 electors canvassed, 7,519, or 69 per cent., gave their adhesion to a declaration against the disestablishment of the Church, while less than 15 per cent. declared themselves as actually hostile to the connection between Church and State. There is surely nothing in these circumstances to justify Mr. Gladstone's change of front, and the Disestablishment party have nothing to show on their side except the presentation of an address to Mr. Gladstone signed by 1,475 ministers of various churches—the tone and temper of which may be inferred from the fact that these gentlemen refer to the Church as a "religious scandal and political injustice," and give as their joint reasons for taking action that "the Church of Christ in Scotland is broken in pieces; and our immense Liberal majority is perplexed and demoralized." The Liberal party was then obviously only of little less importance than the Church of Christ, and it would be interesting to know whether the same high place is reserved for all of those who are now finding shelter under the remains of the old political umbrella which has almost faded from our memory.

It is one of the difficulties which supporters of the Church have to encounter, that English statesmen think themselves competent to dogmatize upon Scottish affairs, more especially Scottish ecclesiastical affairs, before they have really mastered the facts of the case with which they intend to deal.

- Many instances of this might be given, and in some the inference that they have been carefully supplied with information and arguments from Liberationist sources is almost irresistible; on one

occasion Mr. Chamberlain, when in Scotland, talked about the Established Church becoming a "Department of the State," and by virtue of its establishment being alienated from national sentiment and national sympathy. Is it too much to infer that Mr. Chamberlain was utterly ignorant of the freedom enjoyed by the Church of Scotland, and does not know that its establishment was one of the purest of national triumphs, won from the King, Lords, and Commons, practically against their will? Mr. Chamberlain on that occasion, to give his speech a Scottish ring, concluded his reference to Church matters with the following quotation, with which he had perhaps been supplied by some of his friends :

" Oh ! let us not, like snarling tykes, in wrangling be divided,
Till slap comes in an unco loon and wi' a rung decide it ; "

but the danger of quoting that with which one is not familiar was well exemplified, for Burns goes on as follows in a passage which is quite as appropriate though not in the same sense, as was duly pointed out at the time :

" The Kettle of the Kirk and State, perhaps a clout may fail in't,
But deil a foreign tinker loon shall ever ca' a nail in't ;
Our fathers' bluid the kettle bought, and wha would dare to spoil it,
By heaven, the sacrilegious dog shall fuel be to boil it. "

On the occasion when Mr. Finlay's Bill to declare the Constitution of the Church was before the House of Commons, Sir George Trevelyan, then Secretary for Scotland, persistently described it as promoted by the Church of Scotland for their own purposes ; it was quite well known, and he himself had been authoritatively told shortly before the debate, that the Bill originated with members of the Free Church, and was acquiesced in by the Church, not for her own sake, but because it was believed to be a measure calculated to heal differences and render union a possibility. Speaking in regard to the same Bill in Edinburgh in December 1886, Mr. Morley was made to refer to its introduction as "the breaking of a truce," and proceeded to make some very severe remarks to the effect that a truce could not be observed only on one side ; the real facts of the case were that the only people who had departed from a state of peace, and who had been most resolute against the acceptance of any truce during the previous autumn, had been Mr. Morley's own Liberationist friends, in whose supposed interest he was speaking.

A remarkable illustration of this same tendency is to be found in the following sentence reported to have been spoken by Mr. Gladstone at Nottingham : " There never has been a harder case than the case of the great Presbyterian body, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian, who always have, I believe, constituted one-half, or about one-half, of the population of Scotland, and who were practically put out of the Established Church because they maintained

principles which, when they had been put out, the Establishment and the Legislature have adopted, and adopted for the government of the present Established Church."

A former Editor of a well-known Scottish newspaper used to say, that a certain individual with whom he was frequently in controversy, could put more that was inaccurate into a single sentence, than he could unsay in half a column; it would be scarcely too much to say the same of this sentence, and perhaps it is worth while attempting to unravel some of it. The marriage statistics show that the Free Church contains about 22 per cent., and the United Presbyterian about 12 per cent. of the population of Scotland. Neither church is increasing in a ratio equivalent to the increase of the population, while the latter body is almost certainly declining in numbers. It is not precisely stated what principles are referred to, but it is practically certain that the allusion made is intended to refer to the repeal of the Patronage Act in 1874. The repeal of that Act introduced no new principle, and it is not true that any principles distinctive either of the Free or of the United Presbyterian Churches have been adopted by the Establishment or by the Legislature; but any one reading that sentence would almost certainly form a contrary impression, and it seems as if the speaker believed that some new principle had been recently introduced into the government of the Church of Scotland. It may be as well briefly to set forth the facts of the case. The United Presbyterian Church was formed by a union of two bodies which left the Church of Scotland, the one in 1733, the other in 1752, and undoubtedly both these secessions were caused by the operation of the law of patronage. The same law was also one of the chief causes which led to the secession in 1843, and the formation of the Free Church, but the controversy had spread into other fields, and those who left the Church set up a plea for an independent jurisdiction, entitling them to interfere in regard to certain matters not wholly spiritual, without reference to the decisions of the civil courts. Moreover, the party, which became the Free Church, never made the existence of patronage a special ground of complaint. If Mr. Gladstone meant to allude to the Patronage Act of 1874, it would only have been fair to mention that the law of patronage, repealed in 1874, was never lawfully part of the constitution of the Church; in fact it was wrongfully imposed upon the Church, in the year 1712, by the Government of Queen Anne, contrary to the Act of Union; it was passed hurriedly through both Houses of Parliament, contrary to the protests of the Church; and no Act of the Church can be appealed to ratifying or even acquiescing in it. Surely the Church and the Legislature cannot, under these circumstances, be justly accused of appropriating principles the property of other people.

There has never been a secession from the Church of Scotland on account of connection with the State; and if principles are to be appealed to, there is no body of men and no institution more strictly bound to the theory of connection with the State than are the ministers and members of the Free Church of Scotland. But what has been the course of the Established Church since the repeal of the Act of Queen Anne? Not only did they not seek to regard it as a triumph for themselves, but one of the first acts of the Assembly was to approach the representatives of the other Churches, and invite them to share the benefit and the trust enjoyed by the Church of Scotland; it was thought and hoped that, possible causes of difference having been removed, means might be found for securing the union of those who owned a common origin and were still alike in worship, doctrine, and church government. Up till the present time that same policy has been consistently pursued, and it will not do, at least in Scotland, to put forward the abolition of patronage as a reason for disestablishing the Church.

Separate consideration of the question in England and Scotland has indeed always been one of the watchwords of those who desire disestablishment; the first remark to make upon that argument is that separate treatment for Scotland will of course imply equally separate treatment for England, and the decision of the one question according to Scottish opinion implies that the other shall be considered exclusively as regards English opinion. But, it may be fairly asked, how the consideration of such a question in two countries situated as England and Scotland are, can be kept absolutely separate; it is certain that the decision of the question one way or other in one country must powerfully affect the decision in the other. There is absolutely no argument on the merits of the question which can be used at the present time against the Establishment in Scotland which cannot be applied against that of England. The latter is Episcopalian and the former Presbyterian, but that will not in itself supply a reason for the destruction of the one and the preservation of the other. There would be indeed a difference in the magnitude and difficulty of the operation, but that is a difference of degree, not of kind or of principle. The opponents of the national recognition of religion in either country at least see what a powerful lever they would have to work against the Church of England if they obtained their way in the first instance, either in Wales or Scotland, and it may be conjectured that their desire for separate treatment of the Scottish Establishment arises as much on grounds of policy, as from any abstract desire to defer exclusively to the wishes of the people of Scotland.

The importance of the point lies in this, that if there is to be separate consideration and separate treatment of the question, north

and south of the Tweed, then let it be made certain that the question is fairly put to the people concerned ; that, in other words, the decision is the genuine offspring of Scottish sentiment and Scottish conviction. That is what has hitherto always been promised along with the demand for the separate treatment of Scotland and England. But herein lies one great difficulty for the supporters of the Scottish Establishment, it may fairly be doubted whether that question, by itself, will ever be thought of sufficient importance to be made an issue of imperial concern at any General Election. If not, it is difficult to see how in the nature of things, and having regard to the distribution of parties, it can ever be so disentangled from other matters as to become the real deciding issue at the Scottish elections.

It will at once be conceded by the supporters of the Scottish Establishment, that if Scottish opinion and wishes were to be declared against their view, after the "real reference for a real decision," they would never contend that the connection between Church and State should be maintained contrary to those wishes and that opinion, merely by force of English votes. If this is all that is meant by the separate treatment of the question in the two countries, every one will be found to agree with it ; but on the other hand, no majority of English representatives would have any moral right to disregard the solemn engagements of the Treaty of Union, and disestablish the Church, without a distinct expression of the national will of Scotland. There arises an interesting and not unimportant question as to what amount of consent ought to suffice for the alteration of that solemn engagement. Mr. Gladstone has admitted that it must be "real, manifest, pointed, and undeniable ;" how is it to be obtained ? Certainly not by the reference to the people of Scotland, at an election, of this as one among many questions ; by that means an advantage would be "filched" from the Church. But it is difficult to see how a reference of the question corresponding to the definition given of it can be obtained, except as one of imperial importance, at a General Election, or by some means specially agreed upon.

The friends of the Church of Scotland would have no reason to fear the issue of a General Election but for what Lord Selborne has called, "the underground influences brought to bear upon the choice of candidates, and the way in which some of those who undertake to guide public opinion, are accustomed to make all things, human and divine, bend to party organization and party discipline." Let it be distinctly understood, that if the Church be given a fair trial its supporters have no fear of the result : the Church can appeal to her past history and her present work for the people of Scotland. Though some statesmen may profess that they have no convictions as to the maintenance of the connection between Church and State, there are still those who are prepared to affirm that it is to them a matter of the highest

importance, and in their opinion of the greatest benefit alike to Church and State. So far as the past is concerned, the Church can claim that for centuries she has contributed to the welfare of the country. She can point with pride to the fact that her history is the history of the country; that through the most troubled periods of separate national existence her fortunes were identified with those of civil and religious liberty; it is in no small measure to her that the sturdy independence of Scotsmen is owed, which has become a by-word among the nations. In the words of Professor Flint, "she has done more than any institution to make Scotland what it is, and no man not ashamed of Scotland can reasonably be ashamed of her."

A committee of the House of Commons, in 1834, bore equally high testimony to the services of the Church, and declared that with her defence and preservation, the general prosperity and moral welfare of the country might be considered as intimately interwoven. So much for the past; but some will say, much has happened since 1834, there have been differences and divisions, what of the present? The course of events during the last half century has at least shown this, that there must be some value in the principles which rule the connection between Church and State, to have enabled it to survive a shock so severe as was involved in the secession of 1843. A powerful argument for the Church is the comparison of her strength, relative to the population of Scotland, just after 1843 and at the present time. It is not necessary to go into figures, but figures might be advanced, in face of which her opponents dare not aver that the Church of Scotland is degenerate, or that she is a delinquent or decaying institution. Their fear is rather that unless her destruction be effected soon, it will never be effected at all, and that may perhaps account in some measure for the extraordinary bitterness with which she has been sometimes assailed. The true line of defence, however, is, not the consideration of what is for the benefit of the Established Church alone (though her past history surely entitles her to more consideration than is sometimes bestowed); it is rather to consider what is most for the benefit of the State, what is best for the cause of religion, and by this standard the Church would be willing to be judged. The endowed territorial system, as opposed to that which is congregational and voluntary, gives an immense advantage for trying to work out and to solve those social problems which will become more and more the function of the Church in the near future; and that is an advantage which we believe the people of Scotland will not lightly throw away. The State connection admits of, and secures to the Church, a freedom of jurisdiction which cannot otherwise be obtained; the Church herself is the true home of freedom of thought and of real liberty; she is at this moment, as she has always been, the Church of the poor and of the humbler classes of the community. It is idle to pretend that voluntarism

can adequately supply the wants of the country. There are 356 rural parishes in Scotland, with a population of 386,000, in which there is no Free Church, and 736 parishes in which there is no United Presbyterian Church. In the remaining parishes, no less than 716 Free Church and 157 United Presbyterian congregations are not self-supporting. In the Gaelic Highlands, where the Free Church has 201 congregations, only 31 are self-supporting. Since 1843 the Church of Scotland has shown a marvellous power of increase and expansion, and has added to her charges by more than one-fourth of the total number. The Church buildings of these, with their endowments, have cost the Church and the Church's friends considerably more than £2,100,000 sterling. In members and adherents the Church stands far ahead of any other Scottish Church, and is absolutely alone amongst them in showing ability to keep pace in her development with the growth and progress of the people.

It is not the purpose of this paper to enter at length on facts and figures such as these; the time for them may come hereafter, and perhaps at no distant date; in the meantime the claim of the Church is simply this, that she shall not be placed in a worse position than the meanest criminal in the land, who, before sentence is pronounced, is at least allowed to have a deliberate trial, upon a definite indictment, before a fairly constituted and competent tribunal.

BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT IN GERMANY.

WRITING in March last, I said that, the maintenance of peace for Germany being the great aim of Prince Bismarck's policy, he could not really have any predilection for a Government like the Russian, which jeopardizes that boon by its subversive policy; and that as soon as he saw his way to a coalition before which Russia would yield without war, he would join it. This prediction has been fulfilled by events. Bulgaria was not quite so much Hecuba to the Chancellor as he pretended. In itself it may be so, but it was not so for Austria; and the alliance with her, if it does not bind Germany to assist Austria against every attack of a foreign power, yet guarantees her territorial *status quo*. Bismarck's aim, therefore, was to mediate between Austria and Russia, and to keep back both from resolutions which might endanger peace. To do this effectually he was obliged to appear in St. Petersburg as a friend, and that is the reason why in his great speeches in the Reichstag he laid so much stress on the German friendship for Russia. It was no business of Germany to provoke her Eastern neighbour by openly opposing proposals which other powers, more directly interested, could make of no effect if they chose so to do; indeed, he could afford to support, together with France, even such preposterous Russian schemes as the intended mission of General Ernroth to Sofia as a military dictator, because he knew that Italy, Austria, and England would resist it, and he was not bound to do for them what they could do for themselves, and what his action on the other side would not prevent them from doing. This policy, which so oddly displayed France and Germany as allies racing for the friendship of Russia, was much like the course of the candid friend who gives his vote and interest to a candidate whom he does not wish to disoblige, after carefully ascertaining that his friend has no chance of being elected.

Lately, however, the Chancellor has been led to reverse his policy. Whatever he did for Russia was deemed insufficient at St. Petersburg; when he tried to mediate between Austria and Russia, Katkow replied that there was no room for mediation, and that if Germany was really Russia's friend, she must signify to Austria that the latter had nothing to

do with the Balkan peninsula, and consequently must evacuate Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is true that the more cool-headed statesman who officially represents the foreign policy of the Russian Cabinet did not share these pretensions; he did not follow Katkow's advice, to answer the speeches of Count Kalnoky in the Hungarian delegation, and of Lord Salisbury at the Mansion House in November 1886, by recalling the Russian Ambassadors from Vienna and London. But he did a much more dangerous thing. He sounded Italy, whether in case of a war between Russia and Austria and Germany, she would side with Russia, and offered her Trieste if she would do so. About the same time France offered to the Cabinet of Rome, in the event of a war with Germany, the Trentino as the price of her alliance. Signor Depretis at once flatly refused to entertain for a moment such projects directed against the allies of Italy, and thus the danger was avoided; but the movement, which was undoubtedly a concerted one, sufficiently shows what Germany and Austria have to expect from their good neighbours.

The war scare during the elections for the German Reichstag had the effect of drawing closer the relations of France and Russia; and M. de Giers, finding himself in a deadlock in the Bulgarian question—when his master would not alter his position towards the Regents as usurpers, and yet did not dare to enforce his demands at the risk of a conflagration—sent General Martinow to Paris to confer with M. Flourens. Upon this there appeared in the Russian inspired paper at Brussels, *Le Nord*, an article written by M. Catacazy, late favourite of Prince Gortchakow and Minister at Washington (where he made himself impossible), declaring that Russia would not allow a second crushing defeat of France by Germany, which would leave her alone with an all-powerful neighbour. Katkow found this policy not strong enough; he was in active communication with General Boulanger, through General Bogdanovitch, and with M. de Laboulaye, the French ambassador at St. Petersburg; he daily pleaded in his *Moscow Gazette* for the French alliance, and began violently to attack M. de Giers. The Czar administered a mild reprimand to him, and proposed to confer the Grand Cross of the order of Vladimir on his Minister. Katkow came to Gatchina to defend himself; he expounded his ideas, and eloquently demonstrated to his master that any binding undertaking with Austria and Germany would gravely endanger Russian interests, and that it was necessary to come to close relations with France. The Czar, half persuaded, told him to see Giers, who, however, did not receive him. This the Emperor took very much amiss; and when the Minister sent in his resignation, saying, that under the present circumstances his advice could scarcely be useful, the Imperial answer was that the Czar, as he appointed his Ministers, likewise dismissed them when he thought fit so to do, and not when the idea of going occurred to them. The decree, already signed, for conferring the Vladimir on M. de Giers was cancelled; and Katkow, elated by his success, was hard at work to replace the Minister by Count Ignatieff or by General Schuvalow, Ambassador at Berlin. At that moment there suddenly arrived the news of another Ministerial crisis at Paris, which once more showed how little confidence could be placed in the French political quicksands. The Emperor was much struck; he saw that his more sober-minded Minister had been right; and Katkow's influence underwent a decisive shock. It sank still more, when—about,

the same time—General von Schweinitz, the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg, happened to lay his hand upon one of the secret communications of Katkow with French politicians, and this paper was sent by the Emperor William to the Czar, who sternly rebuked the Moscow journalist for such high-handed interference. This is said to have hastened his end.

Katkow's death was certainly an advantage for Germany; yet it must not be overrated. On the one hand it would be a mistake to consider him as a Panslavist; on the contrary, he ridiculed the idea of bringing all the Slavs under the Imperial sceptre as a chimera, which had nothing to do with the realities of Russian policy. His leading principles were that the only possible government for Russia was the hereditary autocracy of the Czar, leaning upon the orthodox Church; that the outlying provinces of the Empire—Poland, the Baltic provinces, and Finland—must be Russianized by every means; and that the Balkan States must be placed under a Russian protectorate. In promoting this policy, the secret of his success consisted simply in strongly, and even roughly, urging the supreme power to do what it longed to, but often dared not, do. This influence became paramount under Alexander III., who, educated by Katkow's friend Podobenszew, now chief of the Holy Synod, had intimate relations with Katkow even when he was Czarevitch. It was but natural, that a man who constantly told the Czar, "You are all-powerful and infallible, only you do not know your omnipotence and are badly served," should be listened to, though of course he understood that omnipotence just as the Jesuits used to understand the infallibility of the Pope—that is, in the sense that the Pope was to execute what they thought fit. Katkow was not at first an adversary of Germany; he had studied at Berlin and was a classical scholar; he had acknowledged that the German alliance had been most useful to Russia, and had defended Prince Bismarck against the reproach of having frustrated Russia's legitimate demands at the Congress of Berlin. It was only after the Austro-German alliance of 1879, when the anti-German feeling became strong in Russia and Skobelev made his famous speeches in that sense, that Katkow gradually turned against Germany and argued for a French alliance; but as a Conservative he had no predilection for the Paris Radicals, and constantly urged that only a strong and monarchical France would be a reliable ally.

On the other hand, the seed of hatred sown by Katkow has spread so widely, that his death has by no means allayed the Russian feeling against Germany. It is quite true that the Russian Government was somewhat embarrassed by the speech of Deroulède at Katkow's grave, as the Chief of the Patriotic League had attacked the French Government for its lukewarmness; but the fact that the representative of the Emperor at Kiew, General Baranow, dared to entertain Deroulède at a banquet, and enthusiastically respond to his toast of the Russo-French alliance, sufficiently shows how strong the current of public opinion must be; and the Grand Duke Nicholas's speech in the French steamer *Uruguay* was a striking proof of the feelings which prevail in the Imperial family. Moreover, though Katkow is dead, Podobenszew survives; and he is the most strenuous promoter of the Russification of the western border provinces. Not only is the oppression of the Protestant faith and the German element in the Baltic provinces, and of the Catholic religion in Poland, ruthlessly carried on,

but a great blow was struck at foreign influence by a Ukase of May last, which forbade any foreigner to become, or to remain, a landed proprietor in Russia. This edict was severely felt in Germany. Many of our wealthy nobles possess large estates in Russia, and were thus placed in the dilemma of selling their property under most unfavourable conditions or becoming naturalized Russians. Such, for instance, was the case with Prince Hohenlohe, Governor of Alsace-Lorraine, whose wife inherited from her brother, the late Prince Wittgenstein, estates which are said to be as large as the kingdom of Wurtemberg. Yet it was difficult for the German Government to complain of a measure which was strictly within the limits of internal Russian affairs. It is said that Prince Bismarck, in seeking for his master a personal interview with the Czar at Stettin, hoped to obtain a modification of this Ukase, which he thought the Czar could hardly refuse to his venerable grand-uncle. However this may be, it seems certain that the Czar believed such a request would be made, which he was as loth to grant as to refuse; and that this was one of the considerations which moved him not to go. He was moreover dissatisfied with the attitude of Germany, and did not care to affront public opinion in Russia, which would have considered his visit to Stettin as a humiliation. So he remained at Copenhagen, although preparations for his reception had been made at Stettin Castle, saying; "Well, I too will not be made to go to Canossa." The illness of his children obliging him to remain somewhat longer as the guest of his father-in-law, and so making his return by sea impossible, he could not well go home by way of Germany without paying a visit to our Emperor; but though the visit took place upon terms of perfect politeness, and though the Czar even received Prince Bismarck, who was summoned to Berlin by the Emperor, that visit can scarcely have any great political importance, except to show Russia that she must remain passive.

Prince Bismarck lost no time in making his reply to this attitude; having already renewed and confirmed his alliance with Austria in the course of a visit by Count Kalnoky to Friedrichsruhe, he now invited the Italian Premier, Signor Crispi, to come and see him. What was most curious in this visit was that it was kept secret to the last moment; but when it had taken place a studied publicity was given to its results. Signor Crispi, indeed, denied that he had spoken the words attributed to him, in the interview with which he favoured a reporter of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on his way home, but the report was immediately reprinted in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the Chancellor's paper, and what Crispi himself said at the banquet at Turin amounted to much the same.

The gist of it was this. We are in friendly relations with all Powers, but we are allies of the two central Powers of Europe, and at sea we act in accord with England. My journey has caused uneasiness in France, but the confidence of the Government happily remained unshaken, for they know that my intentions are loyal and can never have a hostile direction against a country with which we are closely connected by affinity of race, by our traditions, and by civilization. No one can desire a war between the two nations; I deprecate defeat or victory in such a war, which would be fatal alike to the liberties of both, and prejudicial to the balance of power in Europe. Our system of alliances tends to one object—the preservation of order; not to aggression or

perturbation. It is advantageous to Italy as well as to the general interests. Italy is not the only State which desires the maintenance of peace; for Germany, among others, pursues the same object. The history of our time is dominated by the name of one statesman whom I sincerely admire, and with whom I am connected by personal ties of long standing; his aim is peace and the greatness of his country; he has worked for thirty years to obtain that aim, and to preserve what he has won; he is an old friend of Italy, and has been so from her earliest years, for he knows the solidarity of the union of Italy and Germany. The agreement of thought and sentiment between him and myself has now received fresh confirmation. It is said that we have been conspiring at Friedrichsruhe. I, as an old conspirator, reply that we have conspired in the cause of peace, and that all those are at liberty to take part in that conspiracy who wish for peace. On taking leave of me Bismarck said: "We have rendered a service to Europe." I remember that word with pride, for Italy was never in such complete and hearty union as with her present ally, nor were her dignity and interests ever so fully guaranteed. Speaking of his Eastern policy, Crispi said that Italy sought to unite respect for public treaties with the development of the autonomy of the Balkan States; that was a policy founded upon Italian traditions and interests; and those nations would as little forget the services rendered by Italy as she herself could forget those of England and France to her own unity.

The *Journal des Débats* of October 28, acknowledging the courteous terms in which Crispi spoke of France, thought that this speech, if it had cleared the clouds, yet had not dispersed them: for why, it remarks, has Italy thought fit to conclude alliances which may drag her against her will into a war of which she deprecates even the thought, and for interests which are not her own. If the Triple Alliance has not that bearing, it has none. That is what Crispi has not explained, and what, perhaps, he could not explain—this criticism is not to the point. Italy in her alliance with Germany and Austria maintains perfectly her independence, and there can be no question of her being dragged into a war against her will. Crispi described the position of Italy with a frank resolution such as has not been heard from Italian statesmen since the death of Cavour; hinting that in a war with France victory is as possible as defeat, he claims equality with that power; he desires no war, but warns France on her side also against desiring war. But in truth it was rather a piece of ingenuity for Crispi to deprecate a war with France, which in all probability could only take place in consequence of an attack by France upon Germany. He knows that Germany will not attack France, and he intimates to the latter that if she attacks Germany she has to reckon with Italy also, and that he is as much opposed to a breaking up of the unity of Germany as to her crushing France, because both eventualities would be hurtful to the balance of power. Coupled with his allusion to England, his declaration comes to this, that the peace of Europe and the territorial *status quo* are now secured by two virtual alliances—by that of Germany, Austria, and Italy on land, by that of Italy and England at sea—against any State which should seek to disturb the present distribution of power in the Mediterranean, and implicitly he tells his countrymen that this maritime alliance secures Italy against the danger of an attack on her exposed seaboard.

But while thus speaking for the cause of peace and afterwards dwelling upon his cordial relations with Austria, Crispi did not even mention the name of Austria, and it is at St. Petersburg that his remarks about the Balkan States will be most resented as a distinct defiance to the Czar. He even said, if we are to believe his Frankfort reporter, that "Italy, like all other European States, has reason to dread the advance of Russia to Constantinople, and cannot allow the Mediterranean to become a Russian lake." Fresh from his conferences and his arrangements with Prince Bismarck, such words are most significant, because they will be construed as spoken for all three allied powers. The net result of the important change is this:—The three Emperors' alliance is at an end. Italy takes Russia's former place at the side of Germany, which instead of a dubious and incalculable friend, has won a sincere and upright one. Considering the strained relations between Austria and Russia, our alliance with Austria was not sufficient so long as Italy, remaining outside, might attack Austria while involved in a war with Russia—as France might attack Germany. The alliance of Italy with Germany isolates both France and Russia, and takes away the menacing character from an alliance of the two latter Powers. It means for Germany that in case of a French attack at least four French army corps and half of the French fleet are immobilized. It secures peace to Italy and, although the Italian frontier on the side of France is strategically very unfavourable, makes a French attack by land impossible; for the mere armed neutrality of Germany in a war between France and Italy would detain half of the French army on the Moselle and half of the French fleet, so that Italy might take the offensive and march upon Lyons. In a similar way Austria is now covered against Russia; and, France and Russia being the elements which endanger the peace of Europe, it is evident that the alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy is indeed the strongest guarantee for peace. Crispi's speech, therefore, will have a great effect in Russia, where the Czar must see that he is isolated and would court defeat if he had to enforce his plans against Bulgaria; it has had its effect at Constantinople, where the Sultan, discerning that Russia is no longer backed by Germany, refuses to comply with her requests; it has given new confidence to the Bulgarians, and has produced a wholesome sobering influence in France. It is not without significance that so shortly after the interview of Friedrichsruhe, M. Flourens made up his mind to come to an agreement with England on the long-vexed questions of the Suez Canal and the New Hebrides; and France must see that if she wishes to be on good terms with England she must not dream of a war of revenge against Germany. The influence of the recent scandals and present Presidential crisis in France must, moreover, exercise a sobering influence upon the Czar's mind, and show how dangerous would be a connection with elements so eminently unsafe. Thus, for the present at least, the danger of a Franco-Russian alliance vanishes from the political horizon, and therefore Prince Bismarck was right in saying that the interview had rendered a service to Europe. A feeling of relief and comparative security is beginning to predominate; after long disquietude, people feel safe in the hands of their rulers; and Prince Bismarck, whose former policy of backing Russia in Bulgaria was most unpopular, now has the whole nation with him.

It is scarcely necessary to mention the unfortunate incident on the

Alsatian frontier, where a French keeper beating for game was killed by a German soldier; for, on the German Government expressing their regret, and presenting a handsome indemnity (£2,500) to his widow, the matter was diplomatically settled, and the soldier awaits his judgment. Of much greater importance are the pending commercial negotiations in which Italy is engaged with Austria and France; for Germany is deeply interested in all concessions which these States make to each other. We have, it is true, a treaty with Italy which does not expire until 1892; but it simply stipulates for the rights of the most favoured nation, and this clause loses its significance with the expiration of the treaties with Austria and France, the only ones by which Italy bound herself to a specified tariff. If, therefore, these treaties are not renewed with the beginning of 1888, the strongly protective Italian tariff which was voted in the summer of this year will be applied to all nations; and this would certainly be a great blow to the German export trade with Italy, which, in consequence of the Gothard Railway, has risen from sixty six million lire in 1881 to one hundred and thirty millions in 1886. Crispi, in his Turin speech, was hopeful as to the negotiations with Austria, but as regards France only expressed a wish to avoid a war of tariffs. Certain it is that there are great difficulties to be overcome; the Italians think that the Austrian treaty of 1878 has been disadvantageous to them, because under it Austrian exports to Italy have risen by 13·3 per cent, while those of Italy to Austria have decreased by 45 per cent. The Cabinet of Rome, therefore, wishes to limit the treaty tariff to three favoured articles: beer, alcohol, and timber, and asks from Austria reductions of her duties on flour, straw-tresses, leather, cheese, wine, oil, fruit, and some minor articles. The Cabinet of Vienna is not inclined to accept this basis, but it might well consider that, if the negotiations should prove fruitless, Austrian industry might lose a great part of the Italian market.

With France, Italy had concluded a treaty, which was however rejected last summer by the French Chamber; Italy's exports to France are one-third of her total exports (465 million lire), and 172 millions more than the French export to Italy. These 172 millions served to pay the balance of interest on Italian rentes, which are largely held in France, and a diminution of the Italian exports would therefore unfavourably affect the Italian money market. The French agrarian protectionists ask for higher duties on Italian flour and cattle; French industry, particularly that of Lyons, wishes to maintain its exports.

It is greatly to be desired that a compromise may be arrived at, for a war of tariffs, as the example of Austria and Roumania shows, is pernicious to both parties and benefits only a few. The tendency to raise new protective barriers is in flat contradiction to the progress of modern means of communication; and it is evidently irrational to subsidize railways and lines of steamers, and then to place difficulties in the way of the import of the merchandise they carry.

As regards the commercial relations between Germany and Austria, it is pretty certain that, for the moment, the present arrangement, ending with January 1, 1888, will simply be extended for six months in order to gain time for negotiations. The great difficulty is the demand of the German agrarians for an increase of the duties on corn. The present duty of three marks has been unable to prevent a further

partial reduction of prices, and it is asked that it should be doubled. This is of course most unpalatable to Austria, and particularly to Hungary, which principally exports corn and flour; and the Government, which in principle is favourable to raising the duty, cannot overlook the certainty that such a measure would make it hopeless to obtain concessions from Austria for German industry. The idea therefore has been put forward to apply a higher duty only to the agricultural produce of Russia, with which country we are not on the footing of the most favoured nation, and which by its prohibitory tariffs bids fair to exclude all German articles from its markets. It is true that German proprietors suffer principally by the competition of Russian corn; but great technical difficulties would make such proceedings illusory; the Russian corn would take its way to Germany by the Austrian railways; Austria would keep it in order to export her own merchandise to Germany, and thus foreign competition would not be diminished. Besides, grave doubts are entertained as to the advisability of the measure itself. The tariff of 1879 was a compromise between the agrarian and industrial protectionists; but both parties are dissatisfied with its results. The protective duties on industrial articles have increased internal competition and have provoked similar measures in other countries which have made German exporting more difficult; the Chambers of Commerce therefore almost unanimously ask for new commercial treaties, with conventional tariffs for a fixed period, so as to give steadiness to international commercial relations. The landed proprietors are dissatisfied, because in consequence of several good harvests the price of wheat has fallen in spite of the import duty. But the manufacturers are opposed to an increase of that duty which would tend to raise wages and thus aggravate the difficulties of competing in foreign markets; they ask, where will be the limit of agrarian demands which already comprise a duty on wool, the abolition of the land tax, and the conversion of mortgages into State loans with low interest? These conflicting claims will be brought forward in the impending session of the Reichstag, and the result of the struggle will decide the question of commercial treaties likewise. As regards the question itself, the situation of the landed proprietors is undoubtedly a difficult one, but principally in consequence of their indebtedness; and this again is the consequence of the faulty law of succession. In Germany, as in England, the eldest son generally inherits the estate, but it is encumbered with mortgages in favour of the younger brothers and the sisters, who, like himself, bear the family title and pretend to live as gentle-folk. It is evident that such a system can only work so long as the rent of land pursues a rising course, and this was the case from 1820 to 1872. In that long period of peace and of railway construction, the prices of agricultural produce, and consequently of land, rose steadily; but it is evident that this cannot go on indefinitely, and the turning-point was reached when improved international communications brought foreign competition into the German market. Now it is evident, that if a proprietor has to pay to his relatives 4 per cent. interest on the mortgages which they hold on his estate, yet only makes 2½ per cent. by the produce of his property, he cannot thrive. But shall the State be obliged, nay, has it even the right, to tax the community at large in order to raise prices in favour of indebted proprietors? Is not the

demand put forward by Count Kanitz, that the Government shall secure them a certain high price for their corn, on the same level as that of those Silesian peasants who asked that the State should grant them a fixed price of one mark per cwt. for their beetroot? Is not the granting of such agrarian demands simply filling a sieve? And would it not be better to establish an Encumbered Estates Act, after the Irish model, which would make clean work with the hopelessly indebted property, and also to alter the law of inheritance, particularly as we see that the peasant proprietors who are not in debt maintain their own very well, notwithstanding low prices? It is a remarkable fact, that whilst the great proprietors of the North-East are clamouring for stronger protection, a Report of the State Commissioner of Baden, where small estates prevail, declares that the peasants have reaped little profit by the corn duty, because they have little corn to sell, and that, even so far as they do profit by it, that advantage will be neutralized by a correspondingly higher price at the next sale of the estate. The report of Herr Buchenberger also justly observes that the present condition of agriculture cannot be ameliorated by State help alone, but that proprietors must reduce their expenses and do their very best to improve their estates. The last Session has shown that the Government have hitherto proved very pliant to agrarian demands. They introduced very properly a Bill prescribing that margarine should be sold only with its own name and not as butter; but this was not sufficient for the agrarians; they first asked that a particular colour should be given to margarine, which would make it unpalatable to consumers, and, when this was rejected, presented an amendment, forbidding the mixture of butter with margarine. The representative of the Government, Minister Von Boetticher, declared that this would make the law unworkable, because it was impossible to ascertain how far such a mixture had taken place, nevertheless the amendment was carried, and, under the pressure of the Chancellor, ratified by the Federal Council.

Much more important is the law regulating the taxation of spirits. It distinguishes between agricultural and industrial distilleries. To the first class belong those establishments which use up on the farm the refuse of the distillery and the manure of the cattle fed on the refuse; for this class and for distilleries which make brandy from beet-root, molasses, and non-farinaceous materials, the tax levied upon the cubic contents of the distillery vessels will be maintained; the second class, the industrial distilleries, will pay a fixed tax of twenty marks per hectolitre of alcohol. Besides, a consumption tax of fifty marks per hectolitre will be levied upon all spirits up to a consumption of four and a half litres per head (about two-thirds of the actual consumption) in the north, and three litres in the Southern States (which is about the real consumption), and a tax of seventy marks upon the remaining one-third—both taxes to be levied at the moment when the brandy leaves the distillery, and to be apportioned to each establishment as a fixed contribution. The motive of this graduation evidently was the assumption that the second and higher tax would raise the price correspondingly to its height of the whole quantity of spirits produced, while the distillers would pay for two-thirds of their production only fifty marks, and then would reap the benefit of the difference. This expectation will, however, probably be disappointed, because the German production of brandy exceeds by far the consump-

tion, the surplus hitherto having been exported; but the distiller, having produced the contingent apportioned to him for the lower tax, evidently will not wait till prices have risen by the full amount of twenty marks—the difference of the higher tax—but will sell in the home market that alcohol which before went to foreign parts, as soon the rising price offers him any benefit. This could only be prevented by a coalition of all distillers, binding themselves not to sell below a fixed price: an attempt at this has been made, but has broken down, and it remains to be seen how the law without such a ring, will work. Certain it is, however, that the tax will yield a large revenue, which is calculated at 150,000,000 marks, and at all events it has introduced a uniform tax for all Germany.

Another important, but less satisfactory, fiscal law of last session was that regulating the sugar duty. It must be remembered that the latest great inventions in sugar refining had made illusory the calculation under which the duty was raised from the raw material. The law of 1868 assumed that twelve and a half cwt. of beet-root yielded one cwt. of sugar, and imposed a tax of eighty pf. on the cwt. of beet-root. This calculation was completely overthrown by the invention of the processes of osmosis and elution, which obtained one cwt. of sugar from nine and even eight cwt. of beet-root, and drew sugar from molasses which was not taxed at all; consequently the tax really paid was not, as intended, ten marks per cwt. of sugar, but only 7.80 marks; and besides the refiners got an export drawback of 9.40 marks, which constituted a large bounty. The large profits which they thus realized, and which amounted for some years to an average dividend of 40 per cent. per annum, led to general over-production. Germany overwhelmed England and other countries with cheap sugar, but the sufferer was the Imperial revenue, which dwindled to 21,000,000 marks in 1884, while at the same time prices fell. In 1886 the Government, which up to that time had opposed all reform, was obliged to acknowledge that this could not go on, and the tax was raised from 1.60 marks to 1.70 marks per 100 kilos. of beet-root; but on the plea of the high export-bounties given by Austria, France, and Russia, the drawback was only slightly reduced. The law, therefore, had little fiscal effect, and only one year later the Government saw that a more stringent reform was necessary. A Bill was introduced which lowered the tax on the raw material by $\frac{1}{7}$ and established a new tax of ten marks per 100 kilos. of sugar for home consumption; but the export bounty was maintained, and will probably absorb the greater part of the revenue yielded by the new tax. This system of taxing home consumption in order to enable the refiners to sell cheap sugar to foreign countries at the expense of the exchequer is too irrational to last, and it is therefore most welcome that the British Government has proposed an International Conference for doing away altogether with the export-bounties, which are prejudicial to the finance of all the States concerned, and yield profits only to a few privileged individuals. Germany has accepted the invitation, and it is to be hoped that the Conference will realize its aim.

The session of the Prussian Diet was principally remarkable for the new ecclesiastical law, by which the Chancellor finally surrendered the weapons forged by the May-laws. It is true that the Curia accepted the provision according to which the bishop cannot appoint a clergyman

against whom the Government protests on political or civic grounds. The Centre party was much dissatisfied with this concession, which up to that time had been strenuously resisted; and Bishop Kopp, in voting for the law, acknowledged that in accepting this clause he placed himself in opposition to the Catholic people and to his colleagues. But the eminently practical politicians at Rome know perfectly well that in present circumstances such a protest will rarely be made; and besides, the right of the Government being given up in the case of vicars, the bishop is always at liberty to appoint as vicar a clergyman to whom the Government objects. One of the principal May-laws was that which suppressed all ecclesiastical orders and congregations, except those devoting themselves exclusively to the care of the sick, and those only under exceptional permission, liable to be withdrawn. A law of 1880 empowered the Minister of Public Worship to allow new establishments of such orders, as also of those devoting themselves to the care of the blind, deaf, and dumb, and the education of children under seven years. The new law of 1887 admits, without power of revocation, not only these orders, but also all which are occupied with works of charity, render aid in the cure of souls, or lead a contemplative life, and also those which devote themselves to the higher education of girls. These concessions, not to speak of minor ones, large as they were, did not satisfy the Centre party; but the Pope having signified his assent to the law by a letter to the Archbishop of Cologne, they were obliged to accept it. In fact, however, they are the real victors, and this is perfectly well acknowledged at Rome. The Curia knows that she owes her victory to the Centre party, and will take good care not to dissolve an army which, even if the peace is to last, will always be ready to watch the execution of its conditions. But even now the hierarchy considers the peace an incomplete one; it accepts all concessions of the State in part payment, yet abandons none of its demands; and, most significantly, the Pope, in his letter to the Archbishop of Cologne, does not say that peace is established, but only *aditus ad pacem*. The Centre party therefore remains united and in full harness. The Chancellor, indeed, attempted to prove that there was no question of going to Canossa, because the May-laws had no organic character, and did not aim at a permanent establishment of the relations of Church and State. But, powerful as he is, he has no power over history. Dr. Falk himself has acknowledged that some of his laws were only conflict-laws, destined to break the resistance of the clergy; but the real May-laws, on the education of the clergy, on its disciplinary powers, on the right of approval of clerical appointments, were organic laws, destined to establish new rules for Church and State, and not merely means of negotiation for a peace with the Pope. They have been abandoned, and the defeat of the State is the most signal one in the history of the conflict of State and Church, or, to speak with Prince Bismarck, is that of Agamemnon and Kalchas. The power of the clergy, first martyrs and then victors, has enormously increased; and the State will soon feel that power to its disadvantage.

Although the greater part of the National Liberals, formerly in the foremost rank of the Kulturkampf, submitted to this "sacrificio dell'intelletto"—their principal leader, Herr Miquel, pleading that the matter must be settled—it is perfectly conceivable that the Protestants are alarmed at these concessions; the more so as the Government will not

hear of granting increased independence to the Protestant Church. An attempt was therefore made to form an "Evangelical Alliance," which should unite all Protestants to resist the encroachments of the Catholic hierarchy. But this well-meant movement fell flat. In inviting all those who believed in the only begotten Son of God, and acknowledged the principles of the Reformation, to join them, its voters did too much and too little. The members of the Liberal Protestant Union, who do not believe in that Son, refused, and the orthodox Protestants did the same, because they were not satisfied with so elastic a formula. A more practical attempt at uniting the positive elements of German Protestantism was made by the General Lutheran Conference, held at Hamburg on October 12-14, in which an eloquent speech by Dr. Luthardt, Professor of Theology at the Leipzig University, on the position and the task of the Lutheran Church in regard to the encroachments of the Roman hierarchy, vindicated the true Scriptural foundations of the Reformation, which alone had force to resist these ever-growing claims of the Catholics.

Before leaving the domain of politics, I must allude to two events in the Imperial family, which, as it forms the uniting bond for all Germany, have a general importance. The one was the ninetieth birthday of our venerable Emperor, which was celebrated with general enthusiasm throughout the whole empire. The other is of a most melancholy nature. I need not speak in detail of the grave illness of our Crown Prince, which during the last few weeks has assumed a character of the utmost gravity, such indeed as, according to human knowledge and medical skill, scarcely leaves any room for hope. Apart from the sad fear that the life of a noble and amiable prince, who with truth can be said to have no enemy, is threatened to be cut off in its prime, and that both the German and the English dynasty may be called to mourn so great a loss, it is evident that the death of the Crown Prince will be a public calamity, and not for Germany alone; and that is certainly the reason why the European public with breathless anxiety follows the tragedy of San Remo. The Crown Prince was known to be strongly in favour of peace and constitutional government; as to his son, we are standing before the unknown. It is certain that he has gifts of the first order; he is honest and upright in character, an intelligent and capable soldier, has a high sense of his duties, and is happy in his family life. But he can scarcely have the maturity so desirable for the arduous task that may fall upon him.

The all-absorbing interests of politics make it impossible to give much attention to other domains of contemporary German life and thought. But I must recall the death of Max Duncker, the historian; of Julian Schmidt, author of the best history of modern literature; of Wilhelm Scherer, an eminent professor of the German language at the University of Berlin; and of von Huelsen, director of the Royal theatres. The latter was an able administrator and honourable man, but that is all that can be said in his praise. The single fact that as a private enterprise the German théâtre at Berlin representing the high class drama could succeed by the side of the largely subsidized Royal theatre, is the most telling criticism of his directorship. His successor, Count Bolko von Hochberg, known as a musical grand-seigneur, has heavy work to raise again the Royal stage to a fitting rank, but he has shown great

activity, and promises to do well. Two new and large theatres are in preparation at Berlin, the one to be directed by Herr Barnay, the well-known actor, the other by Oscar Blumenthal, a dramatic author and critic. His last comedy, "The Black Veil," has not been successful, for the interest is exhausted with the first act, and Wildenbruch's tragedy, "The New Command," treating the introduction of celibacy under Gregory VII., although it went through a hundred representations, belongs to a class of productions which succeed rather by their tendency than their intrinsic value. Much noise was lately made by the director of the Munich Royal Theatre returning two dramas of Count Schack and Paul Heyse, which he had accepted for representation, because the authors had voted against the Government in the reform of the statutes of the Order of Merit. The Prince Regent, however, was better advised, and reversed the decision. Ebers has turned out a new novel, "The Bride of the Nile." I confess that I had not the courage to wade through the three volumes, but the critics are at one, that it is still poorer than his former works. The times of remote antiquity are not a proper domain for the historical novel, which requires, as Sir W. Scott's best works show, familiarity and affinity on the part of the reader with the subject. For that purpose we know by far too little of the real and daily life of the sixth century in Egypt, and the laborious effort which tries to bridge the gulf which separates us from it produces a heavy and dulling effect. We may try to reconstruct those times in the study, but we cannot resuscitate them; the author cannot impart a real interest to his work, which smells too much of the lamp. Much better is Baumbach's "Truggold," which has gone through several editions, and gives a very characteristic picture of a pretty German Court at the end of the seventeenth century, and of the mania for alchemy which was then raging. Julius Wolff has availed himself of the Lurley legend for an epic poem: his verse is at times very slovenly, but it is full of fresh spirit and interspersed with charming songs. With Paul Heyse's new novel, "Der Roman der Stiftsdame," we enter into the broad daylight of the present time, but it cannot be called a pleasant light. It is quite conceivable that the heroine, revolted at the maltreatment of an actor by her uncle, an old pietist hypocrite, should ask the actor's pardon and kiss the hand which her hated cousin had touched with his whip; but that this should be sufficient to induce a noble and proud girl to elope with the actor, who from the first appears to be a hollow fellow, and to marry him, seems incredible. On the whole the book is a failure, though it contains many beauties of detail, and the lady's features in her later life are strikingly brought out. Spielhagen's new novel, "Was will das werden," is as unpalatable as his former ones; the reader is overwhelmed by a prodigious mass of matter, handled merely in the party spirit, which represents every clergyman as a fool or a knave. If many editions are a proof of sterling value, Dr. Stinde has every reason to be proud of his several volumes on "The Buchholz Family," for some of them have reached the fiftieth edition, but I confess myself unable to concur in that proposition, and it seems on the contrary, to me, a very doubtful testimony to the German readers' taste. It is said that these novels represent real Berlin life of the middle classes. It may be so, but then it is life with all its platitudes, and unredeemed by any higher

aspiration. The last volume is made up of travelling sketches in Italy of the most commonplace type.

A charming book is the "Recollections of an Alsatian," by Baron Dürkheim, which goes far to prove how strong the connection of the higher classes of Alsace with Germany was, even in this century. It also contains interesting accounts of the public career of the author under the Restoration and under the July monarchy, when he was Prefect at Ham during the captivity of Louis Napoleon, and warned the Government that his ward was sure to make an attempt at escape, to which warning, however, Ministers turned a deaf ear.

Of great retrospective interest is the first volume of General von Natzmer's Memoirs, "Under the Hohenzollerns," because it gives a series of letters of the Emperor William in the time of his youth. Writing on December 25, 1821, and speaking of a possible alliance of Austria and England in order to prevent Russian conquest in the East, he says: "I quite agree with you, that a participation of Prussia in this war would be most fortunate for us, for nothing is more dangerous to our system than a long peace. Our material weakness is frightful if we compare with our neighbouring States. We must overcome this weakness by intellectual forces, and these are principally to be found in the army." March 31, 1824: "As regards the external position of our State, I quite agree with you, if in 1813 the nation had known that eleven years after the summit of glory and prestige, nothing but the recollection of it would remain, it would not have sacrificed everything for such a result. We are solemnly pledged to maintain and to secure to a people of eleven millions the place which it obtained by exertions which were never seen before, and will not be seen in the future. But that is now entirely lost from view; on the contrary, we have to hear that it would be ridiculous for eleven millions to aspire to a great position, flanked as we are by nations of forty millions. They who speak thus forget, however, that that position was won by three millions, who, with a very weakened allied army, overthrew the long-dreaded Colossus. What those three millions achieved by force of enthusiasm, must now, with eleven millions, be regained, by rousing and furthering the forces of intelligence." A man who in his twenty-ninth year entertained such ideas, was certainly destined to lead Germany to unity.

Of a more ambitious character are the memoirs entitled, "From my Life and my Time," of which Ernest Duke of Saxe-Coburg, elder brother of Prince Albert, has just published the first volume. The august author says that, having constantly participated in the history of the last fifty years, and having been a witness of decisive events, he is convinced that only those will be able to maintain a secure footing in future records who have taken care to fix the part they took in writing. This conviction made him subdue the scruple, that it might appear undesirable for a German prince to enter into this kind of historical literature. "I had, during half a century, the opportunity of standing in the front ranks. I have seen much. I have sharply watched events, and no competent judge of the time will doubt the modest part I had in the fate of my country. My book is founded on an investigation of comprehensive materials, on a large correspondence centring in my house, on the public archives, and on the journals of my personal

experiences, which serve as a trustworthy guide." The book fairly keeps the promise of the preface, for it contains an interesting narrative of the most remarkable episodes of the Duke's life up to 1850, and many valuable documents.

Speaking of art, I may mention that Mr. G. C. Schwabe, a native of Hamburg, who made a large fortune in England, has presented his native town with a magnificent collection of pictures, mostly of the modern English school, such as Landseer and Herbert, also of Koerner, Horace Vernet, Tidemand, and Lutteroth.

A school for Eastern languages was opened this month at Berlin, destined for pupils of the diplomatic and consular services in Eastern countries.

H. GEFFCKEN.

CONTEMPORARY RECORDS.

I.—APOLOGETIC THEOLOGY.

THE most comprehensive piece of apology that has appeared in our language for some time is the "Self-Revelation of God,"* by Dr. Harris, of Yale University. His former work, on the "Philosophical Basis of Theism," dealt with the presuppositions of religious knowledge; and in the present volume he applies the principles there established "in examining the reality of God's revelation of Himself, in the experience or consciousness of men, and the verification of the same by His further revelation of Himself in the constitution and on-going of the universe and in Christ." The subject is divided into four parts, in the first of which the "origin of the knowledge of God" is treated as existing in man's implicit consciousness, as a spontaneous feeling and belief, before he has defined it in thought or asked for evidence of its truth. Part II. deals with the proof that "an absolute and unconditioned Being exists, and is manifested in the universe," which recent English and American theologians have in the author's opinion too much neglected. Part III. considers "what the absolute Being is revealed to be in the constitution and course of Nature;" and Part IV. "the revelation of God in Christ," showing "the unity and continuity of God's revelation of Himself in Nature and in the supernatural, from the beginning of motion in the homogeneous stuff through the successive epochs of the physical evolution, till rational man appears; and then in the progressive education and development of man in the moral system until the great epoch in the progress of the moral system when God in Christ appears, reconciling the world to Himself, elevating men in a new birth by the spirit into a higher and spiritual humanity, which is Christ's kingdom of righteousness and peace on earth." All the most recent counter-theories are ably met and criticised, and though it would be unreasonable to expect all the arguments in so bulky a volume to be equally conclusive, Dr. Harris never fails to be suggestive, even where he does not carry complete conviction; while the thoroughly systematic nature of his work contrasts favourably with the fugitive and fragmentary character of so much of our modern apologetic writing.

Messrs. Clark have also issued two important additions to their Foreign Theological Library in Ebrard's "Apologetics" and Frank's "Christian Certainty."† Dr. Ebrard's scientific and historic attainments

* "The Self-Revelation of God." By S. Harris, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.

• † "Apologetics; or, the Scientific Vindication of Christianity." By J. H. A. Ebrard, Ph.D., D.D. Translated by Rev. W. Stuart, B.A., and Rev. John Macpherson, M.A. "System of the Christian Certainty." By Dr. Fr. Frank. Translated by Rev. Maurice J. Evans, B.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

enable him to criticise the current anti-Christian theories in minute detail and with much force; but he aims at too rigid a demonstration to be wholly acceptable to the English mind, with its healthy instinct against over-elaborate deductions in theology. Neither is his treatment of opponents as temperate as we have now grown accustomed to expect. But with these drawbacks there is enough of real value in these "Apologetics" to make one wish they had been done into better English; for the translation is un-idiomatic and awkward to an extent that can hardly fail to repel the English reader. Dr. Frank's "Christian Certainty" is an equally rigorous deduction of the proposition that Christian certainty—meaning by the phrase, not the personal assurance of salvation, but the conviction that the Christian truth is a reality—"is derived from the special moral experience of regeneration and conversion." The first part of the book deals with the nature of this certainty, and the second with its relation to the objects of faith, which are divided into immanent and transcendent; the latter of which must of course be historically known from without, but can only be experimentally certified from within. The argument, which extends through nearly 500 pages, is closely reasoned, but only appeals directly to those who admit the reality of the initial experience upon which it is founded, and is to that extent rather dogmatic than apologetic. The position is that of evangelical Protestantism.

"Man's Knowledge of Man and of God,"* the Donellan lecture for 1884-85, is an admirable piece of work. Though dealing with a great subject in small compass, it is thorough in treatment, lucid in expression, and full of effective illustration. Its object is to show, "firstly, that there is such an analogy between belief in personal man and in a personal God, that whoever accepts the one is thereby proved capable of attaining to the other; and secondly, that not only do the same difficulties meet us in believing human personality as those we have to face in believing that of God, but the perplexities in our knowledge of human nature are inexplicable unless we follow that knowledge out into that divine sphere to which its analogies lead us." This is a fruitful line of thought, which has been made far too little use of in the present day, and these lectures are a valuable and suggestive incitement to its pursuit.

To turn to more special departments of apology, we have two striking books on miracles, from very different points of view. Dr. Bruce's "Miraculous Element in the Gospels"† is an able and exhaustive defence of the reality of the Gospel miracles. The various views of what a miracle is are first discussed; and it is thus shown that on no theory of the origin of the Gospels can the miraculous element in them be eliminated. The Gospel miracles are then considered in detail, with the conclusion that they enter into the substance of revelation, and are not merely confirmatory signs—that is, that they are a necessary part of the self-revelation of Christ. Precisely the converse view is taken in "The Kernel and the Husk,"‡ one of those books that are likely to meet with

* "Man's Knowledge of Man and God." Six Discourses delivered before the University of Dublin, 1884-85. By R. Travers Smith, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co.

† "The Miraculous Element in the Gospels." By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

‡ "The Kernel and the Husk: Letters on Spiritual Christianity." By the Author of "Philochristus" and "Onesimus." London: Macmillan & Co.

scant justice, as being too negative for one class of readers, and not negative enough for another. The book, which is intensely autobiographical in tone, is cast in the form of a series of letters to a friend who thinks that because he rejects miracles he must reject Christianity; and the author in his preface "begs all those who worship a miraculous Christ without doubt or difficulty to pause and read no further." His own view, which has been more or less developed in all his previous works, is that the more essentially miraculous events recorded in the Gospels, including the material resurrection, did not happen, and are due to honest illusion of the writers; but that this only brings into clearer relief the essential truth of Christianity and the divinity of Christ. The key to this paradox lies in the conviction that spirit is the sole reality, and that matter is only a name for centres of force; an hypothesis which apologists of very various schools are rather too eager just now to press into their service. If such idealism should become popular in the future, "The Kernel and the Husk" would appeal to a larger circle; otherwise its real usefulness is likely to be limited to the few who accept its very questionable philosophical foundation.

Mr. Row's "Future Retribution"* is a patient and thorough examination of its subject, which contrasts favourably with the many hasty and partisan utterances of recent days. His own view is that Scripture and reason alike point to indefinite possibilities both of probation and purgation beyond the grave; the Scriptural passages being sifted and weighed with a temperance and thoughtfulness which should make the book a really valuable work of reference upon the question, even apart from the author's own conclusions, which, however, are expressed with all the diffidence which befits the subject.

Another valuable monograph on an important point of apology is Mr. Stanton's "Jewish and Christian Messiah."† Fully in sympathy with all that can be called the established results of modern biblical criticism, Mr. Stanton recognizes "that illusion, followed by the discipline of experience and disappointment, played no unimportant part in the formation and definition of the clearest Messianic hope of Israel," and consequently that the value of the testimony of prophecy to Christ does not lie in conscious prediction, as was once supposed, but argues that "the actual purpose which the development of the Messianic expectation in Israel discharged should prove to any one who believes in the Divine ordering of the world's history that this expectation was designed by God. . . . In other words, the historical fact of the influence of the Old Testament in preparing the world for the coming of Christ ought to convince us of its true connection with the Gospel dispensation as part of one grand scheme in the counsels of Divine Providence." This thesis is worked out with a concessiveness of temper and a thoroughness of treatment which leave little to be desired.—"The Charter of Christianity,"‡ by Dr. Tait, does not fulfil the promise of its second title—"An Examination, in the Light of Modern Criticism, of our Blessed Lord's Sermon on the Mount." It is an excellent

* "Future Retribution viewed in the Light of Reason and Revelation." By C. A. Row, M.A., Prebendary of St. Paul's. London: Isbister. 1887.

† "The Jewish and the Christian Messiah." A Study in the Earliest History of Christianity. By V. H. Stanton, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

‡ "The Charter of Christianity." By Andrew Tait, LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

homiletic exposition, though perhaps somewhat diffuse; but the recent critical attacks on the morality of the Sermon on the Mount are not dealt with.—“The Bible and the Age”* is also a disappointing title, being an attempt to vindicate the authority of the Bible by a recurrence to the intellectual mysticism of the second century—a principle of interpretation which is often suggestive, and will always have its esoteric adherents, but is wholly out of the region of scientific apology. The many forms in which mysticism is reappearing are a remarkable characteristic of our age.—In “Social Aspects of Christianity,”† Dr. Westcott continues the course of thought of his “Christus Consummator.” Neither volume is controversial, but both are instances of that higher form of constructive apology which exhibits the adequacy of Christian truth to meet the wants of each new age. This volume deals with the Christian aspects, first, of the “elements,” then of the “organization,” of social life.—“Liberalism in Religion”‡ is an admirable volume of sermons to London congregations on some of the fallacies and shallownesses of popular irreligion. Mr. Page Roberts disclaims any political connotation for his title, and “is certain that liberalism in religion is conservatism of religion.”

Among smaller books should be noticed Row’s “Manual of Christian Evidences,”§ an excellent little compendium, dealing first with “the moral evidences,” then with “the miraculous attestation”; “Fragmentary Records of Jesus of Nazareth,”|| a clear and forcible statement of the argument for Christianity from the Pauline Epistles; Momerie’s “Belief in God,”¶ a defence of belief in a personal God against agnostic and other objections; “The Creeds of the Church and Modern Thought,”** by G. Bulstrode; “Rational Aspects of Revealed Truths,”†† by E. B. Ottley; “Ænigma Vitæ,”‡‡ by J. M. Wilson, an improvement in style upon his last book, “Nature, Man, and God,” but slighter; and a translation of Edwards’ “Doctrine of the Atonement.”§§

In Germany there have been more contributions to the philosophy of religion than to apology proper. But the continuation of F. Hettinger’s “Apologie des Christenthums” (Freiburg: Herder) should be mentioned; also some meditations in apologetic philosophy by A. Stökl, entitled “Das Christenthum u. die moderner Irrthümer” (Mainz: Kirchheim), and a German translation of Heuch’s “Nature of Unbelief”; while of other foreign works we may notice F. Vigouroux’ “Les Livres

* “The Bible and the Age.” By Cuthbert Collingwood, M.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

† “Social Aspects of Christianity.” By B. F. Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. London and Cambridge: Macmillan. 1887.

‡ “Liberalism in Religion, and other Sermons.” By W. Page Roberts. London: Smith & Elder.

§ “A Manual of Christian Evidences.” By Rev. C. A. Row. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1887.

|| “Fragmentary Records of Jesus of Nazareth.” From the Letters of a Contemporary. By F. R. Wynne, A.M. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1887.

¶ “Belief in God.” By Rev. A. W. Momerie. London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons.

** “The Creeds of the Church, and Modern Thought.” Six Sermons. By George Bulstrode. Deighton & Bell.

†† “Rational Aspects of some Revealed Truths.” By E. B. Ottley. Rivingtons. 1887.

‡‡ “Ænigma Vitæ; or, Christianity and Modern Thought.” By T. M. Wilson. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

§§ “The Doctrine of the Atonement.” By the Rev. Lewis Edwards. Translated by the Rev. D. C. Edwards. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Saints et la Critique rationaliste " (Paris: Roger et Chernoviz), an able treatment of the subject from a Catholic point of view; and two essays on apology—"Les Progrès de l'Apologétique," by De Broglie (*Annales de Philos. Chrét.* Feb.; Paris: Libr. Putris Cretté), and "De l'Apologétique aus XIX^e Siècle," by Fontaine (Paris: Libr. Palmé); and two Italian books—"Il Progresso della Scienza e sui Rapporti colla Revelazione," by G. Cerricchi (Perugia: Santucci), and "Il Dogma e le Scienze positive," a consideration of "The apologetic missions of the clergy in the modern conflict between reason and faith," by A. Stoppani (Mailand: Dumolard).

J. R. ILLINGWORTH.

II.—ORIENTAL HISTORY.

WHETHER or not there is truth in the complaint that oriental studies are neglected in this country, certain it is that oriental scholars have never been so keen or so active as they are at present. While the spade has been disinterring the monuments of the past, there has never been any lack of scholars to interpret and explain what has been found. At times the work of discovery and of decipherment has been carried on together; the wielder of the spade has also been the interpreter of the records he has exhumed. The Egypt Exploration Fund has been fortunate in securing the services of more than one such example of a happy combination of powers, notably in the case of Mr. Naville, who has just published the results of his explorations in the eastern part of the Egyptian Delta in the year 1885.* Here the principal object of his investigation was the site of Saft-el-Henneh, on the line of an old canal about midway between Zagazig and Tel-el-Kebir. Among the rubbish-heaps of an ancient city, his practised eye had detected a block of black granite, which must have formed part of a monument, fragments of which were in the Bulak Museum, where the name of the Arabian nome had been read upon them. Excavations soon showed that his first surmise was right. The relics of a vast monolithic shrine were brought to light, which had been constructed by Nectanebo II., the last of the native Pharaohs, in honour of the god Sopt, "the lord of the East." From the mutilated inscription which once adorned it Mr. Naville has gathered two facts, one historical and the other geographical. In the first place it would appear that Diodoros must have been mistaken in saying that Nectanebo, after an easy defeat at the hands of the Persians, collected his treasures and fled into Ethiopia, the contents of the inscription pointing rather "to a long reign, at the end of which Nectanebo may have become vassal or tributary of the great king." In the second place we find that the spot where the shrine was erected was termed Kes. Now Kes in certain geographical lists is called "the land of Kesem," while it has long since been remarked that Phakusa, the Greek name of the capital of the Arabian nome, was a compound of the definite article *pa*, and the Koptic name Kôz. It therefore becomes clear that Saft was the ancient city of the god Sopt, called Kes in the time of Nectanebo II., and Kesem at an earlier period, the latter name explaining the "Gesem of Arabia," by which the Septuagint translators render the Goshen of Genesis. Mr. Naville

* "Goshen and the Shrine of Saft-el-Henneh." London: Trübner & Co. 1887.

further believes that he has discovered the name of the land of Ramses (or Raamses), to which the brethren of Joseph came, in a papyrus of the age of Ramses III. Here reference is made to "a temple of Ramses II." situated apparently in the near neighbourhood of Saft. He holds that "the land of Ramses," which derived its name from a king who had a special partiality for this district and filled it with splendid buildings, was a wider term than "the land of Kesem"; the latter being confined to the small tract of country of which Saft was the centre. It is worth noting that, in the time of Seti, the father of Ramses II., the whole tract was still marsh-land, and had not yet been organized into a nome.

In a review of Prof. Schiaparelli's valuable work on the Funeral Ritual of the ancient Egyptians,* which had been discovered by him in 1877, Prof. Maspero has opened a new page in the history of primitive Egyptian religion.† He has inaugurated a method of studying the religious texts of the old Egyptians, which, however much opposed it may be to current systems of interpretation, is the method of science and reason, and must ultimately be accepted as alone satisfactory. Instead of reading into the texts the ideas of a later philosophical age, he has endeavoured to discover what is the literal meaning of the phrases they embody, and consequently what must have been their original signification. He has been assisted in his task by the religious texts of the Old Empire discovered by himself on the walls of the pyramids of Teta and Pepi, and translated in the "*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*." These texts furnish us with the means of comparing the religious ideas and language of Egypt in the fourth millennium before our era with the ideas and language of a later day. The task begun in a review of Prof. Schiaparelli's book, has been completed in an elaborate article on Mr. Naville's critical edition of the *Book of the Dead*.‡ The mystical monotheism, the symbols and deep spiritual imagery that have been discovered in early Egyptian religion have been torn away with a ruthless hand. The religious conceptions, like the geographical notions, that underlie the *Book of the Dead*, are shown to be of the crudest possible description. Water was believed to have been the primordial element, existing before the gods were born, out of which Shu arose, and climbing up a ladder, raised the sky above his head, and flattened down the earth beneath his feet. The dead were regarded as passing into the darkness of the west like the sun, and the *Book of the Dead* accordingly originated out of the incantations by the help of which the departed were enabled to overcome the obstacles they met with after death, and to live with the sun in an earthly Paradise, or in the gardens of Osiris, the god of the dead. But different views prevailed in regard both to the dead man himself and to the world beyond the grave. According to some the spirit after death took the form of a bird, according to others it was a double or shadow, while the priests of Ra, the sun-god of Heliopolis, taught a doctrine of metempsychosis. The school of Abydos, the worshippers of Osiris, believed, on the other hand, that the entrance to the next world was through the caverns and subterranean corridors of the western mountains into which the sun passed at night. Beyond the mountains was the desert of "the other

* "*Il Libro dei Funerali degli antichi Egiziani*," 1881-2.

† *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xiii. 1887.

‡ *Ibid.*

world," where the spirits of the poor were destroyed by the serpents, the scorpions, and the noxious beasts that infested it; the spirits of the rich surviving by means of the incantations with which they had been provided, until they reached the gardens of Aalu, or the fields of Offerings, where they were supported by the food offered to them by their friends in the living world. In place of the mountains and the desert, another school declared that the earth was surrounded by an ocean in which were the islands of the blessed, and that the souls of the departed had to be conveyed to them in the sacred bark of Ra. Others, again, maintained that the dead man ascended to heaven by the steps of a ladder, while there were yet others who imagined that his spirit never left the tomb in which its body was buried, but continued to exist there, so long as it was nourished by the offerings of its friends. In the Book of the Dead all these various and inconsistent doctrines have left their traces; they are found side by side without any attempt at their reconciliation—indeed, it would seem that the Egyptian, in his anxiety to be secure on the other side of the grave, neglected nothing which might possibly turn out to be of service to him there. It is, however, the doctrines of the two great schools of Abydos and Heliopolis that are chiefly represented in it; resulting in a confusion between Osiris the god of death, and Ra the Sun-god. Before its compilation, or rather the beginning of its development by successive additions, a doctrine of compensation after death for the deeds done in the body came to be added to the older and more material beliefs of the Egyptian priests. It is thus that the Scarab is said to be hung round the neck of the deceased in order not only that his heart might not be prevented from joining his body, but also that it might not be led to accuse the latter, before the tribunal of Osiris, of the evil deeds committed in the flesh. Two strata of religious belief, one older and one later, are here superposed upon each other. It gives us some idea of the antiquity of Egyptian civilisation that all these religious conceptions and doctrines should have been amalgamated into a single whole, in which the distinctions between the earlier and the later phases of belief had been obliterated, and new meanings had been given to many of them, long before the days of Menes and the rise of the United monarchy. It also gives us some idea of the innate conservatism of the Egyptians that the older forms of faith should have been, as it were, embalmed by the side of those of a later epoch, instead of being dispossessed and superseded by the latter. It is like the Egyptian system of writing in which the primæval pictographs continued to be used down to the last along with characters that represented the sounds of an alphabet.

The "Meroitic inscriptions," so long the puzzle of Egyptologists, have yielded at last, as it would seem, to the patient ingenuity of Brugsch Pasha.

On the monuments of the ancient Ethiopian kingdom of Meroë, under the shadow of Mount Barkal, as well as on the walls of the temples of Dakkeh and Philæ and other memorials of Egyptian art in Nubia and on the Upper Nile, inscriptions have been found which belong to the princes and populations of Cush or Ethiopia. Some of these inscriptions are in the Egyptian language, but others, though employing the Egyptian mode of writing, are in a hitherto undeciphered tongue, the Egyptian characters used in them not having the same values

as those which they have in Egyptian. By carefully comparing, however, the proper names found in the two classes of inscriptions, Brugsch has been enabled to identify some of them, and in this way to determine the values of the Meroitic alphabet.* The language in which the native texts are composed turns out to be an older form of the modern Nubian dialects. Brugsch has succeeded in deciphering not only the inscriptions which are written in hieroglyphics, but also those which are inscribed in cursive demotic, and has thus poured a flood of new light upon the history of the Upper Nile in the Ptolemaic and Roman ages.

While he has been solving the riddle of the native texts, M. Eugène Revillout has been reading the Nubian inscriptions of Philæ and elsewhere which are composed in Egyptian demotic.† It has long been known that Philæ remained the last refuge of pagan worship, the priests of Isis not having been chased from its sanctuary until the overthrow of the pagan Blemmyes by Silco the Nubian king and Narses the general of Justinian. For several centuries it had been the shrine and place of pilgrimage of the Blemmyan kings. After the time of Caracalla the latter shook off the yoke of the Roman dominion and declared themselves "kings of the Nubians." When Christianity had been established throughout the Roman Empire, and decrees had been issued to suppress paganism, the Nubian king Terermen surrounded himself with his priests and prophets at Philæ, and like a heathen Mahdi announced himself the saviour of Egypt from the Christian Cæsar Theodosius. At a later date (A.D. 397) the augustal prefect Archelaus was forced to agree to a peace with the formidable heathen of the south, and to respect the pagan rites carried on in the temple of Philæ. Later still we find the Blemmyes making raids upon Egypt and carrying away with them Christian captives, among others the heresiarch Nestorius, who had been sent into exile in the Thebaid. On this occasion, however, they were pursued by the ferocious Egyptian saint Senuti, fresh from his destruction of a heathen city near Coptos and the burning alive of its high-priest. The captives were recovered, and Nestorius immediately beaten to death, at the very moment when the Council of Chalcedon was about to grant him his revenge upon S. Cyril and the Egyptians by the condemnation of Dioscorus.

But it is not only the affairs of the decaying Roman Empire upon which Egyptian research has cast fresh light during the past year; the casts and observations of the racial types represented on the early monuments which have been made by Mr. Flinders Petrie on behalf of the British Association have led to some startling and unexpected results. Thus it would appear that the Amorites, who spread through Syria and Palestine in conjunction with the Hittites, were a tall, white-skinned, blue-eyed, and light-haired race, not unlike the Kabyles of modern Algeria, while the Hittites themselves had skins of a yellow colour and heads of a distinct and somewhat repulsive Mongolian character. That the Egyptian artists did not caricature their enemies in thus representing them may be concluded from the fact that the heads represented by the Hittites themselves on their own monuments are precisely the same in form as those which Mr. Petrie has found in Egypt. It would also

* "Entzifferung der meroitischen Schriftdenkmäler," in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*. 1887.

† See his articles in the *Revue Egyptologique*, v. 1, 2.

appear that between the Egyptians themselves and the people of Pun or Punt on the south-western coast of Arabia and the opposite shores of Africa there was a close physiological connection, the chief difference being the greater massiveness of the Egyptian jaw, perhaps through the admixture of Nigritian blood. It therefore becomes probable that the Egyptian race originally came from southern Arabia, which may explain why the land of Pun was always known as "the country of the gods."

To pass from Egypt to Babylonia, Mr. Pinches has published the text and translation of an annalistic history of Babylonia from the reign of Nabonassar to the death of Esar-haddon, discovered by him in 1884, and entitled "The Babylonian Chronicle." * It gives us the Babylonian version of the wars between Babylonia and Assyria, which, as might be expected, does not always agree with the Assyrian account. The battle of Khalule, for instance, which Sennacherib claims as a decisive victory for himself, is in the Chronicle declared to have been an Assyrian defeat, though it must be allowed that the subsequent course of events favours the Assyrian claim rather than the Babylonian. A good deal of attention is given in the Chronicle to the history of Elam, but perhaps the most interesting fact connected with it is its confirmation of Schrader's conclusion that Pul and Tiglath-pileser III. were one and the same. We now learn explicitly that Pul was the original name of the usurper who, after the overthrow of the older Assyrian dynasty, took the name of Tiglath-pileser, which was that of one of the most famous of the earlier Assyrian kings.

In the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology" (ix. 7), M. Victor Revillout has made known the existence of a Babylonian contract-tablet dated at Sippara in the second year of a certain "Salsal-marsu, king of Persia, Media, and Babylon." If the reading is right, we have here the name of an otherwise unknown king of Persia, who reigned at least more than one year and flourished before the death of Darius. M. Revillout suggests that he represents the second pseudo-Smerdis. The same scholar, in conjunction with his brother, has given in the same number of the "Proceedings" of the society the results of his researches into Babylonian law, as embodied in the multitudinous contract-tablets that have been brought from Babylonia. He points out that in Babylonia and Egypt we find most of the germs and principles of Roman law, and that on this account, if on no other, the legal documents of the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile well deserve study. The Chaldean banks were already acquainted with the principle of the cheque, and the Babylonian could either open a credit at his bank or deposit his capital in it for the sake of security. Mortgages had been known from an early period, and the legal rate of interest was twelve shekels a year on each mina—a mina consisting of sixty shekels. The married woman whose father was dead had a guardian to manage her affairs and see after her rights; but, besides the lawful wife, the Babylonian might possess another of inferior rank whom he had purchased from her parents at a given price. His rights over the latter, however, were never complete, and ceased as soon as the parents repaid the sum given to them. Companies and associations of all kinds existed in Babylon, and a prisoner could be released on bail if his friends

* In the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," xix. 4.

became sureties for him. It may be added that wealthy people employed agents to manage their estates ; indeed, most matters of business could be transacted by a responsible mandatary or agent.

By way of conclusion I would draw attention to a newly published work by Prof. Spiegel on the social condition and religious beliefs of the Indo-Iranian peoples before their separation.* His conclusions are of course, derived from the evidence of language, since words which have the same form and meaning in the ancient languages of India and Persia prove that the objects and ideas denoted by them must have been known to all the members of the Asiatic branch of the Indo-European family. By comparing them with the words common alike to the Asiatic and European branches it becomes possible to discover how great was the advance in culture and knowledge made by the Asiatic Aryans after their separation from their European kinsfolk. Prof. Spiegel, it may be noticed, has now gone over to the views of those who see in Europe the most probable birthplace of the Indo-European languages.

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* "Die arische Periode und ihre Zustände." Leipzig. 1887.

